Improving policy on children's mobility and access through development of a participatory child-centred field methodology/toolkit

POR Project R8373

PARTICIPATORY CHILD-CENTRED FIELD METHODOLOGY/TOOL KIT

Based on preliminary pilot studies in Ghana, India and South Africa: further testing is required

MAY 2005

This methodology/toolkit was prepared from studies conducted by the adult project staff, working in close collaboration with 169 child researchers who participated in the pilot study.

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1. BACKGROUND TO THE PREPARATION OF THIS PARTICIPATORY CHILD-CENTRED FIELD METHODOLOGY/TOOLKIT

This methodology/toolkit is the principal output of DFID-funded project R8373. The aim of this one-year project was to develop a methodology specifically focused on investigating children's transport/mobility/access issues from a child-centred perspective and to pilot it (i.e. to fine-tune it) in a few selected locations in three countries: Ghana, India and South Africa. The toolkit will be available for download from the project website.

Why the focus on child mobility?

The core research problem this methodology is designed to explore is the mobility constraints faced by girl and boy children in accessing health, educational and other facilities in low income countries. There is a serious lack of direct information on how these constraints impact on children's current and future livelihood opportunities, and thus a lack of guidelines on how to tackle them.

Children and youths under the age of 18 have received remarkably little attention in transport and mobility studies and transport policy in low income countries, apart from limited work on road safety. This is an extremely important omission since over half the population of many such countries consists of children and young people in the age group 0-18. Improving mobility and access to facilities for this group is crucial if the Millennium Goals of Universal Primary Education, Promotion of Gender Equity and empowerment of Women, and Reduction of Child Mortality are to be achieved.

Preliminary work in Ghana

The project built directly on work in an earlier DFID-funded Crop Post-Harvest research project in Ghana (R7575) that suggested some broad hypotheses about children's mobility and access to transport and the wider impact of children's mobility constraints on livelihood opportunities which needed testing and, if correct addressing (Porter and Blaufuss 2002 *Children, transport and traffic in southern Ghana. Paper presented at the international workshop on children and traffic, Copenhagen, May 2-3, 2002,* available on the child mobility project website: www.dur.ac.uk/child.mobility):

- Lack of reliable low cost transport may severely affect access to regular education, with knock-on impacts on subsequent livelihood opportunities. In many low income countries Universal Primary Education is a long way from achievement, especially for girls.
- Lack of reliable low cost transport may impact severely on children's access to health services (including vaccination and other preventive health services) and to adequate safe water supplies. Child mortality and morbidity rates are high in many low income countries
- Children's widespread (but often hidden) role as transporters (pedestrian headloaders, and more recently IMT operators) may further substantially constrain their access to education, health and associated livelihood options since this reduces the time available to attend school or health centres etc. This is likely to apply particularly to girls, especially fostered girls
- Some Intermediate Means of Transport (IMTs), notably bicycles, may have an important potential role in improving access to school and other services, but cultural and other factors are likely to impede their adoption, particularly

among girls. Policies to promote wider availability of cycles (for learning to ride) and cycle repair courses for girls and boys in school might impact positively on school attendance

- Mobility constraints may impede children's subsequent livelihood opportunities through impacts on both education and health and thus reduce overall long-term potential for poverty eradication. The constraints are likely to be even greater for girls than for boys
- Mobility constraints on children are likely to be higher in rural than urban and peri-urban areas, but even in an urban context there may be substantial constraints on access imposed by transport factors, particularly for girls

Why a child-centred approach?

We concluded from our preliminary research in Ghana that examination of children's access and mobility would be needed in diverse settings to explore and extend our tentative observations, to raise the visibility of the problem, and to develop policies to improve conditions. Most importantly, we concluded that we were unlikely to be able to fully understand and address these issues without the prior development of appropriate child-centred participatory methodologies which are specifically tailored to examining mobility and access issues. This thus became the focus of the current project.

As May observes (2001) although children's participation in development agendas has increased, there is still much tokenism where children's voices are concerned. In developing this methodology/toolkit we have been able to facilitate children themselves as prime participants in the research process, following the lead of our Indian NGO collaborator organisation, CWC, which already has substantial experience in innovative child-centred participatory methodologies in a child rights context. In this case child-centered means not just research *with* children, but research *by* children: i.e. children researching their own lives and conditions.

This methodology paper charts the process and complexities of introducing a child-centred approach in contexts where it has not been used before. The child-centred process developed by CWC, based on their prior experience of child-centred survey work, is central to much of the discussion which follows.

The project research collaborators, child researchers and the Project Consultative Groups

A note on the composition of the project research team and the in-country Consultative Groups is necessary to explain the genesis of the project and the slightly different approaches taken in the three countries.

The project was initially suggested by Gina Porter (Dept. of Anthropology, Durham University) on the basis of her gender and transport research in Ghana. Priyanthi Fernando (then Executive Secretary of the International Forum for Rural Transport and Development) and Kate Hampshire (Dept. of Anthropology, Durham University- a health specialist) completed the UK team. Together we developed the initial plans for a three-country study, drawing on our individual contacts and IFRTD's National Forum Group (NFG) network of transport specialists to find individuals who would be willing and able to develop the three in-country research components.

Priyanthi Fernando was instrumental in developing our contact with the activist NGO The Concerned for Working Children (CWC), Bangalore, India. CWC's P.J. Lollichen and Nandana Reddy were involved in early discussions about research on children's transport issues and encouraged us to focus on developing a child-centred approach which extended beyond conventional so-called child-centred studies. They were also prepared to pilot the study in India, because children had already identified transport as a major issue in the in the Tenth Five Year Plan they had facilitated in Karnataka.

In Ghana, Professor Albert Abane heads the Department of Geography at the University of Cape Coast: he is a transport specialist who initially trained as a teacher and has been involved in a number of research studies concerned with children's issues. Cape Coast University originated as a teacher training institute and thus Professor Abane's staff who were subsequently involved in assisting with the field tests have a teacher training or schoolteacher background.

In South Africa, Mr Mashiri is technical leader for rural transport and development at South Africa's Transportek, a division of CSIR: he is a transportation engineer by training, but has worked on gender issues in transport and leads South Africa's transport NFG. Two CSIR-Transportek staff, Denise Buiten (a gender specialist), and Rotsana Zukulu (a transport specialist from the field study region) and Mr Zuzekile Duna, the principal of the Cwebeni JSS (which piloted the field study), were also involved.

Our core team thus comprised a diverse set of practitioners and academic researchers who brought different skills and perspectives to the study.

The *child researchers* who joined the project research team were all between the ages of 9 and 21 years (almost all were 18 years and under). In Ghana and South Africa, efforts were made by the adult collaborators to recruit a balance of male and female children to participate in the study. In India children were facilitated to develop a set of criteria and they selected their representatives to participate in this project. In India a total of 144 children were, eventually, involved in the study, because when the 29 children present at the inception workshop returned to their Panchayats, other children were keen to join in and CWC was able to deploy its field staff to support their inclusion. In Ghana 12 children (from five different schools) participated in the study, following training from the Ghanaian collaborator and other Cape Coast University staff, supported by two staff from CWC, at a small workshop. In South Africa 13 children (all from the same school) participated in the preliminary research; the seven most committed children were then brought together for a training workshop (supported by three CSIR-Transportek staff, the school headmaster and young volunteers from the organisation SPW).

Most of the children who participated in the project were schoolchildren, though in India a small number of working children who did not attend school were also involved. All were literate.

Additionally, in each country we established a *Project Consultative Group* to help shape the project by providing additional expertise (as well as for subsequently promoting awareness and use of the project outputs i.e. the toolkit). This was a

strategy which had proved extremely effective in Ghana for DFID Crop post-harvest project R7575.

In thinking about potential country Consultative Group members we had to consider the following points:

- Who are the key partners who will need to be involved in helping to improve children's mobility and access? (which NGOs / government departments/ private sector/ donor agencies/academics/ who else?)
- What role will children play in the country Consultative Group? What age group/sex/numbers? Are we likely to encounter resistance if we include children? How will we respond?

In-country collaborators each selected their Consultative Group representatives from relevant ministries, local district administrations, NGOs, the private sector and academics. A list of Consultative Group members in each country is provided in Appendix 2.

2. THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING THIS METHODOLOGY/TOOLKIT

The process of developing this methodology has taken approximately one year. We started with a *literature review* of existing material on child transport and mobility issues. This review and our previous (R7575) study in Ghana enabled us to put together a list of potential research questions and research methods for discussion at our *inception workshop* held at CWC's field station in Kundapur, Karnataka, India, in October 2004. This workshop took place so that the Ghanaian, South African, Indian and UK collaborators could review findings from the desk literature review and explore the potential for applying the innovative child-centred approaches currently used by CWC, our Indian collaborators (in a child rights context), to transport/access studies. We needed to think through the approach with particular reference to a) children's access to education, b) children's access to health, c) children as transporters. The output of the workshop was to be a preliminary methodology/toolkit of techniques, flexible enough to cope with different socio-economic, cultural, environmental and institutional conditions, for testing in collaborator countries. We envisaged that it could incorporate both quantitative and qualitative data collection components without, at the planning stage, knowing what the precise balance of these components would be.

