

Drivers of Child Labour in Timor-Leste



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List of acronyms used in the report

BdM	Bolsa da Mãe
CEPAD	Centre of Study for Peace and Development
COVID	Corona Virus Disease
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IGT	Inspetór Geral do Trabailu (General Labour Inspectorate)
ILO	International Labour Organization
KNTI	Komisaun Nasionál Trabailu Infantil (National Commission Against Child Labour)
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
NCLS	National Child Labour Survey
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PSA	Public Service Announcement
RAEOA	Special Administrative Region of Oé-Cusse Ambeno
RDTL	República Demokratica de Timor-Leste (Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste)
SEFOPE	Secretary of State of Employment Policy and Vocational Training
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

Executive summary

'My daughter, who washes people's clothes, sometimes gets dizzy, her shoulders ache, but she forces herself until all the clothes have been washed.'

(Parent participant, Covalima, focus group discussion)

In Timor-Leste, 67,688 children aged 5 to 17 years, or 16% of this age group, are engaged in some form of economic activity, according to the 2016 National Child Labour Survey. Of these, 52,651 children are classified as engaging in child labour. The prevalence of child labour differs by age: it affects 10% of children aged 5 to 12 years, 21% of 13- to 14-year-olds, and 14% of 15- to 17-year-olds.

Among children in child labour, 29,195 children engage in hazardous work. Hazardous work is particularly detrimental to children's mental and physical health, and to their education. It includes field crop and vegetable growers, housekeeping, hospitality and retail workers. In addition, a small number of children are engaged in fishing and in extractive industries, which are notoriously hazardous. The survey also showed that 42% of children in hazardous work perform their working activities during a night shift.

While quantitative data on child labour, including its worst forms, is collected at regular intervals in Timor-Leste, qualitative information is less available. Yet, a deep understanding of the situation will be needed to inform the implementation of the National Action Plan to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour, which is awaiting adopting by the Government of Timor-Leste.

The Secretary of State of Employment Policy and Vocational Training (SEFOPE), the Ministry of Finance (General Directorate of Statistics), the National Commission against Child Labour (CNTI) and the Office of the General Labour Inspectorate have thus resolved to carry out qualitative research on child labour, with support from ILO and UNICEF. The research was conducted independently by The Centre of Studies for Peace and Development (CEPAD), with support from members of the Steering Committee, which consist of the above-named institutions and organizations, over a period of six months, to examine the various factors that contribute to or prevent child labour.

This qualitative research was conducted in six municipalities which include Lautem, Covalima, Ermera, Liquiça, Dili and RAEOA. Various data collection techniques such as focus group discussion (FGD) and key informant interviews were used to construct a picture of the situation. 157 parents and caregivers (114 women, 43 men) participated in FDGs, and 68 children (28 girls, 40 boys) and 30 key informants (5 women, 26 men) were interviewed. CEPAD ensured that parents, caregivers, children and key informants were able to express their opinions freely and comfortably.

The research found that parents and caregivers see child labour as a positive social norm and a means for children to gain experience and learn skills while children see child labour as a family obligation. Social norms handed down by older generations were found to be a significant factor in perpetuating child labour. Although parents and caregivers notice the immediate negative effects of child labour on their children's health, they often do not see the long-term consequences for children's holistic development.

In view of the work given to girls to do in their home, which is seen by the parents as normal, and given that girls may also be tasked with hazardous work which required them to sell food on the street until midnight and wash other people's clothes for long hours, it appears that there is a double burden on girls.

Most of the key informants feel powerless to intervene as the child labour is seen as a family issue which is driven by household economic needs, even though they understand its negative impact and recognize their responsibility to prevent the child labour.

The findings also confirmed the association between poverty and child labour. Negative economic shocks in the household often trigger children to engage in child labour to support the family. Limited access to employment opportunities is another challenge faced by adults in households. While the COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated the poverty situation in households, it was also an opportunity for children to stop working and play with friends instead.

Social assistance was found to be insufficient in terms of accessibility as well as monetary value to prevent and stop child labour. Eligible households found it difficult to register for Bolsa da Mãe, a cash transfer programme that targets children in vulnerable families, due to the costs of obtaining the necessary documents. Cash received through the programme was too low to prevent or stop child labour, as a working child could earn more than the Bolsa da Mãe benefits.

This research has put forward the following recommendations to decision-makers and other key stakeholders:

- Prioritize the most vulnerable, in efforts to combat child labour, by focusing on children engaged in the worst forms of child labour
- Adopt the National Action Plan against the Worst Forms of Child Labour and list of hazardous work
- Expand cash transfers (with adequate payment amounts) to all children to address child poverty
- Make public schools completely free, removing all costs of education to families (teacher honorarium, uniform, school supplies, etc.)

- Raise awareness among parents and employers about the negative consequences of the worst forms of child labour
- Design employment and credit schemes for adults, particularly in areas with high rates of child labour.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background and context

According to the 2015 Timor-Leste General Population Census data, there were 421,655 children aged 5 to 17 years in Timor-Leste that year, and almost four in every five children (78.7%) lived in rural areas. The report of the 2016 National Child Labour Survey (NCLS) in Timor-Leste showed that 67,688 children aged 5 to 17 years, or 16.1% of this age group, are engaged in some form of economic activities, either as employee, self-employed, or unpaid family worker, with a higher proportion for girls (16.5%) compared to boys (15.5%). Of these, 52,651 children are classified as engaging in child labour. All persons aged 5 to 17 years who were engaged in one or more of the following types of economic activities are considered to be a victim of child labour: worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work; designated hazardous occupations and industries, also called hazardous work; any child aged 13 to 15 engaged in work other than light work; and any child aged 5 to 12 engaged in any type of work. (See section 1.3 for detailed definition)

The prevalence of child labour differs by age. It affects 10% of children aged 5 to 12, 21% of 13- to 14-years-olds, and 14% of 15- to 17-years-olds. Among the 67,688 children engaged in child labour, 29,195 children (43%) engage in hazardous work, which is particularly detrimental to children's mental and physical health, and education. It includes farming, housekeeping, hospitality services, and retail sales. In addition, a small number of children are engaged in fishing and in extractive industries, which are notoriously hazardous. The survey also showed that 42% of children in hazardous work perform their working activities during a night shift.