Twenty-nine Indian children participated in the inception workshop, together with the project collaborators and seven additional CWC staff. The children consisted of 16 girls and 13 boys, aged 9-18, from three neighbouring Panchayats (as part of the 10th National Five Year Plan of India) that included some transport issues. We observed the children refining and testing a range of methodologies through discussion groups and role play in the workshop (which covered ethics as well as methods) and subsequently through practical application in the field. All interactions during the workshop with the children were in Kannada: CWC staff translated for the overseas collaborators. Separate meetings took place with the adult overseas collaborators to review CWC's philosophy and approaches.

In the next stage (between mid-October 2004 and March 2005), *small field tests* of this provisional toolkit took place in India, Ghana and South Africa, under the direction of the local collaborators, to assess the toolkit's robustness in diverse conditions and make any fine-tuning required. In India it was possible to undertake the field tests in three quite different locations: one very remote rural area, one more accessible rural area and one peri-urban area. This involved 144 children as researchers. The scale of the pilot in India was facilitated by CWC's experience of child-centred research, their network of field staff and their well developed links and reputation in the region.

In Ghana and South Africa the pilots were very much more limited than in India, because of the relative novelty of the child-centred approach in these countries[1] and its novelty to both the collaborators organising the study. Whereas in India the

[1] Child participation programmes are not entirely new in South Africa. The South African Human Rights Commission's Child Participation Programme, funded by UNICEF, is at the centre of a number of efforts to actively involve children (for instance the South African Law Commission which involved children in reviewing legislation affecting children in South Africa).

collaborators were part of an established NGO specifically focussed on children but with limited transport expertise, in Ghana and South Africa the collaborators were both transport specialists aware of children's mobility problems, but new to the child-centred approach. We had agreed at the inception workshop that small pilots with 10-15 children per site working on their own local transport/access issues would probably be the most that would be feasible in Ghana and South Africa. This proved to be the case, given time and funding constraints.

In early April 2005 all the adult project collaborators and a small number of participant children from each country (4 from India, 3 from South Africa and 12 from Ghana) reconvened for the review workshop in Cape Coast, Ghana, to consider their experiences and analyse data from the pilot studies. The 6-day workshop was again largely facilitated by CWC, because of their expertise in working with children. Translation between Kannada and English was needed for interaction between the Indian children and the non-Indian participants and between isiXhosa and English for the South African children (who had rather more basic English than the Indian children but still had some difficulties)[2].

During the workshop, we reviewed the process of doing the project, so that the children could see where their individual contributions fitted into the larger study. This included a review of the data collection methods, tools and analysis and the children's perceptions of their value and ease/complexity of application. Each of the country-groups of children then worked on and presented their consolidated findings, with adult facilitators. Further work focussed on helping the children to review potential solutions to the transport problems they and their respondents had identified and to identify which people and organisations would need to be approached in order to start to address these issues and what methods they could use to do the same.

At a Stakeholder Meeting (opened by Ghana's Minister of Roads and Highways) on the penultimate day of the Cape Coast workshop, the children presented their work and findings. A final meeting between the adult collaborators then focused on reviewing our own perspectives on the development of this pilot toolkit: field experiences, methodologies (both those used and those not used), data quality, gaps, overall strengths and weaknesses.

Final fine-tuning has come in the last few weeks as we have reflected on the workshop results and our own experiences of the process by which this toolkit was developed. The methodology is now at a stage where it would benefit from wider testing in different agro-ecological zones, other cultural and socio-economic contexts and extended to urban locations.

[2] Kannada translations were conducted by a member of CWC, isiXhosa translations were conducted by the headmaster of the school to which the children belonged.

3. EXPLORING CHILDREN'S MOBILITY AND TRANSPORT: KEY QUESTIONS FROM THE LITERATURE AND EARLIER RESEARCH IN GHANA

This section picks out some of the key questions which researchers – whether adults or children - may need to ask if they are to build a picture of conditions regarding children's mobility, transport and access in any particular location, urban or rural. The check list below was developed in Durham, based on a review of existing literature and our earlier research in Ghana. The list was used as a basis for some of the preliminary discussions among collaborators at the inception workshop in India around key issues which children might need to explore in order to obtain a clear picture of transport and mobility constraints and potential in their own locality. It also provided the transport background for CWC's training facilitation and discussions with child participants (CWC had not focussed specifically on transport issues in their previous work). It could provide a useful starting point for discussions around child mobility not only in many low income country contexts, but also in Western contexts.

Building a general picture of children's journeys and children's current use of space

- Which places are children able to visit on a regular basis? (eg. school, health centre, market, friends' houses, well for water, pastures / fields for domestic production, etc.)
- Over what distances and what kind of spaces do children move? What are the size and nature of children's spatial ranges? Who sets the limits to their spatial range? Does this vary according to age, gender, urban/rural residence, environmental/agro-ecological conditions (pastoralist/ cultivator etc.) or other factors (see below)?
- Are there differences between accompanied and unaccompanied (independent) mobility? How does this vary by age, sex, educational/literacy levels, urban/rural residence etc.?
- Are journeys commonly multi-purpose? (ie. combining visits to different places, or for different activities, eg. carrying goods to market on the way to or from school)

Means of transport currently used

- How do children travel to these places? (eg. walking, cycles, bus [public /private /school-run], private car, taxi, train, minibus, trucks / transporters, etc.)
- Is lack of appropriate / affordable transport seen by children as a barrier to travelling to places to which they need to go? Do their views differ from those of parents/ other community members?
- Is safety considered an issue, especially for unaccompanied young children? If so, what kind of dangers? (road safety, 'stranger danger', getting lost?)

Transport, education and school

- How far away are the nearest primary, intermediate and secondary schools?
    - Should we think about "how far" in terms of physical distance, travel time, and/or travel costs?
    - Are the schools state-run, independent, charity / missionary run, etc.?
- Does the child attend school? If so, is it the nearest school?

- To what extent do school distance and travel issues affect decisions about school attendance (whether, how often, which school)?
- How does the child travel to school? (Walking or which mode of transport? Alone or accompanied? What costs are incurred?)
- Other possible relationships between transport and education: e.g. Do children's travelling / transporting roles ever interfere with their ability to attend school? In what ways?

Transport, health and health services

- How far away are the nearest health services?
    - Different kinds of health service: local clinic, hospital, traditional / informal sector, etc.
    - Again, how to think about distance? (km, time, travel costs?)
- What is the child's frequency and pattern of use of different health services?
    - Distinguish between preventative (eg. vaccinations) and reactive (illness treatment)
    - Health service use in relation to particular recent illness episodes
- To what extent do distance and travel issues affect decisions about use of different kinds of health service? With what implications for health status?
- What means of transport are used for getting to health services? Walking or other mode of transport? Alone or accompanied? What costs are incurred?
- Role of mobile health services:
    - Possibly easier for preventative health services (e.g. vaccinations)
    - What about in case of illness?
- Does travel have an impact back on health? Eg. do children that walk long distances each day, carry heavy loads, etc., suffer negative health consquences, particularly if nutritionally vulnerable?

Differences between children

- How do children's travelling, use of transport, and movement-related issues vary between children?
- Gender: do boys and girls undertake different journeys? Do boys and girls have different access to transport? If so, is this based on economic differences, different ideas about cultural acceptability and gender roles etc.?
- Age / generational differences
- Birth order / position within the family. May interact with gender – sex of older siblings may be important. Do older daughters / sons have different roles to younger ones?
- Fostering – are fostered children treated differently to biological ones?
    - The above raise issues of household and family organisation this is not straightforward and is likely to vary between field sites.
- Other dimensions of social status - may include: relative wealth / poverty; caste, ethnicity, etc.?
- Characteristics of livelihood context (settled cultivator/migrant farmer/pastoralist/urban informal sector etc.)
- Characteristics of village/town: size of settlement; presence/absence of market, primary school, basic health facility; on/off- road; distance from major highways and other roads; regional population densities; local transport availability

Intra-household allocation of power and resources regarding transport

- How are decisions regarding transport, and use of economic resources concerning transport, distributed within households and wider family networks?
- Does everyone in the household have access to the same forms of transport?
- How do gender and age divisions of labour within households relate to journeys made by different household members?
- For all of this, we need to think about domestic organisation in the different research locations, and how households are situated within wider networks of kin.

Children as transporters

- How big a role do children play as transporters? (head loading, operating push trucks etc.) How does this fit into family livelihood strategies?
- How does children's contribution as transporters vary by age, sex, birth order/generational differences, foster/biological child, school enrolment, social status, family livelihood strategy, urban/rural context, off-road/on road location, local population densities/transport conditions

Possible solutions and interventions?

- Thinking about transport solutions:
    - Economic considerations: is it affordable?
    - Cultural considerations: is it seen as acceptable / appropriate (for girls and well as boys? For different age groups?)
    - Sustainability: think about maintenance, running costs, repairs, etc.
- Possible roles for intermediate forms of transport (IMTs), such as bikes, handcarts, donkey carts, mopeds
- What do children think about using potential IMTs (variations by age, sex etc.?)?
- Levels of intervention to improve transport for children/youth
    - Household: eg. providing IMTs like bikes.
    - Community: Role of community participation? Eg. community ownership of means of transport such as 4x4 vehicles, school bus, community participation in road maintenance or maintenance of vehicles, bicycle maintenance classes, etc.
    - Local and/or national government? May include: transport subsidies, road-building programmes, etc.
    - Schools cycle training programme (riding and maintenance)?
- Alternatives to improving transport and physical access:
    - Cyberspace and use of the internet: may be possible to link in with some health and education services remotely?
    - Building human capital in off-road or remote areas: e.g. village health workers, locally appropriate schools (eg. evening schools)

4. CHILD-CENTRED RESEARCH: ETHICAL, CULTURAL AND PRACTICAL ISSUES

In this section we consider some of the questions which need careful consideration before embarking on a truly child-centred research study i.e. research on children's issues and perspectives by children:

- How do we ensure that children are partners, not simply cheap labour?
- How do we ensure that involving children empowers them?
- What role should adults play in the child-centred research process?
- How do we avoid tokenism in involving children? (Especially difficult in a transport context where engineers dominate?) How do we listen?
- Can we get policy makers to listen to children? Will data quality be good enough to convince policy makers?
- Is a truly child-centred approach feasible in all cultural and socio-political contexts?
- What practical issues need to be considered when setting up a child-centred project?

CWC's very considerable experience in child-centred approaches guided us in our initial thinking abut these issues. Country experience resulting from collaborators efforts to implement the pilot field tests provided further food for thought and helped shape our conclusions below.

Children as empowered partners

CWC, which has 25 years experience of promoting children's empowerment in India, argues that child-centred research – research on children, by children, as opposed to children as merely objects of research - can not be embarked upon lightly. It is crucial that children not merely undertake the research that concerns children's issues (i.e. incorporating both data collection and analysis) but that there is a process in place which allows children to get their concerns taken up and acted upon: children should not be merely information gatherers or information providers but be *empowered to look for solutions and implement them*. In other words, children's participation should not be an activity or an end in itself but a process whereby children influence outcomes: information only becomes power if it is used. The *role of adults* in this approach is to support children in their research and advocacy and to influence policy at national levels. Descriptions of the work children and adults can accomplish together are provided by a number of CWC documents (see appendix for a full list). A good introduction is provided in P.J.Lolichen (2002) Children and their research: a process document: CWC, Bangalore).

In Ghana and South Africa, where there is no well-established structure of children's advocacy organisations within which to set the studies, and whereby children could influence policy, very careful groundwork was necessary in order to implement the pilot projects. The argument for child-centred studies linked to children's rights and child advocacy around the mantra 'children know their own interests and experiences best' is likely to raise concerns in such contexts: proposals for child-centred work will need to be very carefully prepared and presented. The Ghana government Minister of Roads and Transport at our Cape Coast workshop listened and responded with great care and thoroughness to the issues the children raised on the basis of their research and analysis – a clear indication of his perception of the accuracy and importance of

their findings - but he was also keen to caution that '*adults here also don't want child imperialism… do not frighten us with any form of child imperialism'*.[3] In South Africa the potential for child action may be increased yet also complicated by the long history of male migration in this region and the role of child activists in the anti-apartheid movement. Discussions with the South African adults and children present at the Cape Coast workshop suggested there was some initial nervousness around the concept of child-centred studies: this may also partially account for the lengthy preparation period required in South Africa before the field studies could commence[4].

It is extremely important to reflect on the ways in which the groundwork for child-centred work is laid in varying contexts, and on the ways in which it is best presented, in order to allay such fears, yet without compromising the spirit of child-centred research. In this respect it is crucial to bear in mind how best to fit the approach into local context and ensure ongoing local ownership. This may be particularly important given the concerns recently expressed by some African academics and NGO leaders about the degree to which Asian development models (notably in the micro-finance field) have been imported into Africa without adequate consideration of local cultural conditions and traditions[5].

Some important practical points for a child-centred transport/mobility research study

The following suggestions are made on the basis of experience in our current transport study (though most have relevance for work with a non-transport focus):

- *Ethical codes* must be put in place prior to the commencement of any study, including:
    - Development of a code of conduct for researchers
    - Signed consents from parents/guardians
- In countries like Ghana and South Africa, where there is no well-established structure of children's advocacy organisations within which to set the studies (i.e. whereby children could influence policy), much *careful groundwork* is necessary in order to implement pilot projects. CWC suggested in Ghana and South Africa the process would need to be facilitated by identifying partners to help take the issues forward when the pilot project was completed. In Ghana much time had to be spent first getting the approval of the Municipal Directorate of Education in Cape Coast, then finding schools willing to participate in the project through letters to heads of schools and personal contacts (some refused). Then, once children had been selected/expressed interest in participating, letters had to be sent to parents from the school heads to obtain their permission for the child's participation. In South Africa the process of obtaining local approvals (local authority, traditional leaders, the Umanyano Trust and Cwebeni Development Committee, the school principal

[3] This may have been prompted, at least in part, by a CWC poster on the wall of the meeting room.
[4] CWC have expressed concern about the inclusion of comments in this and the following paragraph regarding possible wariness regarding child-centred approaches. Gina Porter feels it is important that other groups contemplating implementing a child-centred research project are alert to the need to present their project carefully to allay possible local concerns, and also to bear in mind the crucial importance of local ownership.
[5] See G. Porter 2003: NGOs and poverty reduction in a globalising world: perspectives from Ghana. *Progress in Development Studies 3,2: 131-145.*

where the study was based) similarly took months, although the response was ultimately very positive.

- A complementary training programme in organisational development could add substantial value to a child-centred study conducted in contexts where there are no structures to support children's advocacy – i.e. to support the process of children taking their project findings forward. (Our small pilot project did not have funding to support this component).
- Local government at village level may represent the most appropriate platform for interaction in a new field area, since children and local government members will be resident in the same place and children's research conclusions about areas where intervention is needed will be specifically related to local conditions. In India the children have their own local government, the Makhala Panchayat (with elected child members), which is chaired by the President of the adult Panchayat. Children with information and a cause they want to address need a structure of this type within which they can speak.
- It is helpful if children in the research teams live in close physical proximity so that they can meet regularly to discuss progress and plan.
- Our work in the pilot was with rural and peri-urban children. CWC's experience suggests that a very different approach to the training component would be needed if working with urban street children who usually have a very short attention span and may be illiterate.
- Children should ideally select their own representatives to participate in the study (i.e. children with a range of skills and abilities to undertake the research and then take the findings forward). The Bhima Sanghas[6] in Karnataka, India, have developed a reservation system to ensure potentially under-represented groups such as the disabled are included (reflecting reservation approaches utilised in government in India).
- Phasing of the research project is important so that children undertake a manageable set of tasks at a time and can see why they need to move on to the next stage of the research. Furthermore, children need to be informed about the context and phasing of the project from an early stage in order to ensure that their expectations are aligned with the purpose of project.
- Child-centred studies are time and labour intensive. They need substantial adult facilitation, at least in the early stages where the children involved are unused to conducting their own studies. The Ghana pilot with 12 children, for instance, was supported by five university staff, plus two staff from CWC, full-time over six days. The time required can present difficulties not only for the facilitators, but for children who usually have to prioritise school and/or work tasks. Furthermore, careful preparation and sensitisation is needed in locations and among stakeholders where the approach is to be newly employed. In South Africa such groundwork took some months before the

[6] CWC facilitated the convening of two youth organisations in Karnataka: the Bhima Sangha (an association of working children) and the Makkala Panchayat (children's village councils linked to the adult Panchayat i.e. local government administration for a cluster of villages). These organisations have undertaken statistical surveys in their villages, working closely with the adult Panchayats to identify community problems and plans to address them and have prepared Working Children's Reports monitoring the Indian government's observation of children's rights and reporting to the UN in Geneva (see CWC documentation, including Acharya, January 2004; Giske, January 2004).

pilot could commence, being further disrupted by school examinations and school holidays.

- Adult facilitators unused to child-centred approaches will need training and/or preparation with respect to child-centred approaches and facilitation methods
- It is important to work with children for whom transport is a major issue. If children do not feel transport is a major issue they will not be committed to the research. (This suggested an off-road focus area as one option for the pilots in Ghana and South Africa since transport tends to be a priority issue in such areas.)
- Significance of one doing research on problems that affect one and in one's own area.

Data quality and representation in child-centred studies

One of the biggest concerns for organisations considering drawing on data and analysis from a child-centred study for purposes such as policy intervention is likely to be the quality of the basic information. Our experience in India, in particular, suggests that (provided there is adequate triangulation) children who are researching children within a well-established advocacy structure, with strong and ongoing facilitation and support from a committed NGO, can produce high-quality data for their home area, at least equivalent to data of the quality that adults would collect, but with the added advantage that children speaking to children are likely to obtain a clearer view of children's perspectives. They are less likely to be patronising (and thus generate skewed data) and less likely to be hoodwinked.

This does not, of course, deny that problems remain around participation and representation, however concerted the efforts made to achieve broad coverage of all interest groups (as they do in adult participatory studies: see, for example, B. Cooke and U.Kothari eds. 2001 *Participation: the new tyranny*? Zed Books, London).

In India CWC had facilitated selection of child participants for training in a process whereby the Bhima Sangha and Makkala Panchayats have played the key role, by developing a set of guidelines for the selection process (for full details see P. Lolichen 2002: *Children and their research: a process document*: *the story of how working children decided to improve the lot of their entire community through a massive survey*, CWC, Bangalore). The criteria used there (Lolichen 2002: 16), were as follows:

- Children with the capacity to absorb information at the workshop and return to their own settlements/centres to share that information with others
- Those brave enough to talk
- Those able to understand the issues
- Those who participate well in activities
- Those able to give time for the training

One specific area where problems could arise in child-centred participatory research studies is where comparative qualitative studies between regions are required, since children, by virtue of their status, and educational and other family concerns, are usually restricted in their travel opportunities and cannot spend long periods visiting areas away from their home base. It is likely, therefore, that any comparative work required between regions would need to incorporate rather more adult input from the facilitating organisation than is needed for purely local studies.