The prevalence of child labour also varies by municipality. Aileu has the highest proportion of child labour (37%), followed by Ermera (28%) and Lautem (24%). When looking at absolute numbers of children, Ermera has the highest number of children in child labour (12,729), followed by Dili (9,993). Children in rural areas are almost four times more likely to be engaged in economic activities than their peers in urban areas (19% compared to 5.5%)¹. The NCLS found that the main reasons for children to work in Timor-Leste is to "supplement family income"

¹ See https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---ipec/documents/publication/wcms_719346.pdf
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(58.4%) and to “learn skills” (28.5%).² However, there was no in-depth qualitative research or study on the drivers or contributing factors for child labour in the country.

The Government of Timor-Leste has made a range of domestic and international commitments relating to the protection of children. Some of the most significant include the ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), and its optional protocols on the sale of children, child prostitution, child pornography, and involvement of children in armed conflict; and ILO Convention No 182, 1999, on the Worst Forms of Child Labour.

In addition to the UNCRC and ILO Conventions, the Government of Timor-Leste has established relevant national laws, policies and regulations related to child labour. The most relevant provisions are in the Constitution of Timor-Leste, Labour Code, Penal Code, the Immigration and Asylum Act and Education System Framework Law. Important policies include the Timor-Leste Strategic Development Plan (2011–2030) which commits to eradicate the worst forms of Child Labour in Timor-Leste by 2025, and all forms of child labour by 2030. A National Action Plan against the Worst Forms of Child Labour was finalized in 2020, but has not yet been approved by the Council of Ministers.

Timor-Leste has also established mechanisms to coordinate its efforts to address child labour and its worst forms. The main coordinating bodies are: the National Commission Against Child Labour (CNTI) which aims to implement and monitor the ILO Convention No. 182 concerning the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour³, chaired by the Secretary of State for Vocational Training and Employment (SEFOPE) with members from relevant government ministries; the Timor-Leste Trade Union Confederations and NGO Forum Tau Matan which facilitate information sharing on child labour issues and address the worst forms of child labour; Inter-Agency Trafficking Working Group chaired by the Ministry of Justice to coordinate the Government’s anti-trafficking efforts; and the National Commission for Children’s Rights under the Ministry of Social Solidarity and Inclusion (MSSI), which became the Institute for the Defense of Children’s Rights (INDDICA) in December 2021.

1.2 Research objectives

The research aimed to provide a finer understanding of the drivers of child labour in Timor-Leste, to support the Government and other development partners in eliminating the worst forms of child labour, including identifying the various factors that contribute to or prevent child labour.

In particular, the research focused on the following questions:

² National Child Labour Survey 2016: Analytical Report Timor-Leste

³ See: https://www.ilo.org/jakarta/whatwedo/eventsandmeetings/WCMS_514115/lang--en/index.htm

1. What is the link between poverty (monetary poverty, i.e. wealth and multidimensional poverty, i.e. access to services) and child labour?
2. To what extent do existing social assistance mechanisms, including the Bolsa da Mãe cash transfer programme, help prevent child labour?
3. What factors other than wealth and access to services contribute to child labour, and to what extent?

To achieve the research objectives, the research questions were expanded as follows, to guide the design and implementation of the study.

Research questions
Area of inquiry 1: Knowledge and understanding about child labour
Parents and caregivers' understanding of child labour including their attitudes and beliefs towards child labour
Activities considered as child labour in community; types of work considered to be good or bad for children; positive and negative impact of child labour on boys and girls in terms of education and health
Children's contributions to households; differences and similarities between boys' and girls' work
Children's outside-of-household economic activities
Area of Inquiry 2: The link between poverty (monetary poverty, i.e. wealth and multidimensional poverty, i.e. access to services) and child labour
Main socio-economic groups in the community and their livelihood characteristics; causes and effects of poverty; access to services and opportunities and networks
Community poverty profile, including income streams, livelihood strategies, expenditures and assets, socio-economic characteristics (e.g. credit, health status, schooling, household conditions), gender, and labour markets
Household members' employment status both in wage and in-kind employment; decision-making regarding household members' engagement in wage employment
Main causes/drivers of children in poor families to engage or not to engage in wage employment
Area of Inquiry 3: The extent to which existing social assistance mechanisms, including the Bolsa da Mãe cash transfer programme, help prevent child labour
Types of social assistance mechanisms available – formal and informal – in the community; number of social assistance programmes accessed by households (members); barriers to access social assistance programmes and enabling factors; different barriers faced by households; community's perception
Changes in child labour practices due to the social assistance programmes; people's views of the changes
Area of Inquiry 4: The extent to which factors other than wealth and access to services contribute to child labour
Other factors (such as cultural and gender norms) that have changed child labour practices in the community
Any changes in child labour practices in the community due to other identified factors

Research questions

The extent to which COVID-19 and related school closure affected broader household wellbeing and child labour

1.3 Child labour working definitions

The key terms and main concepts that are used in this research are defined in the table below.