5. SELECTING DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Before we started the research process, we envisaged that our toolkit could incorporate both quantitative and qualitative data collection components but, at the planning stage, did not know what the precise balance of these components would be. Since the project aimed to be exploratory, innovative and highly collaborative in approach, the precise methodology for testing was to be developed by all the collaborators working together during this inception workshop. This very open approach followed a model that a number of the research team members had pursued together previously in an earlier collaboration in the DFID-supported 'Balancing the Load' project on gender issues in rural transport. In that case preliminary workshops had been of crucial importance in the development of appropriate methodologies.

Nonetheless, on the basis of the literature review and our previous Ghana research, two documents outlining potential methods for collecting data were prepared for discussion at the workshop:

- A listing of possible tools for qualitative research with/by children.
- A set of possible survey questions

We agreed at the inception workshop that children would be familiarised with a range of possible qualitative and quantitative methods they could use from the toolkit to collect relevant information. Precise selections would be made locally by the children concerned, in conjunction with their facilitators. In the following sections we first consider qualitative methods and their potential and actual role in the pilots, then quantitative/survey methods.

Whichever individual methods are selected, adequate triangulation is clearly vital to the production of a rounded analysis.

5.1 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH BY CHILDREN

Qualitative research can be used as a stand-alone research tools or in combination with quantitative methods, such as questionnaires and surveys.

The following features and benefits characterise qualitative research approaches:

- Can be used to explore issues in much greater depth than with questionnaires.
- Can be more intuitively appealing and possibly more easily understood by children than surveys.
- Can be used to explore "multiple realities" – ie. issues where there is no one right answer, but where different people have different ideas and perspectives.
- More amenable to participatory research, since research ideas can be generated from the research process, rather than being established from the outset.
- Less high-profile than large-scale surveys, less likely to attract community/authority attention and concern, but appropriate permissions still need to be sought and received.
- Combining different methods (triangulation) can help cover gaps. Eg. questionnaire survey to establish broad patterns and relationships, then

qualitative research to explore in-depth what is happening, and how children understand and perceive their situations.

The following list of qualitative methods for possible use in the study was prepared prior to the inception workshop. These are often combined together in so-called PRAs, i.e. participatory research appraisals. Full descriptions of such methods and suggestions regarding how to apply them can be found in publications such as Pretty, J., I. Guijt, J. Thompson and I. Scoones (1995) *A trainer's guide for participatory learning and action,* IIED, London (a basic 'how-to-do-PRA' guide) and Chambers, R. (2001) *Participatory workshops: a sourcebook of 21 sets of ideas and activities* Earthscan, London. PLA Notes (formerly RRA Notes) published three times p.a. by IIED is another very useful source of short 'how-to-do-PRA' papers and more general reflections.

Following a short description of the positive features of each method, we note its use (or where unused, any specific reasons for rejection) in the field test pilots. In India a large number of methods were tried out by the children and selections made subsequently on the basis of brainstorming sessions between the facilitators and the children. The selected methods were then incorporated in each Panchayat within a broad PRA exercise conducted by the children. In Ghana, where the pilot was much more modest (see above), only three techniques were attempted because of time constraints (observation mapping, focus groups and one-to-one interviews using a checklist). In this case the methods were selected by the facilitators (i.e. simple methods which could be taught relatively quickly and would give a good range of information). In South Africa, similar constraints encouraged the children to adopt precisely the same three methods the Ghanaian children had used.

A Visual Methods

Visual methods can be particularly effective for research with/by children.

- Drawing and representing things visually can be empowering for children who are less articulate / literate, or who are less confident talking in interviews of focus groups.
- Because drawing takes time, it allows children to explore issues and thoughts in greater depth than can sometimes be the case through just talking.
- Many visual methods are intuitively appealing to children (and adults!) and can be great fun to do!

1. Mapping Exercises

- Ask children to make spatial maps that represent, for example:
    - Places they go to on a regular basis (eg. daily, weekly)
    - Places they go to for different purposes
- Can be done as an individual exercise, or by a group of children:
    - As individual exercise, it can be used to explore differences between children (eg. according to gender, age, level of schooling, urban/rural, etc.)
    - As a group exercise, it can be useful way of exploring how ideas of travel and space are contested and negotiated between children.
- The *process* of making the maps is important – how the children negotiate and decide what to represent and how to represent it.

- *Discussion* of the maps is equally important.
    - Why did the children choose to represent certain things / places and not others?
    - Discussion of *differences* between the way children have represented their spaces and travel
- Discussion and additional mapping exercises could then be used to obtain more detail:
    - Reasons for different journeys (eg. domestic work, errands, play, school, health, visit to friends and relatives)
    - What kinds of transport are used for different journeys (walking, cycles, handcarts, donkey, etc.)?
    - Seasonal differences in children's travel (cold season, hot season, rainy season, etc.):
        - Could repeat this exercise in different seasons
        - Or ask children to draw maps for different seasons

Actual use in the pilot

Two methods based on mapping were utilised: observation mapping and flashcard activity mapping. Both were developed at the inception workshop in India and subsequently tried out and refined by groups of children (see separate photo file for pictures[7]).

Observation mapping involved participant child researchers walking along village paths and roads, observing and mapping (utilising a series of symbols) the features they regarded as significant for children's travel along the route. This method (essentially based on transect walks) was adopted in India, Ghana and South Africa and proved a simple but effective mode of obtaining a child's eye view of transport and travel issues: obstructive tree roots, potholes, fences which girls may find difficult to cross in a sari, eery burial grounds etc., many of which would be missed by most adult observers. The Indian children assessed this method as the most difficult of all those they employed, because of the large amount of walking in hot conditions. The Indian survey symbols list developed by the children concerned is shown in Appendix 3. In South Africa, the children who had attended the review workshop in Cape Coast, and seen the results of using that method there, were able to successfully teach the method to their peers at school.

The *flashcard activity mapping exercise* was a stationary activity in which child researchers interviewed individual village children about their travel. This utilised flash cards (illustrated small cards) to record the individual child's travel patterns and problems. Cards were prepared with pictures of a range of local modes of transport, local resources that children access (school, hospital, playground, well/water source etc), possible obstacles along their routeways etc. Child researchers prepared a simple map of their panchayat, then interviewed individual children using the map: the interviewee selected cards to talk about his/her individual journeys and the obstacles they encountered. Thus specific locational information about that child's travel patterns, travel problems etc. was obtained. In total about 60 children's mobility and transport profiles were obtained through this method in India. The child researchers

[7] Photographs illustrating the methods etc. are provided as a separate file to reduce file size and associated potential downloading problems from the website.

said they enjoyed implementing this method because it was like a game, so it generated much interest among their respondents: many children came to watch and wanted to participate. There was some interest in this method among the Ghanaian and South African children when the results were presented by Indian children at the Cape Coast workshop. The Ghanaian children had already completed all their work already, so could not implement the method. The South African children who conducted field work after the Cape Coast workshop discarded the method because of time limitations and the fact that it appeared more complicated than other methods to which they were introduced.

Both mapping exercises were subsequently incorporated into broader village PRAs in the Indian panchayat pilots.

2. Thematic Drawings

- Ask children to make drawings based on particular themes, for example:
    - My way to school
    - Going to the health clinic
    - Going to the market
    - Someone riding a bike
- Purpose: to explore in depth the child's ideas in a non-verbal way.
- Like mapping, can be done:
    - as an individual exercise, with discussion afterwards to compare and contrast drawings
    - as a group exercise, to explore how themes are contested and negotiated between children
- Like mapping, it is not just the finished products that are important, but
    - The *process* of drawing
    - *Discussion* of the drawings: why children chose to represent particular things and not others; the ways in which they were represented, etc.

Actual use in the pilot

Not selected for use in the pilots in any of the three countries. (However, in the work conducted in R7575 we found this a very useful method for eliciting children's perspectives on issues around bicycle use and other Intermediate Means of Transport.)

3. Photo Diaries

- Give children disposable cameras, and ask them to photograph things that are important to them, (regarding mobility, travel and transport), over a period of 24 hours. (It is important to ensure children have considered the issue of which permissions may be needed before taking photographs).
- Then develop the photos, and use them as the basis for individual or group discussions.
- Purpose:
    - to get a snapshot picture of the different ways in which people move and travel around the area
    - to elicit discussion around how different forms of movement / means of transport are perceived.

Actual use in the pilot

The potential for children using disposable cameras was discussed at the inception workshop but it was concluded that this could distract from other methods and would probably not be the crucial tool they represent for external researchers working with children, since researcher children can move freely in their own communities. Moreover, the disposable cameras are relatively expensive and not easily obtainable locally. However, it was agreed that a small experiment in their use might be conducted in the India project, following discussions with the children participating in the project.

The photo experiment subsequently conducted in India took the form of photos by children of the processes their co-researchers were engaged in. Photographs were thus used to discuss the process of research, rather than to explore the findings. (CWC facilitators also used a videocamera to record the children's work and used this as a basis for discussions at the workshop they held at Bangalore at the end of the field trials.)