Key term or concept	Definition for the research
Child	<p>For this research, child is defined according to the age identified and defined by the UNCRC and the ILO Convention 182, ratified and signed by Timor-Leste. Thus 'child' is anyone under the age of 18 years.</p> <p>It is important to note that Timor-Leste Labour Code defined 'a young person' as a person whose age is less than 17, showing inconsistency with international standards.</p>
Child Labour	<p>For this research, the ILO definition on child labour⁴ is adopted. Child labour refers to work performed by a child (any person under 18) that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development and/or interferes with their schooling by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Depriving them of the opportunity to attend school• Obliging them to leave school prematurely• Requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work. <p>Child labour is defined as all children aged 5 to 17 years who are engaged in one or more of the following types of economic activities:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">a) Worst forms of child labour (WFCL) other than hazardous workb) Designated hazardous occupations and industries, also called hazardous workc) Any child aged 13 to 15 years engaged in work other than light workd) Any child aged 5 to 12 years engaged in any type of work.
Economic activities/Work/Employment	<p>Work/Employment can be simply understood as persons who have a paid job or who are engaged in instances of being employed for pay, profit or family gain.</p>

⁴ https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---ipec/documents/publication/wcms_719346.pdf

	<p>Given the focus of the research (identifying the drivers of child labour), the following categories of ‘work/employment’ are considered:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paid work outside the household (formal or informal, e.g. daily wage labourers) • Work for the household farm (paid or unpaid) • Work for the household non-farm business (paid or unpaid). <p>As in the NCLS survey 2016, the terms ‘work’, ‘economic activities’ and ‘employed’ are used interchangeably throughout this research.</p>
Domestic Work	<p>Tasks or domestic chores performed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Household chores (within the household) • Domestic work outside the household such as washing dishes and clothes, water fetching for another household.
Light Work	<p>For this research, light work is defined as per Article 69 of the Timor-Leste Labour Code, which describes ‘light work’ as an activity characterized by simple and defined tasks and the performance of which only require elementary knowledge, not involving physical and mental efforts that are likely to jeopardise the health and development of the minor and his or her studies or participation in professional training programmes approved by the Government.</p> <p>The following are examples of light work:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) work less than 5 hours per day and 25 hours per week b) work that implies a weekly rest at least two days c) work that implies a consecutive duration not exceeding 3 hours without being interrupted for a break of not less than 1 hour. <p>Night work is not considered light work.</p> <p>The ILO Convention No. 138 specifies the minimum age for different types of work, as follows: 13 years of age for light work; 15 years of age for regular work; 18 years of age for hazardous work⁵.</p>
Hazardous Child Labour	<p>In line with ILO definitions, hazardous work is defined as working long hours and in hazardous conditions including night work.</p>

⁵ https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---ipec/documents/publication/wcms_719346.pdf

	<p>Children engaged in hazardous work include all persons aged 5 to 17 years who are engaged in one or more of the following categories of activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Working long hours (45 hours per week or more) b) Working in hazardous conditions: carrying heavy loads, operating machinery / heavy equipment or working in an unhealthy environment (such as hazard exposures or working with dangerous tools) c) Night work (between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m.)
<p>Working age</p>	<p>In accordance with article 68 Timor-Leste Labour code, all persons in Timor-Leste who are at least 15 years old may be employed on a fulltime basis, that is, up to 44 hours per week. Minors between 13 and 15 years of age may undertake light works in legally recognised professional, technical, or artistic training programmes.</p>

2. Methodology

2.1 Desk research and consultations

Document-based research has been undertaken to conduct a situational analysis around the key themes of child labour, relevant laws and policies in Timor-Leste and other reports regarding child labour in Timor-Leste.

Additionally, secondary data collection to confirm any statistical data, particularly the National Child Labour Survey 2016, was conducted at the national level in the form of meetings with key government officials from the General Directorate of Statistics under the Ministry of Finance and SEFOPE, which complemented the document-based research. Valuable information was also gathered from the team's participation in national workshops on relevant issues organized by university academics. The information gathered is mainly presented in the background section.

2.2 Selection of research locations

Data collection for this research was conducted in six selected locations. The steering committee, which consisted of the Secretary of State of Employment Policy and Vocational Training (SEFOPE), the Ministry of Finance (General Directorate of Statistics), the National Commission against Child Labour (CNTI), the Office of the General Labour Inspectorate, ILO and UNICEF, selected the locations to represent urban, semi-urban and rural communities with differing economic and socio-cultural environments and based on existing child labour practices. The six selected locations are: Covalima, Lautem, Liquiça, Ermera, RAEOA and Dili.

Covalima	Covalima is a large municipality, located far from the capital Dili, which shares a border with Indonesia. Suai, the capital of the municipality is a semi-rural area; however, some parts of Covalima are classified as rural. The population of Suai make their living from agriculture, including corn, soybean/peanuts and watermelon, as well as being involved in the fishing industry. Covalima has adopted a matrilineal culture where women have the main inheritance rights to land from their parents. According to the 2015 Census, Covalima has the lowest rate of children registered for birth certificates.
Lautem	Lautem is a municipality with a semi-rural area located in the eastern part of the country, far from the capital Dili. <i>Hafolin feto</i> (similar to the concept of a bride-price) is practiced. According to the 2015 Census, Lautem is more modernized compared to other municipalities. Lautem has a high potential for agriculture and tourism.
Liquiça	Liquiça is a semi-urban municipality, close to the capital Dili. According to the 2015 Census, Liquiça has the best education infrastructure compared to

	<p>other municipalities and sufficient numbers of teachers. It has a high level of craft productions, a range of cooperatives, and high potential for tourism. Many children work collecting waste in government waste disposals. According to the Timor-Leste Demographic Health Survey 2009-2010, the municipality has the second highest rate of child mortality in the country.</p>
Ermera	<p>The municipality of Ermera, has the second largest population in the country, the majority of whom make their living from agriculture (65%), working in the coffee industry. Ermera is also the municipality with the highest birth rate in Timor-Leste. According to the 2015 Census, Ermera has the second highest rate of poverty in the country. Ermera culture promotes <i>fetosan umane</i> (marriage practices between totemic clans). It is the municipality with the highest rate of child labour in agricultural and domestic life. According to the Timor-Leste Food and Nutrition Survey 2020, Ermera has high rates of child malnutrition and child mortality.</p>
RAEOA	<p>RAEOA is a semi-urban area, an enclave situated within Indonesian West Timor and furthest from the capital of the country. According to the 2015 household Census, RAEOA is a region with a high rate of poverty, high stunting rates, and the lowest rates of health facility visits. RAEOA is also a region with a high rate of involvement of children in child labour, with children from RAEOA engaging in child labour in both RAEOA and Dili. They are mainly engaged in domestic labour, selling goods and as construction labourers.</p>
Dili	<p>Dili is the capital of the country and represents an urban area with a multicultural community. In the city it is easy to access information, health and education and other services from all sectors. Dili is also the economic centre for all citizens from the other municipalities, including for those seeking work, including children.</p>

2.3 Selection of research participants

Participants in the six locations were selected via purposive sampling and according to CEPAD's selection criteria which were adapted in line with the stated research objectives.

2.3.1 Participatory action research

The methodology used for this research was participatory action research (PAR). This method has been used by CEPAD since 2007 as a key tool for data collection. It aims to engage Timorese citizens in research processes which allow them to identify problems, design solutions and actively participate in the development of outcomes. The PAR approach complements the

traditional Timorese process of *nahe biti bot* and *sorumutu* (the laying down of the woven mat to meet together) which brings citizens together to discuss issues on common ground.

Table 1: Planned number of participants in the FGDs and interviewees in each municipality

Municipality	FGDs						Interviews					
	Parents			Caregivers			Key informant			Children (aged 5 to 17)		
	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Local authorities, labour inspectors etc.	Employers	Total	F	M	
Ermera	15	8	7	10	5	5	5	3	10	5	5	
Liquiça	15	8	7	10	5	5	5	3	10	5	5	
Lautem	15	8	7	10	5	5	5	3	10	5	5	
Covalima	15	8	7	10	5	5	5	3	10	5	5	
RAEOA	15	8	7	10	5	5	5	3	10	5	5	
Dili	20	10	10	20	10	10	10	5	15	8	7	
Total	95	50	45	70	35	35	35	20	65	33	3	
	165						120					

Table 2: Actual number of participants in the FGDs and interviewees in each municipality

Municipality	FGDs						Interviews					
	Parents			Caregivers			Key informant			Children (aged 5 to 17)		
	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M
Ermera	14	12	2	12	4	8	5		5	10	5	5
Liquiça	15	12	3	7	3	4	5	2	3	10	3	7
Lautem	14	11	3	9	6	3	6		6	10	4	6
Covalima	14	12	2	9	8	1	5		5	10	6	4
RAEOA	15	11	4	10	8	2	5	1	4	10	5	5
Dili	19	16	3	19	11	8	4	1	3	18	5	13
Total	91	74	17	66	40	26	30	4	26	68	28	40
	157						98					

2.3.2 Focus group discussions (FGD)

A total of 12 FGDs with parents and caregivers (who are other than biological parents, such as grandparents, uncles, aunts, and foster parents) were held in the six municipalities during February and March 2022 and facilitated by the CEPAD main researchers. FGD participant categories included poor households in rural areas,



FGD in Covalima, 2022

beneficiaries of the Bolsa da Mãe cash transfer programme, widows, working and non-working children's parents and caregivers. The FGD sample for parents and caregivers in each municipality involved 15 or less parents and 10 or less caregivers with a special case in Dili where 19 parents and 19 caregivers were selected based on the unique characteristic of the capital as the centre for economic activity. A total of 157 persons took part in the FGDs, with the majority being mothers (114 females, 43 males). Of these, 138 participants cared for children in child labour and 19 participants cared for children not in child labour.

The FGD questions were pre-tested in Dili and reviewed by members of the steering committee prior to field visits (see annex 1). Parents and caregivers were divided into sub-groups (8-9 participants/group) according to their gender and to their children's labour status (working or not working). Facilitators asked questions during the small group discussions to encourage insight and analysis and, as much as possible, guided the discussion to focus on parents and caregivers' own views and experiences, situations of their children, and topics related to their decisions and to make them feel safe to allow their children to be interviewed.

Results were captured on flip charts, and through discussions, important factors and perspectives were drawn out.

While CEPAD had originally intended to include parents who had stopped involving their children in child labour, the research team had difficulty identifying such individuals, and therefore the team drew on the general experiences of parents. Furthermore, while gender balance was sought in all discussions and interviews, it was difficult to acquire participation from the children's fathers because they were working elsewhere outside the home.

2.3.3 Children interviews

Through FGDs with the parents and the caregivers, facilitators identified children to be interviewed to compile their experiences in short case studies. Consent was obtained from parents/caregivers and children before interviewing children. Children aged 5 to 17 years, who were participating in hazardous work as well as worst forms of child labour in agriculture, selling goods, working in cafes, collecting rubbish and other heavy work, were identified in each of the



Interview with a child, Lautem, 2022

six municipalities. A total of 68 children were interviewed (28 girls, 40 boys): 24 children were aged 5 to 12 years; and 44 children were aged 13 to 17 years. Of the 68 children interviewed, 4 were not engaged in child labour.

Time limitations prevented the team from conducting more interviews, particularly as many children had travelled some distance to attend the interview and needed to return home. Aware of these limitations, researchers carefully selected children to interview in more depth.

This research did not encounter any children working and being homeless. The children who participated in this research are those selling goods on the roadside who return home when they have sold everything. Some live with parents, widowed mothers, or with caregivers such as grandparents, aunts and uncles, or older siblings. The children have someone caring for them at home. Therefore we focused on understanding the determining factors and decisions made by caregivers to request children to work at a young age.

2.3.4 Key informant interviews

30 semi-structured key informant interviews were held with key informants (5 women and 25 men). The low participation of women was due to the under-representation of women at decision-making levels in key institutions and local authorities. The key informant interviews were conducted during February and March 2022. Key informants included 9 local authorities, 6 directors from the Ministry of Social Solidarity and Inclusion (MSSI) both at national and

municipal level, 4 labour inspectors, 6 teachers, 2 civil society organizations, 2 members of the church, and 1 employer from the formal sector.

Interviews were carried out according to flexible interview questions (see annex 2) which allowed interviewees significant control over the substance of the interview. The interviews guided researchers to develop a profile of the local community to complement and validate the desk research findings.

2.4 Research ethics

This research upheld the principle of voluntary, confidential, and anonymous participation of respondents, except in the case of key informant interviews, where respondents allowed their names to be recorded.

After identifying potential participants, CEPAD prepared invitations with information about the research aims and process, clearly indicating that participation was voluntary and that by accepting the invitation, participants were aware that their views would be recorded in written notes, voice recording devices and photos; that the researchers would protect their identities when sharing this information; and that the information would be published in the final research report.