4. Timelines and Seasonal Calendars

- Time is an important dimension to be explored, since issues of travel and transport may vary over different time periods:
    - Over the course of a day (morning, afternoon, evening)
    - Over longer periods, eg. seasons.
- Timelines can be used to show changes over different time periods, for example:
    - Different journeys made over the course of a typical day
    - Journeys made over the course of a week
- More detail can be built up by including: distance travelled, purpose of journey, means of transport used, time taken, etc. as appropriate
- It can be useful to ask children to do individual timelines on the same piece of paper, to facilitate discussion and comparison.

- For longer time periods, **seasonal calendars** can be useful, since travel and transport issues for children may vary seasonally:
    - Transport infrastructure (road conditions, transport services) may vary seasonally.
    - Children's involvement with farming, herding, or other aspects of domestic production (including seasonal migration) may give rise to seasonal differences in travel and transport.
- Identify, with children, the main seasons. Then ask children to represent, on a diagram, the different kinds of journeys and travel issues associated with the different seasons.

- With both timelines and seasonal calendars, as with other visualisation methods:
    - The *process* and ensuing *discussion* are as important, or more important, than the finished article.
    - These can be done as individual or group exercises.

Actual use in the pilot
Seasonal calendars were used in India to a limited extent during the flashcard mapping and interview/focus group sessions (see below) to establish seasonal differences. They were not selected for use in the very limited Ghana and South Africa pilots. However, in lengthier studies they might well be of value.

5. Sorting and Ranking

- Sorting and ranking can be used to explore hierarchies of preferences and choices, for example:
    - Ranking journeys made according to: level of difficulty, frequency, cost, importance, etc.
    - Ranking means of transport according to: desirability, usefulness, cost, reliability, etc.
- Various ways exist of ranking and sorting, for example:
    - Have cards representing different journey types, means of transport, or whatever. (Cards may be made by the children themselves)
    - Ask a group of children to put the cards in order (of cost, preference, etc.)
- Usually done as a group exercise.
- As with other visualisation exercises, the key thing is not the finished order, but the *process* involved:
    - Is there general agreement about the order, or is it contested?
    - If there are disputes:
        - Do they fall along certain lines (eg. gender, age, etc.)?
        - How are they resolved?
- Ensuing discussion is also critical. What have children got to say about the order chosen and why?

Actual use in the pilot
Sorting and ranking exercises were used in the course of the PRA work in India.

6. Accompanied Walks

- Being in a place can often trigger important thoughts and ideas that may be forgotten in a typical interview setting.
- Take a walk with a child / group of children through their village, town, etc. Or accompany a child on her/his way to school.
- This might also work with other means of transport, such as taking a bus.
- As you travel, let the child talk through how (s)he experiences the journey, and issues relating to the space you are travelling through.

Actual use in the pilot
These formed the basis for some of the observation mapping exercises in Ghana, South Africa and India, when village or local school children accompanied the child researchers. In Ghana children were amazed how much they learned in one hour walking with local children around the study village.

B. <u>Verbal methods: Interviews and Focus Groups</u>

- Verbal methods can be used to explore particular issues in depth.

- They may also be combined with visual methods, particularly within focus groups.
- Like visual methods, interviews can also be done with individuals or with groups:
- Individual interviews are useful for getting detailed information on people's personal experiences and how they think about those. They are less subject to peer pressure or reproducing normative answers, and can provide a useful basis for comparison between individuals.
- Group interviews can be useful for exploring how ideas are contested and negotiated within a group environment. They are also good for getting a rapid picture of a range of issues, which might then be explored in follow-up interviews.

1. Individual Interviews

- Think about who will do the interviewing:
    - Children and/or adults? male and/or female?
- Think about the different kinds of people to interview:
    - Different groups: children, parents, teachers, health-workers, drivers, transport owners/providers, transport unions etc.
    - Exploring differences within those groups, based on: gender, age, rural/urban dwelling, level of schooling, occupation, level of wealth or social standing, etc.
- Each interview needs to be tailored to the individual:
    - An interview schedule, with a list of important themes to cover, is useful (e.g a check list prepared on a small card)
    - Important to be flexible, and to respond to interest and concerns of the respondent
    - Try to avoid leading questions
    - Important to think about where the interviewee is best met, whether the interview needs to be confidential (noone else there). Obtaining privacy for the conduct of individual interviews with children can be difficult.
    - Important to think about interviewer first contact (how approached, through whom, permissions needed, how the interviewer presents his/herself (including dress, clipboard issue etc.)

- **Life history** technique can be useful:
    - Ask the respondent to talk through their past experiences (in relation to space, travel and transport in particular), for example:
    - Health history, in relation to travel and transport
    - Educational history, in relation to travel and transport
    - Migration history
- What other kinds of questions/ themes?

- Need to think about how to record and transcribe interviews:
    - Taking notes or audio tapes?
    - Bear in mind the time and financial costs of transcription (roughly 6-8 hours of typing per one hour of tape.)

- Bear in mind potential intrusiveness of taping. If decide to tape needs careful advance preparation (and spare tape recorder)
- Issues of language and translation

- Analysis of interview data:
  - Coding interviews and pulling out key themes
  - Cross-country comparison

Actual use in the pilot

Individual interviews (in Kannada) conducted by child researchers with village children formed an important component of the study in India, particularly as a component of the flashcard mapping exercise. Interviews with adults and children were also conducted during the broad village PRAs, where a small number of life histories were also obtained. Checklists were developed for the interviews. Interviews were also used as a stand alone tool to collect information.

In Ghana one-to-one interviews (in English) were utilised as a stand-alone technique. It was considered very effective: '*people give you respect'*.

In South Africa the check list questions (in isiXhosa) focused primarily on going to school, including the household tasks children have to complete before they leave home and after they return from school, the frequency and distance of trips that children make, and the impact of children's transport tasks on health and education. The South African children started with questions mainly gleaned from discussions at the Cape Coast workshop, but a preliminary test amongst themselves alerted them to the need to adapt the checklist to local conditions. Nonetheless, the adult facilitators suggest that the interview method worked less well than the focus group discussions (see below) in that the interviews were more limited in number than anticipated. It appears that once the child researchers observed a pattern emerging in the individual interviews, they saw no reason to continue (despite the facilitators' best efforts in emphasising the need to sample a large number of children in order to have a strongly representative picture of village children's views).

All interviews in all three countries were recorded by note-taking, no tape recording was attempted (given the cost, time and potential intrusiveness of the latter).

2. Focus Group Discussions

- A useful method for getting a broad picture of important issues.
- Also, very good for exploring areas of disagreement and contested ideas.
- Important issues regarding focus group formation:
  - How many people? (6-10 is often suggested as a good number)
  - Mixed or homogeneous groups? (e.g. different groups for boys and girls, different ages, etc., or mixed up?)
    - Mixed groups can be useful for exploring differences
    - But power imbalances in mixed groups can mean some people are afraid to speak out
- As with individual interviews, the focus group schedule needs to remain flexible:
  - Start with a list of themes to explore

        - But be ready to respond to interests and views of group members
        - Try to avoid leading questions
- Using visual methods in a focus group can be good (eg. maps, timelines, ranking exercises), allowing lots of possibility for ensuing discussion.
- Recording focus groups is more difficult than recording individual interviews, because there are many people, and they may all be trying to talk at once!
        - It's easier to manage with two people: a facilitator and a recorder, who may combine note-taking with audio recording.
- Transcription, translation, coding and analysis are similar to individual interviews (although may be more complicated because of multiple voices.
- Bear in mind the time and financial costs of transcription (roughly 6-8 hours of typing per one hour of tape.)
- Bear in mind potential intrusiveness of taping. If decide to tape needs careful advance preparation (and spare tape recorder).

Actual use in the pilot
The focus group method was used in all three pilots: all the children seemed to enjoy the prospect of working together in a group and to have obtained much information through this method.

In India two sets of discussions were held in each of the three panchayats, one with working children, one with non-working children. The Indian children reported at the Cape Coast workshop that this technique was the one which (as a stand-alone method) provided them with most information. They reported spending two to three hours on each focus group (again with recording through written notes rather than audio tapes).

In Ghana a mixed focus group (7 boys, 9 girls) was conducted with children from the local school and was considered a successful and enjoyable exercise.

In South Africa separate focus groups of about 45 minutes each were held with (5) boys and (6) girls. The children decided this gender separation would be essential for free discussion. The girl researchers developed the check list for the girls' focus group and the boy researchers for the boys' group. Each group appointed a facilitator, a moderator to monitor the time and direction of the discussions, and a reporter. Adults were excluded from the discussions, on the basis that they would restrain their scope) but two young volunteers at the school (working for Students Partnerships Worldwide) were allowed to observe. A wide range of issues specific to South Africa and local conditions were raised during these discussions which moved from the checklist (which – see Appendix A4.2 - includes some leading questions) -to more diverse but still transport-related topics (i.e. more successful development of local transport-related issues than in the individual interviews). The South African child researchers considered this the most satisfactory and enjoyable of the methods they used in the study. They reported that responses were freer and more meaningful than those obtained through individual interviews.

C. Ethnographic Methods

In addition to the more formal qualitative methods described above, when working in a community, the research will inevitably come across all kinds of extra things pertinent to the research, such as:

- Chance encounters and conversations
- Observations of what people are doing and saying
- Things you read, eg. in a local newspaper

This information can be extremely useful and important. In an interview or focus group, people often present a "sanitised view" of life, or tell you what they think they *ought* to think and do, rather than what actually happens. By watching and listening to what people *actually* do, a different picture may emerge.