The four main research facilitators (team members) completed two online courses from UNICEF on ethics in evidence generation and prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse.⁶ CEPAD's local focal points who interacted directly with all parents and children have received adequate and relevant briefings on this.

The research team worked closely with local focal points to ensure that participation was voluntary. CEPAD's focal points have had a long relationship with CEPAD and regularly help to organize grassroots research activities. The CEPAD research team provided orientation directly to focal points, giving all relevant information about the research objective, its target groups and activities.

At the beginning of each research activity (FGDs or interviews), the research goals and process were repeated to participants by the CEPAD research team or focal points, and consent was obtained for their participation. All participants were able to choose at any time to leave activities, to not be recorded or not to have their photos taken. Participants were given food (lunch and snacks) during the discussions/interviews and a transport fee to compensate for time lost from external or domestic work.

⁶See the links:

https://agora12.catalystdemo.co.uk/c/Intro_Ethics+in+Evidence+Generation; <https://agora12.catalystdemo.co.uk/course/info.php?id=7380>

After the initial FGDs, the research team asked parents for consent to interview their children. All FGD participants consented to their children's participation in subsequent interviews. Consent was also obtained from children before proceeding with interviews.

In relation to the procedure for signed consent, the facilitators explained and asked the agreement of those who knew how to read and write, and the research team distributed forms with time allowed to read and understand prior to signing. For those unable to read and write, particularly participants from the municipalities of Covalima, Lautem and RAEOA, the research team and focal points read out and explained all information on the consent form before participants signed it. This also applied to participants who did not understand Tetun.

Some participants, particularly mothers, cried when they shared their experience or difficult situations they had faced. In such cases, the facilitator would pause for a few minutes and approach the participant in question to comfort them and asked them whether they wanted to continue or to stop participating for the session. This situation did not impact the continuation of discussion activities because most were fine to continue until the end of the session.

The research team did not encounter observable situations of abuse or severe exploitation of children, in which case the enumerators would have been required to provide information to the participant on referral pathways. Nevertheless, this possibility was anticipated and planned for, and the CEPAD research team was briefed on child protection and the list of referral contacts before data collection. This does not categorically mean that these child labourers do not experience abusive situations.

In terms of quality control, the research team provided daily phone and email reports about their teams' accomplished tasks, challenges, and issues for the lead researcher for feedback and review.

2.5 Research challenges and limitations

The complexity of the term 'child labour' in Tetun was recognized from the outset as being difficult to describe because it does not have negative connotations, as it does in English. In Tetun, 'labour' and 'work' are used mostly interchangeably but 'work' has slightly more negative connotations than 'labour'. Therefore, we opted to use the term 'work which has a negative impact on the child's education, health and wellbeing' during FGDs to avoid confusion on the part of participants given the level of knowledge they have.

The planned gender balance in participation was not able to be met (see tables 1 and 2) as many men asked their wives to participate in the FGDs while they went to work. When designing questionnaires, the research team had paid extra attention to not ask questions that suggest gender biased answers. Nevertheless, gender biased domestic duties were mentioned by parents

and caregivers during the discussion, as the focus was mostly on the household situation as a whole.

It should be noted that it was difficult to identify households who stopped engaging in child labour. This does not mean that such a situation does not exist. However, given the short duration of the research and the relatively small research target, it was not possible to cover those aspects. Related questions were asked to invite participants to give their opinions and share whether they witnessed such a situation.

In terms of communication, most participants from the municipalities of Lautem and RAEOA used local languages which were translated by local focal points. Some participants were shy about speaking, despite research team efforts to encourage them. Similarly, some children from these two municipalities did not understand Tetun. These interviews were conducted via the local focal points who communicated in local languages and translated responses to Tetun. Therefore language did not pose a major challenge.

2.6 Research team, steering committee and validation workshop

The research team was comprised of four main researchers (3 women and 1 man) who were Timorese staff members of CEPAD and who worked under the guidance of the (male) CEPAD Executive Director. The research team members have professional backgrounds in anthropology, political science, public policy, psychology, biology, human rights, international development and peacebuilding. This research has been guided by members of the Steering Committee composed of representatives of SEFOPE, MoF-GDS, CNTI, IGT, ILO and UNICEF.

CEPAD worked closely with local communities through its network of local focal points (13 women and 6 men) who were responsible for identifying participants, explaining the objectives of the research, issuing invitations and providing logistical support for research activities. The research team ensured that focal points were well briefed on the research objectives, process and ethics in evidence generation and prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse and were able to use their local knowledge and good standing within communities to effectively recruit participants. All communication between the research team and focal points was conducted in Tetun. Tetun was used during data collection in most municipalities (Dili, Liquiça, Ermera and Covalima), as well as Makasae-Fataluku in Lautem, and Baiqueno in RAEOA.

A national validation workshop was held on 31 May 2022 in the capital Dili, to present and validate the research findings and recommendations. Representatives from government and civil society organizations were present at the workshop. The main findings were presented by CEPAD, followed by discussions among participants to validate the findings and examine key recommendations in more depth. Results of the validation workshop have been reflected in this report.

3. Major findings and analysis

3.1 Area of inquiry 1: Knowledge and understanding of child labour

This research sought to understand how parents, caregivers, children and the community conceive of child labour as a starting point for analysis before attempting to determine the link between poverty and child labour and identify other related factors contributing to or preventing child labour in the context of Timor-Leste.

This research found that most parents in the six municipalities were unaware of the term child



FGD in Dili, 2022

labour. In fact, most parents remained silent with no response to the question ‘what do you think when you hear the term child labour?’ One reason is that many parents lack access to information in their community. Additionally, there is a lack of adequate terminology for this specific word in Tetun that highlights the difference between ‘labour’ and ‘work’, which was confirmed by key stakeholders. A participant in the municipality of

Covalima stated that there is a lack of information about the issues and impact of child labour in their community. In general, parents don’t categorize any specific activities as child labour.

Participants had not been reached by any public information on child labour, possibly due to the poor reach of media and limited access to information.

Parents view child labour positively

Most participants in the six municipalities see child labour in a positive light. Some believe that children gain valuable experience for later life by working from an early age. Moreover, some justified child labour saying that children mature more quickly by bearing responsibility at an early age.

Particularly in the municipalities of Ermera, Liquiça and RAEOA, parents in the FGDs agreed that child labour is a ‘duty’ (those parents used strong language including “must” or “should”) so that children will learn.

According to a father in RAEOA “... *the child (boy) must work to be able to know how to earn his own money and to know how to work already, so that he will be able to make a living on his own when he goes to university where he will have to live far away from his parents*”. A mother in the

Ermera FGD said “...as parents we are happy because at home children can look after themselves, even though they are young, they have responsibilities”. This is in line with the finding from NCLS 2016 in which one of the main reasons for children working was to learn skills.

Because of this belief, parents continue to send their children to work despite some parents observing the negative health impacts on their children, such as chest infection, sore back, fever, or leg injuries, due to long working hours (sometimes exceeding 40 hours per week). When facilitators asked, ‘how do you feel when you see children working?’, some parents replied in tears. One parent in Covalima said: *‘My daughter who washes people’s clothes, sometimes gets dizzy, her shoulders ache, but she forces herself until all the clothes have been washed’*.

This implies that parents and caregivers see the negative impacts of child labour on their health, however their positive views on child labour outweigh the negative consequences such as injuries and infections.

On the other hand, a widow in the municipality of Ermera shared her experience in which she took part in an information sharing session by some NGOs and indicated that she understands the negative impacts. She explained that she has a small child but doesn’t send her to work because she understands the impact on the child’s ability to focus at school and that it is not the child’s responsibility to work. There were very few parents with this understanding. However, it hints at the value of information sharing by knowledgeable organizations.

Children view child labour as a family obligation

Children see their situations through the lens of ‘family obligation’ especially when their families are living in poverty or their parents have disabilities. There were children in Liquiça, Lautem, Dili and RAEOA who felt an obligation to work to provide financial support to their families. A child shared an experience and said *“We are altogether eight and, I have been working since I was 10, and now I am 12 years old. The work I undertake daily includes selling fish, starting from early morning till 12 with a lunch break and then starting again soon after lunch and at times I go on till late evening to sell everything. Before I go to sell fish, I clean the house and wash the dishes. I used to go to school, but I had to drop out because we are many in the family and my parents couldn’t afford to cater for all our needs.”*

Children didn’t talk about their work to achieve greater independence and maturity, and they did not believe that work is a good way to learn. They work, not because they enjoy it, but because they must work to eat and sustain their lives. This view is in discord with parents who think children learn skills, independence, and responsibility by working. Furthermore, the result from NCLS 2016, which found one of the top reasons of child labour was to “learn skills”, did not reflect

children's view as the question was addressed to an adult member of household instead of children themselves.

Gendered tasks for children

The participants in all six municipalities showed a preference for girls to do more work in the home such as cleaning the house, washing clothes and dishes, and looking after younger siblings. These tasks tend to last for long hours. In addition, there are situations where girls are also required to work outside the home doing things like selling food and washing people's clothes. Boys often work outside the home doing things like washing cars, selling food and firewood, and weeding the fields and rice-paddies. In Liquiça and Lautem, some boys also help with household chores, including fetching water according to parents.

It appears that there is a double burden on girls who must work in their own home while also being tasked with hazardous work which required them to sell food in the street until midnight and wash other people's clothes for long hours. This finding is consistent with NCLS 2016 where the proportion of girls performing household chores and engaging in economic activities was higher than that of boys.

Most of the FGD participants reiterated that working from a young age had an influence on them as future mothers, so they continued to introduce their own children to work when they become mothers. One participant said *"...the child labour is a practice inherited in the family, and therefore it goes on from one generation to another"*.

In terms of who decides children will work, it was either children or their parents. In redistributing domestic chores among children, it is usually the mother who is responsible, which emphasizes the important role of the mother as household's main caretaker. In situations where a mother is under much pressure to cater for children's needs because she is a widow, single parent, divorced or ill, she is forced to take actions that could lead to child labour. This is reflective of the opinions shared by the FGDs participants, where the majority were mothers.

Parents of children involved in child labour do not prioritize children's education and think that children can already help to look after the household when the situation demands.

Key stakeholders feel powerless to address child labour

Key stakeholders including government representatives, local authorities, civil society actors, and teachers, recognized that Timor-Leste has signed and ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child. However they often lack a proper understanding of the rights of the child, especially on child labour issues, and they have no knowledge regarding its implementation. In general, they

are aware of child labour and its negative impact, particularly when working in hazardous situations and below the minimum age.

Teachers and local authorities recognize their roles in contributing to the prevention of child labour. A teacher from Covalima shared his observations about students working during his shift as follows: *“I have two children in my shift ... each day they sell fried bananas and other food. They leave school and sell fried bananas all afternoon. One of them sells fish sometimes in early morning. He comes to school and by midday he is gone already to the market selling fish until the afternoon. Sometimes I see him and ask whether there is no one else to sell the fish in his home because it is nearly time for his national exams, and he is still selling fish until the evening. I continue asking them if they are studying or not. They say they are, but I don’t believe this. Because their test scores are low, and sometimes I keep an eye on the two of them because they are in the 9th grade. I see them in the classroom, but they are not focused on the subject matter, and sometimes I am explaining things and they sit with their heads spinning.”*

However, it is difficult to prevent child labour as the family needs usually supersede a child’s educational needs. Another teacher in Liquiça said, *“I have noted that some of my students are involved in child labour selling fish and satay, due to family situation and thus they sometimes skip classes and lack focus resulting in poor performance. I didn’t know how to deal with such a challenging situation.”*

One employer in Lautem feels that he performs a humanitarian service to poor families by employing their children. The employer reported that he does not actively recruit children rather that he only hires them in response to the parents’ or the children’s requests for work.