It can be useful to keep an **ethnographic diary**, in which you record all of this information – anything you see or hear that is relevant to the research topics in the course of your research.

Actual use in the pilot
The Indian and Ghanaian child researchers kept notebooks recording their individual experiences, but these records do not appear to have been utilised systematically in reaching research conclusions, though they may well have had some influence on the analyses performed.

5.2 QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH BY CHILDREN: SURVEYS AND QUESTIONNAIRES

We undertook provisional work in Durham towards a survey questionnaire in preparation for our discussions at the inception workshop. To be usable for cross-country comparative work (which we initially envisaged), the questionnaire would have to be both locally relevant to each location and comparable across the three focus countries. Despite the difficulties of preparing a provisional list, we felt this was a useful exercise to undertake because surveys can be extremely good for generating comparative statistical data, and for presenting an overview of what is happening.

Quantitative research, based on a questionnaire survey, can provide useful baseline information:

- Descriptive baseline information, presenting a general picture of transport issues relating to children.
- Comparative data, enabling us to compare and contrast:
    - Differences between the three countries
    - Differences *within* each country:
        - Individual differences between children, based on: age, gender, wealth, level of schooling and literacy, occupational status of household (pastoralist, farmer, wage labour, etc), health status, etc.
        - Differences between fieldsites: rural / urban / peri-urban, on-/off-road, etc.
- Basic statistical analysis of comparative data means that we can be confident about the patterns that emerge.

Limitations of questionnaire-based approaches:

- Good at describing *what* happens – less good at finding out *why*, or understanding people's own understandings of their situations. Triangulation with qualitative research methods can help with this.
- Less amenable to genuinely participatory research with/by children, as good survey design requires basic understanding of sampling and statistics. However, it *is* possible to incorporate children's ideas and concerns into a questionnaire.
- Less responsive to new ideas. Once the survey has begun, you can't change the questionnaire. This is in contrast to qualitative research, where the methods are constantly being revised as new questions and ideas emerge over the research process.
- The data generated are only as good as the questionnaire. Rigorous testing and re-testing is essential, to ensure that the questions make sense to the respondents, and can be answered in a meaningful way.

At the inception workshop the collaborators decided that for the study to be truly child-centred, we must focus on letting the children in each pilot decide what they wanted to examine and how they would do it (with adult support), and not aim for

directly comparable surveys. In the event, surveys were only conducted in India: the Ghanaian and South African groups selected other methods of research because of the limited time available for their pilot testing.

Questionnaire Design Issues:

- Questions and categories need to be kept simple and clear. This makes it easier for respondents, and facilitates data entry and analysis.
- The questionnaire has to be kept short and manageable. Every question has to count! This means thinking through carefully in advance exactly what data are required, and what the best questions are to meet those data requirements as succinctly as possible. People don't like spending hours answering a questionnaire, and researchers haven't got hours to spare entering data into a computer that will not yield anything useful!
- Comparability between fieldsites. Any questionnaire needs to provide data that are comparable between fieldsites (within each country and between countries). At the same time, the questions need to make sense within a local context. How can we design a questionnaire that meets both these requirements?
- Language issues: we need to make sure that questions make sense and have the same meanings when translated into local languages.
- Piloting the questionnaire in each fieldsite is essential.
- To maintain cross-country comparability it is necessary to ensure that changes suggested post-pilot in one country are also reviewed and, where appropriate, adopted in the other countries.

Sampling Issues:

- Most statistical procedures are based on the assumption of random sampling. In practice, stratified sampling may be necessary, to ensure we get adequate coverage of all the variation we are interested in (eg. age groups, sex, caste, educational status, rural/urban dwelling, etc.) However, we need to be aware of the implications of purposive sampling for subsequent analysis: if we want to be certain of the information we present, decisions about sampling are important.
- What sample sizes should we aim for?
- How should we sample?
- Which groups should we include in survey? (Children, parents, teachers, health workers, drivers, transport owners, providers, etc.?)

Draft questionnaire for discussion

The draft questionnaire prepared in Durham is presented below. It is aimed at children (or parents on the children's behalf, if the children are very young). It was prepared simply to provide a focus for discussion at the inception workshop in Karnataka. Although this particular questionnaire was not used in any of the country studies, we have included it here, since it may be of use to others preparing a study of child mobility.

Section A: General Information

1. How old are you? (years)
   [Will this be known generally? Is it the way in which people think about age?]

2. Sex of child: F/M

3. Do you live with with your biological parents? (tick one)
   Both biological parents
   Biological mother, but not father
   Biological father, but not mother
   Neither biological parents
   (please state main carer(s) – relationship)
   [Difficulty in definitions of kin, and of household: likely to vary between fieldsites]

4. a) How many older brothers do you have? ____ Do they all live with you? Y/N
   b) How many older sisters do you have? ____ Do they all live with you? Y/N
   [The point of this question is to get birth order, by sex. But there are lots of issues here – meaning of brother and sister, difficulty if fostered, definition of household]

5. Caste *[India. Give options as appropriate]*

6. *Question asking for occupational status of parents (or main adult carers within household)? Categories will have to be locally relevant, but may include:*
   Subsistence agriculture / pastoralism
   Unskilled wage labour
   Skilled manual labour
   White collar / professional…

Probably important to ask for main occupation and secondary occupations, since pluri-activity and seasonal changes in activity is widespread in low income countries

Section B: Spatial Characteristics of Place of Residence

7. Which of the following best describes the place where you live? (tick one)
   Small village
   Large village / small town with local administrative centre

Large town

[Definitions need to be clear and make sense in each location]

8. Which of the following best describes road access to where you live? (tick one)

On a large highway

On a secondary / minor tarmac or good gravelled road

Not on a tarmac or good gravelled road, but within an hour's walk from a tarmac road

Not on a tarmac or good gravelled road, and more than an hour's walk from a tarmac road

Section C: Education and Travel to Schools

8. What level of schooling have you reached so far? (tick one)
   - No formal schooling (Answer Qs 10 and 11, then skip to next section)
   - Some primary schooling, but not (yet) completed primary school
   - Completed primary school, but no secondary education
   - Some secondary schooling, but not (yet) completed secondary school
   - Completed secondary school

9. How far away is the nearest primary school? (tick one)
   - Less than half an hour's walk away
   - Between half and hour and two hours' walk away
   - More than two hours' walk away
   - *[Is travel time the most appropriate way to think about distance, or should we think about physical distance, travel costs, etc.? How to make categories that make sense in each local context, but yield comparable data?]*

10. How far away is the nearest secondary school? (tick one)
   - Less than half an hour's walk away
   - Between half an hour and two hours' walk away
   - More than two hours' walk away

[Here, need to think about what to do if the child doesn't attend the nearest school. It may be necessary to distinguish between state and privately-run schools (an issue we had found in R7575 in Ghana). However, need to consider whether this will over-burden the questionnaire.]

11. Do you attend primary school currently? (tick one)
   - Yes, every day
   - Yes, but not every day
   - No

12. Do you attend secondary school currently? (tick one)
   - Yes, every day
   - Yes, but not every day
   - No

If you don't attend school at all, please skip to the end of this section.

13. Is the primary / secondary school that you attend the nearest one? (tick one)
   - Yes
   - No – please answer questions a and b.

   a) How far away is the school that you attend?
   [categories as appropriate, based on distance, travel time, travel costs etc.]

   b) Why do you not attend the nearest school?

Too expensive
Not a very god school
Other reasons *[categories as appropriate]*

14. How do you usually travel to your school? (tick one)
    Walking, accompanied by an adult
    Walking, not accompanied by an adult
    By dedicated school bus / minibus
    By public bus / minibus
    By bike
    Other (please state _____)
    N/A (don't attend school currently)

15. How much does your journey to school cost?
    Nothing
    Two to three categories of cost, as appropriate to each location
    N/A (don't attend school currently)

16. When you travel to school, do you carry loads as well? (tick one)
    Never
    Rarely
    Often

Section D. Use of and Travel to Health Facilities

16. How far away is the nearest health post / health centre? (tick one)
    Less than half an hour's walk away
    Between half an hour and two hours' walk away
    More than two hours' walk away

17. When is the last time you went to the health centre? (tick one)

In the last month	(skip to Q19)
In the last year, but not in the last month	(skip to Q19)
Over a year ago	(answer Q18, then skip to Q21)
Never	(answer Q18, then skip to Q21)

    [As for education, we may need to think about people attending other health centres, rather than the nearest]

18. If you haven't been to the health centre in the last year, please state the reasons why (tick all that apply)
    Haven't been ill / haven't had any reason to go
    Too difficult / expensive to get there
    Fees to see doctor / costs of medicine too high
    Other reasons (please state)

19. Last time you went to the health centre, how did you travel there?
    Walking, accompanied by an adult

Walking, not accompanied by an adult
By public bus / minibus
By bike
Other (please state _____)

20. How much did your journey to the health centre cost (transport costs only)?
Nothing
Two to three categories of cost, as appropriate to each location

21. How far away is the nearest hospital? (tick one)
Less than half an hour's walk away
Between half an hour and two hours' walk away
More than two hours' walk away