While most of the key stakeholders such as teachers, local authorities and non-government institutions view child labour as a result of the failure of government to create positive living conditions and employment for the wider population, they also highlight that families of children who are engaged in child labour need to be made aware of the importance of the child’s education for the benefit of the entire family in the long term.

3.2 Area of inquiry 2: The link between poverty and child labour

The research found that living in poverty is common for children performing child labour. In wealthier families, children still perform household duties but not to the extent of spending long hours selling foods and other items on the streets.

Children were interviewed at their homes where direct observation was possible. Of the 13 children living with their own parents, the majority were found to be living in very poor conditions lacking running water and sanitation and living in poor housing conditions with the extended

family. Some had farm fields and rice-paddies as their only small assets (such as in Ermera, Lautem and Covalima). They sold some of the produce such as vegetables at local markets with an average household income of no more than US\$2 to US\$5 per day. The national poverty line is US\$1.54 per person per day, and an average household size of 5.4 persons in the country according to the Census 2022. This implies that the poverty line for a household is roughly US\$8.3, which is higher than an average household income among participants of this research.

Access to decent work opportunities was very low. Of the 157 total FGD participants, 32 stated that they had no opportunity to access employment due to low levels of education and lack of access to information. The best work they could get is as cleaners, earning US\$3 per day. A total of 58 participants work as farmers, and 51 own small businesses selling vegetables, fried bananas and other items such as fish and firewood, with small and impermanent incomes. This indicates that an impoverished environment is one of the factors that contributes to child labour.

Regarding the types of work undertaken by children, three of the six municipalities (Lautem, Covalima and Ermera) have the same types of work, where some of the children are involved in work such as cutting the grass in front of people's homes, weeding other people's fields, coffee fields (Ermera) or corn (Lautem), planting and harvesting rice, or cutting corn (Covalima) to earn money with low hourly or daily rates. They receive between US\$2 and US\$4 per day. In Dili and Liquiça, children are also engaged in collecting and selling concrete sands, and construction activities. Selling goods, foods and other items were common among children in Dili, RAEOA and Liquiça. Some of the participants pointed out at the validation workshop that there were situations where children had to return home with all the produce because they couldn't sell them.

In terms of types of employers, many children in RAEOA, Dili and Covalima do things like selling other people's satay, vegetables, or fried chicken to earn money before or after school. The reason given by their parents is that the children do these things because they themselves want to, which contradicts children's view on child labour as a family obligation. In Lautem and Liquiça, children often work for their parents rather than working for other people.

Most children explained that they have to stop attending school because they do not have basic goods such as uniforms, bags, money for photocopying, or paying the honorarium for teachers or volunteers. (Honorarium is an unofficial fee charged by teachers or volunteers for their services). Interviews with those children who still attend school confirm that they must support their families, so they themselves try to earn money to buy things they need for school, and more particularly to contribute to the household. Children in Ermera, Liquiça and RAEOA also mentioned that their incomes are used for cultural and traditional practices. Most children do not save or keep their earnings for themselves but contribute it to their family.

Economic shock such as loss of income by an adult member of the household is also associated with child labour. For example, a divorce or the death of a family member (particularly the father) may lead the children to be engaged in child labour. There were 26 widows who participated in the FGDs and all said that their children had to look for work to support the family. This is more evident in Ermera and Lautem, while in Covalima, caregivers acknowledged that the children they raise are mostly orphans or whose parents had divorced and where the household situation required engaging children in child labour to survive. Of the 157 FDG participants, 19 had children who were not engaged in child labour, and most of them (16 out of 19) were married. As for the 68 children interviewed, just four were not engaged in child labour. All four children had both parents. This is important to recognize that these households are poorer or have few assets, but the loss of income by an adult due to illness, death, divorce and COVID-19 pandemic may also contribute to a family deciding that their children must stop attending school to participate in child labour. *“The child helps with farm work such as cutting wood, making fences, carrying water. We are thinking about their young age, but because the father is gone, the child must help his mother, the situation in the home requires it.”* Parent - FGD Liquiça. However, this should be interpreted with caution as the majority of FDG participants whose children are engaged in child labour were married.

Household poverty is not the sole cause of children working. Poverty amongst businesses owners could be a cause. Children, particularly in municipalities other than Dili, are a cheap labour source and easy to recruit. This would make them desirable workers for small-scale and impoverished business owners. For example, children are employed for washing cars, selling bread or satay, and selling concrete blocks in Dili, Liquiça, RAEOA. In Covalima, Ermera and Lautem, even though they work same hours as adults doing things like weeding fields and rice-paddies, children earn less. Although we interviewed only one employer from the formal sector, the money paid to children for their services was as little as 50 cents, implying that children are given work because they can be paid less.

Parents/caregivers' level of education is another factor that correlates with child labour. Of the 157 FDG participants, 19 had children who were not engaged in child labour, and most of them (16 out of 19) had completed at least pre-secondary education. As for the children interviewed, 4 of 68 children were not engaged in child labour. Those four children had parents/caregivers who had completed at least primary education. This may be an indication that parents/caregivers with at least some level of education prevents child labour to some extent. However, there were two FDG participants who had their children engaged in child labour while having completed tertiary education. One participant said, *“Even if they go to a higher level of education, in the end they will have to make money, why not let them start making money now.”* Parent - FGD Ermera. This illustrates the fact that education alone without a decent job is not sufficient to get the

children away from child labour. As a parent in Covalima said, “...Looking at our society, there is no work for the people who have finished school, so working early prepares them for future work.”

On the other hand, one mother in Ermera had completed secondary school and participated in a range of NGO activities; her child attends school and does one or two hours of work at the end of the week (not categorized as child labour), because the mother thinks that education is important for her child’s future. Further enquiry on the link between parents’ level of education and child labour would be needed.

3.3 Area of inquiry 3: The extent to which existing social assistance mechanisms, including the Bolsa da Mãe cash transfer, help prevent child labour

Most parents in the six municipalities, have heard of some of the social assistance mechanisms in their communities. Of the 157 FGD participants, 14 had access to the Bolsa da Mãe (BdM), cash transfer programme that provides children in vulnerable families with a payment of US\$60 per year, and four had access to an old age pension of US\$180 every six months. The other 139 participants had difficulties accessing the existing social assistance mechanisms.