22. When is the last time you went to the hospital? (tick one)
In the last month
In the last year, but not in the last month
Over a year ago
Never been (please skip to Q 24)

23. Last time you went to the hospital, how did you travel there?
Walking, accompanied by an adult
Walking, not accompanied by an adult
By public bus / minibus
By bike
Other (please state _____)

24. How much did your journey to the hospital cost? (transport costs only)?
Nothing
Two to three categories of cost, as appropriate to each location

25. Have you all the vaccinations you are supposed to have had? (tick one)
Yes, all vaccinations up to date (answer Q26 then skip to Q28)
Some vaccinations received, but not all (answer Q26 then skip to Q28)
No vaccinations (skip to Q27)

26. If you have received at least some vaccinations, please state where these were done (tick all that apply)
Local health centre
Other health centre (please state which and where)
Mobile vaccination service
Other (please specify)

27. If you have not received any vaccinations, please state why (tick all that apply)
Didn't want child to be vaccinated
Didn't get round to it
Vaccination centre too far away / difficult to get to
Vaccinations too expensive

Other (please state)

Section E. Other journeys

28. Which of the following journeys do you do regularly, and how often? For each journey type, please tick one box.

Journey Type	Every day	At least once a week	Less often than once a week	Never
Fetching water				
Fetching fuelwood				
Going to market to sell things				
Going to market / shops / stall to buy things				
Going to work in fields				
Herding livestock				
Visits to family/friends				
Church/mosque/temple visit				
Other (state)				

Which of these journey types above usually gives you the heaviest loads to carry?

Who gives you loads to carry? (tick whichever apply)
Mother
Father
Other family member
other (please specify)

Do you get paid for carrying loads? (tick one)
Never
Occasionally
Regularly

Do you suffer regularly from any problems from carrying heavy loads? (tick whichever apply)
Headaches
Neck ache
Trouble because late to school
Other (please state)

29. For each of the journeys that you undertake regularly, please state roughly how much time the journey usually takes (tick one box per journey type):

Journey Type	Less than half and hour	Between half an hour and two hours	More than two hours	N/A
Fetching water				
Fetching fuelwood				
Going to market to sell things				
Going to market / shops / stall to buy things				
Going to work in fields				
Herding livestock				
Visits to family/friends				
Church/mosque/temple visit				
Other (state)				

Are you allowed to travel everywhere on the above list on your own?
If not, on which journeys do you have to be accompanied by an adult or elder sibling?

30. Which means of transport do you use, and how often?

Means of Transport	Every day	At least once a week	Less often than once a week	Never
Walking				
Handcart				
Donkey / other animal				
Bicycle				
Motorbike / Motor scooter				
Private car				
Bus / minibus				
Taxi				
Other (state)				

Add locally appropriate categories / delete categories as apt.

31. Which means of transport are owned by someone in your household (please tick all that apply):

Bicycle
Donkey
Other animal for transport (horse, ox, camel, etc.)
Handcart
Motorbike / Motor scooter
Car

32. Which of those means of transport owned in the household are always available for you to use?
33. Which are rarely or never available for you to use?

Actual use in the pilot

The survey presented above provided possible routes of enquiry. For a truly child-centred approach, children will need to decide what questions are needed in their survey. In India a household survey (in Kannada) drew on some of these questions related to children's mobility and access and was completed in each of the three Indian Panchayats. This is presented in English translation in Appendix A3.5. It was developed by the children in consultation with CWC.

Additionally, a small questionnaire was conducted in conjunction with a **traffic count** in India (i.e. undertaken at the traffic count locations) (see Appendix A3.6). The children dressed up in mock uniforms and caps as traffic policemen and had great fun during this exercise (they also mounted a banner to describe their purpose to passers by). They reported that people responded well because they enjoyed seeing the child interviewers in uniform and this gave them great recognition and pride.

6. THE CHILDREN'S TRAINING AND FACILITATION PROCESS

CWC's experience in child-centred approaches was crucial to the children's training and facilitation process in all three test countries. In India they were able to demonstrate the methods and techniques they use with children to all collaborators at the inception workshop. Two CWC staff subsequently went to Ghana to provide training support for the Cape Coast children's training workshop. CWC also provided advice to the South African collaborators.

Numerous activities (not simply discussion sessions), were used successfully by CWC at the inception workshop in Karnataka. These were used not only to prepare the Indian children for undertaking the research studies but also to sensitise them to the potential children have to take their findings forward and engage with policy makers to do something about their findings. The initial training was conducted over a period of six days. This was followed by further sessions in the field, after the workshop, where additional techniques (i.e. adding to the repertoire of methodologies) were discussed with the children.

A brief outline of the process the collaborators observed CWC implement with children at the inception workshop is given below[8].

Introduction

- Self introductions from everyone
- Ground rules for the meeting: established by the children (with some encouragement from the facilitator) - e.g. respecting others' ideas, sharing ideas openly, talking as individuals rather than as a group, keeping time, recording all work done, etc.
- Letterbox: so children and other participants can post notes with questions, encouragement to others, etc. One child elected each day to empty the postbox and act as postmaster the following morning.
- One child to be elected each day to report the next morning on the previous day's proceedings (i.e. regular recap to reinforce what has been learned/achieved)

Regular activities punctuating the children's training workshop

- Songs and activities linking songs with actions used to start sessions, and to break up sessions when children are flagging[9]
- Daily post box
- Daily recap by child reporter
- Daily anonymous evaluations by children so they can say where they are unclear, need help, don't like the approach.
- Drama/role plays by both facilitators and children to illustrate points

[8] This provides a highly simplified account of the proceedings (as viewed by the overseas participants), but should help give those contemplating a child-centred study some idea of the type of programme implemented.

[9] One of the South African child participants at the Ghana workshop subsequently noted the value of this activity and regretted its more limited use in the South African workshop.

Children's participation and empowerment
(1 day)

- Giving drama to the opening ceremony. Story emphasising the role of great leaders
- Why are you here? What do you want to achieve?
- Recount successes other children have had in getting their voices heard, showing how children come together to promote a cause through using information i.e. information to promote change:
    - collecting information
    - documenting the information
    - analysing the information
    - using the information
- Children as lion cubs with the power and strength to do things
- Think about who takes decisions and how they are able to make decisions- the crucial role information plays in getting and wielding power: talk about different kinds of power.
  i.e. the crucial linkage between information, power and resources.
- South African proverb: Until lions have their own historians, history will be written by the hunters! Information gives courage and strength; coming together in a group of children and being organised gives strength.
- Accurate information as a route to solving problems too. Collecting information together can help us solve our problems.
- There are different perspectives on information: it depends how it is used. Value of people coming together to solve problems.
- Rights and responsibilities of children and adults *in partnership*.
- Representation – what it means, how it takes place. How are children represented? Do they have a mandate?

Thinking about transport
1 day

- Children review the 10th Five Year Plans they had prepared.
- Children think about, discuss, list and present their own transport experiences and problems- [to school, health centres, helping family, carrying loads etc.]
- Consider also how other people's transport problems affect children's lives
- Who is affected by your problem? Only children? Which kinds of children? Adults? Which kinds of adults?
- Group discussions between children living in the same area: common problems for children in the particular location
- Group presentations of local transport issues for different kinds of children and other people – access, routes, use of IMTs, head loading, seasonal variation etc. (disabled, girls, boys, herders, other young working children etc.)
- Thinking about how to select the most important issues to take forward and resolve i.e. importance of prioritisation.

Different methods of collecting and analysing information
1 day

- Problem solving exercise for different age groups, e.g. : the kitchen staff have all had to go away suddenly– we need to know how much food we must purchase from the market for dinner tonight.
  Youngest group- to calculate how much rice will be needed
  Middle group- vegetables
  Oldest group- chicken
- Children are asked to choose their own methods to calculate what will be needed, but also to document what methods they use [facilitators assist groups]. E.g. youngest children find out how much rice each person will need, then count everyone who will eat rice: ie. learn about *asking for information, noting down information (i.e. interview technique)*. Middle group has to deal with diverse vegetable types and quantities, to prepare a list of ingredients and quantities needed. The oldest group had to also calculate cooking fuel needed etc. They prepared a *questionnaire* to obtain the details required; undertook *group discussion with a check list* to review the fuel issue, drew on *reading secondary information* (cookbooks) to check cooking time and drew on *own experience* of cooking at home. i.e. the exercise *introduces 4 basic methods*: individual interview, own experience/observation, group discussion, secondary information collection. On the basis of the information collected they drew their conclusions, utilising simple calculations.
- Children report back from groups
- Use this exercise they have just completed to review how it is necessary to go to different people because they provide different types of information.
- Then discussion with children about how the four methods selected might be applied to various transport problems

Maps as a way of presenting information

1 day

- Children shown large outline map of a small village (boundary, river, roads). What is it? Can you identify anything on the map? What do the symbols show?
- Second overlay map with village resources indicated (trees, paddy fields, water points etc.) presented and discussed.
- Ways of using the map to show information about transport issues in the children's own villages discussed
- Prepare for field exercise with facilitators– one observation group (youngest), one discussion group (intermediate ages), one flashcard mapping group (eldest).
  - Observation group talks about what to look out for regarding transport issues along a route. They prepare a long roll of paper on which they will draw the things they see as they walk along the route.
  - Discussion group prepares a checklist of information they might be able to obtain from children they meet along the route or walk with along the route, and then add to the observation group's route map. They agree to ask: what problems do you face in walking/travelling along this route?
  - Flashcard mapping group makes a list of things they can easily put on a map and make cards for different resources, services, transport modes, transport obstacles (hill, river etc.). Colour code cards for

each set (one colour for resources, one for transport mode etc.) They will interview individual children about their travel and transport experiences and problems.
    - Discuss who will do what within each group; how to share jobs out.
- Preliminary field exercise to test two mapping methods and refine them with adult facilitators
- Analysis of maps produced
- Presentation of results by each group
- Discussion of results

Preparation for field test

½ day

- Role play around requesting and conducting an interview by facilitators: positive role play; negative role play and discussion
- Thinking about selection of individual interviewees (age, sex, school/non-school, able bodied/disabled etc.)
- Thinking about composition of focus groups (which age groups? single or mixed sex?)
- Thinking about how to approach potential interviewees
- Presenting to informants what you intend to do with the information
- Importance of verbatim reporting
- Giving prior information of study to village administration etc.
- General conduct: showing respect, being truthful, being clear, recording refusals, thought re asking sensitive questions
- Children's groups prepare and conduct role plays

Village field test

1day

- Children taken out to one of their Panchayat villages to practice some of the techniques they have learnt with facilitators:
    - youngest group does observation mapping;
    - intermediate group does focus group with village children: they have to decide first on the range of children they wish to get together to participate in the group (i.e. how much diversity)
    - eldest group does flashcard mapping with individual village children: they have to decide first on the range of children they will need to interview e.g. able bodied, disabled, school children, working children etc.
    - each group analyses its findings and draws conclusions
    - the purpose of the exercise is to learn the techniques and to test the workability of the method and tool.

Report back from village field test

½ day

- 3 groups present their findings, experiences (e.g. adults who want to know what they are doing and answer for children etc.)
- review of problems and successes

- children suggested specific changes to the tool they were using and finalised the tools.
- preparation of village profile, discussion and review
- emphasis on crucial importance of documentation
- discussion/learning of communication and advocacy techniques (½ day)

N.B. Observation of the field test showed how effective the child researchers were in approaching, building rapport and interacting with their child respondents, using games and songs at various points to keep them interested, and carefully documenting their findings.

After children return to their villages

- **I**dentifying more children for the Research
- Publicising the study in the community and campaigning for support
- Further methods and data analysis training by facilitators, phased so that children don't have too much to do at once and can see why they are doing the next stage.
    - PRA training, including ranking and sorting
    - Survey training, including sampling issues
    - Traffic count training

●Training from facilitators regarding representation issues: the importance of representation of different interest groups; how to bring different children into the decision making process; selecting representatives; the importance of children thinking through the criteria needed for particular jobs and finding the children best able to do those tasks (i.e. so that when children want to do everything, they realise there are some things they can participate in more effectively than others).

●Consolidation of the findings

●Review workshop to examine and discuss results and consider how to take the issues forward i.e. advocacy: for each problem the children make a list of possible solutions, a list of people whom they may need to meet with who can help resolve each problem; a list of possible methods which may be needed to resolve each problem.

●Preparation of materials for presentation of the issues to stakeholders:

- Posters
- Role play etc.

7. SELECTING RESEARCH SITES FOR THE TOOLKIT COUNTRY TEST STUDIES

Ideally, the toolkit testing needs to take place in diverse contexts:

- Remote rural, more accessible rural, peri-urban and urban
- Different agro-ecological zones
- Different cultural contexts
- Different socio-economic contexts
- Different institutional contexts

Actual application in the pilot

In our preliminary pilot the selection of test sites in each country was made by each country collaborator, in consultation with the local Consultative Group. Limitations of time and resources meant that it was only possible to test the toolkit in one type of location in coastal Ghana (peri-urban) and one location in South Africa (remote rural). In India, CWC's experiences, organisational structure and team of facilitators enabled them to make a much broader review in three Panchayats with differing conditions (remote rural, accessible rural, peri-urban). Further testing in all three countries will be necessary to ensure coverage of the diverse contexts listed above. Adaptation of the toolkit to urban conditions and for research by non-literate children needs particular attention.

8. THE RESEARCH PROCESS IN THE THREE PILOT STUDIES

India

Facilitated by CWC field staff, the children who had participated in the workshop continued to collect information about children's transport problems in the three study panchayats (one remote rural, one rural, one peri-urban) using the same and additional methods. Details of the research sites are provided in appendix A3.3.

The initial methods employed during the inception workshop were extended to new areas within the three Panchayats and to new respondents:

- individual interview
- observation through route transects and other means
- accessibility mapping using flash cards with individual children of different categories (i.e. according to age, sex, working/non-working and other characteristics
- focus groups with different categories (age, disabled, working and non-working children etc.)
- secondary information collection

The children then triangulated the information obtained from these methods with data collected using other methodologies, introduced following subsequent discussions between CWC and the children:

- a broad village PRA mapping of routes, schools, markets, water points, etc. and associated discussion with children and adults
- ranking exercises
- a traffic count/weighing exercise and an associated questionnaire survey (undertaken at the traffic count locations)

The number of children involved in developing the India testing phase increased substantially from those involved in the pilot, since other children wanted to join the project. They were supported by CWC field staff so that they could join the project. In total, 144 children were involved in the Indian field testing phase, which extended over a full 4-month period.

To conclude the field testing programme, CWC held a 4-day workshop at their headquarters in Bangalore City where the group work was consolidated into one report and role plays were conducted regarding how the communities reacted etc.

Ghana

Field testing in Ghana was far more limited in scope than in India, in terms of numbers of children involved as researchers and participants, methods tested, types of field test location, and period over which field testing extended. Professor Abane had to start his field test of the child-centred approach from scratch, in that the concept of children researching children's issues is uncommon in Ghana and no NGO working directly with children in ways comparable to CWC's approach exists there. Fortunately, however, Professor Abane and his three colleagues at the University of Cape Coast Geography Department who also participated in the study all had substantial experience of working with children since all had trained initially as teachers (Cape Coast University began life as a teachers training institution.) A two-man team from CWC was able to travel to Ghana for the Ghana field pilot to train the

children and adults and facilitate the process (though this had not been part of our original project plan).

Professor Abane made the decision to limit the Ghana field test to a small number of local school children, because of the novelty of the approach they were attempting, and limitations of time and funds. This accorded with our conclusions at the inception workshop that small pilots with 10-15 children per site working on their own local transport/access issues would probably be the most that would be feasible in Ghana and South Africa.

A large number of schools in the Cape Coast area were contacted and permission finally obtained from five schools for children to participate. Twelve children (seven boys and five girls) were selected (a mix of self-selection and school selection) and took part in the six-day training meeting/field testing. The children undertook an induction training, and then conducted their field testing in one site. The test site was the peri-urban settlement of Bremen Esikuma, located on a paved road close to the Central Region's capital, Cape Coast. The test site is situated within the coastal savanna zone in a region characterised by subsistence (crop) farming, fishing and petty trade.

In the Ghana field test it was only possible for the children to try out three of methods:

- focus group discussion
- interviews
- observation mapping

This was limitation occurred because of time constraints on both children and staff (school examinations, teaching commitments, Ghana government elections which meant project preparations could not start till January 2005 etc.). The three methods were introduced, discussed, and finalised with the child participants: they found these methods easy and comfortable.

South Africa

The field test in South Africa[10] took place in the Eastern Cape Province, where Mr Mashiri had long-standing contacts. The test was conducted in a small, relatively remote, rural settlement located on an all-weather gravel road about 12 kms from the nearest health centre and 30 kms from Port St John's town, Eastern Cape. The region is characterised by high levels of unemployment and underemployment, male outmigration, and a consequent preponderance of children and youths under the age of 18. Many children live in households run by single parents or grandparents (with numbers exacerbated by the impact of HIV/Aids). The economy is principally dependent on subsistence farming (crops and animals) and fishing. All the children who participated in the field test came from one school.

As in the Ghana study, this field test was restricted by the novelty of the approach (at least in a transport context[11]), and limitations of time and funds. Thirteen children

[10] The field testing in South Africa was delayed by problems associated with difficulties encountered in setting up the study. Consequently, the children's research had to be conducted after the Cape Coast review workshop.

[11] Child participation programmes are not entirely new in South Africa. The South African Human Rights Commission's Child Participation Programme, funded by UNICEF, is at the centre of a number

were involved in preliminary field studies, and seven children in the three-day workshop which followed. The study was facilitated by the school's headmaster, Mr Zuzekile Duna (listed as one of the adult contributors to this study), who had attended the Ghana workshop to translate for the South African children) and CSIR Transportek staff.

Children were introduced to a number of possible research methods and made their own selection:

- observation mapping
- interviews with check list
- focus group discussions (girls and boys separately)

Given the small number of methods attempted, triangulation was limited. The adult collaborators in South Africa noted some discrepancy between data collected by different methods (for instance, regarding weights carried) and have suggested that further triangulation could be instructive, including the addition of other methods (such as the traffic count and weighing exercise conducted in India) and comparing the results the child researchers obtained with data collected by adults, using the same and different methods.

PLEASE SEE VOLUMES TWO AND THREE FOR APPENDICES WITH DETAILED EXAMPLES AND PHOTO ILLUSTRATION

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of efforts to actively involve children (for instance the South African Law Commission which involved children in reviewing legislation affecting children in South Africa).