The Director General of Social Assistance (MSSI) shared that registering for BdM it requires an electoral card as basic identification, baptism certificate, and República Demokratica de Timor-Leste (Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, RDTL) birth certificate. FGD participants stated that they all have electoral cards however, many are unable to obtain the other required documents including the child’s baptism certificate because they cannot afford the US\$10 fee for the Church to issue it. For those living in rural areas, there is a transportation cost to go back and forth to obtain the RDTL birth certificate. Participants who attempted to apply for BdM expressed their sadness for having had no response from the authorities. Some have been waiting for a response for more than two years. Interviews with key stakeholders pointed to a problem with BdM data being centralized at the national level which makes administrating BdM more complicated.

When asked during FGDs if BdM would make a difference in terms of child labour, participants, regardless of their BdM status, all said that the amount was insufficient to cater for household needs to the point of preventing children from engaging in child labour. This is confirmed by the fact that 11 of 14 participants with access to BdM had their children engaged in child labour and was also acknowledged by some participants at the validation workshop. Those who are entitled to BdM can only receive US\$5 per month per child, for up to three children in a household. The benefit level is US\$60 per year per child such that a household with more than three children can receive a maximum of US\$180. The majority of FDG participants had four to 10 children.

The COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated economic stress in participants' households. Participants who were already suffering with a low income found during the pandemic that there was no rice to eat, so they survived on corn and other local products available. In response to the economic shock caused by the pandemic, the Government introduced a one-off social assistance programme to support households' immediate needs. A cash transfer of US\$200 was distributed to approximately 300,000 households in all 452 villages of Timor-Leste at a cost of approximately US\$60 million.⁷ Most participants in the six municipalities received the subsidy. According to them, it provided some relief as they had no income and their children were unable to go out selling things as they would normally due to government restrictions. Children reported being happy that restrictions prevented them from working and allowed them to rest and play with their friends. As one child said, *"...We were happy meeting up and playing with some of our friends during the COVID-19 state of emergency period, as we were stopped from selling goods and foods in the market."*

Another issue raised by a regional labour inspector in one of the municipalities was that the General Labour Inspectorate focuses mostly on children who work in the formal employment sector, while child labour occurs mostly in the informal sector. Most key informants agreed that an effective referral system and institutional coordination mechanisms are necessary at the national and municipal levels.

3.4 Area of inquiry 4: The extent to which factors other than wealth and access to services contribute to child labour

In relation to other factors contributing to child labour, aside from wealth and access to services, this research showed that in the context of Timor-Leste, working at a young age is something that has been occurring for a very long time. Most participants in the FDGs also explained that they had worked when they were children. Often, they worked together with their parents, washing clothes, washing dishes, selling fried bananas and other items, working in plantations, and doing other things to support their families. The research did not examine the time or hours they worked in the past or the conditions they experienced.

Moreover child labour is acceptable in the community in part because parents and community members also worked as children. Communities do not intervene when they see children doing heavy work such as screening gravel and collecting rocks, because they also used to do this work, so they expect their children to do the same.

4. Conclusions and recommendations

Child labour is seen in a positive light. The research found that parents and caregivers see child labour as a means for children to gain experience and learn skills. Furthermore, positive social

⁷ The Asia Foundation (2020) 'Timor-Leste COVID-19 household cash transfer' Dili, Timor-Leste

norms in communities contribute to perpetuating the prevalence of child labour. Parents and caregivers often used to work as children therefore their past experiences influence their decision on engaging their children in child labour. Parents and caregivers are often not aware of the negative impact of child labour has on children's development and their adulthood. Although they see the immediate negative consequences of child labour on their children's health, including sickness and injuries, they do not see the long-term impact of child labour on children's holistic development.

In contrast, children see child labour as a family obligation rather than a way to gain experience. The COVID-19 pandemic was an opportunity for children to stop working and play with friends instead. Most of the key informants understand an impact of child labour on children and recognize their role to prevent child labour. However, they feel powerless to intervene as it is a family issue driven by household economic needs.

The findings also confirmed the association between poverty and child labour. Negative economic shock in the household, particularly caused by a parent being sick, dying or leaving, often triggers a child to engage in child labour to support the family. Limited access to employment opportunities is another challenge faced by adults in households that contributes to child labour. Poverty among employers also contributes to child labour as they are able to hire children at cheaper rates than adults.

Social assistance was found to be insufficient to prevent child labour in terms of both accessibility and monetary value. For Bolsa da Mãe in particular, document requirements were a key constraint for eligible households to register because of the costs incurred to obtain the necessary documents. Moreover, the cash received was insufficient to prevent or stop child labour as a working child would earn more than the benefit level of Bolsa da Mãe. The majority in the study had no access to other social assistance schemes such as old age pension, disability pension, or to employment/livelihood schemes.

Based on the above research findings, the suggestions from research participants, and the national validation workshop, the following recommendations were drawn.

- **Prioritize the most vulnerable by focusing on children engaged in the worst forms of child labour.** While there are different forms of child labour, eliminating the worst forms without delay is a priority as it can result in permanent conditions including disabilities, ill health and psychological damage.
- **Adopt the National Action Plan against the Worst Forms of Child Labour and the list of hazardous work.** Having a national action plan to address child labour can guide stakeholders in how to act and deal with child labour as many key informants in the research felt powerless to address the issue.

- **Expand cash transfers (with adequate payment amounts) to all children to address child poverty.** Increasing the amount to a level that reduces child poverty, as well as expanding the reach to all eligible households by simplifying the application process will prevent child labour as the research reconfirmed that poverty is associated with child labour.
- **Make public schools completely free, by removing the costs of education on families (teacher honorarium, uniform, school supplies, etc).** Primary and secondary education are compulsory in Timor-Leste. Reducing the financial burden on households related to education will increase children's school enrollment and reduce child labour as the research found children stopped schooling when they couldn't afford school related goods and fees.
- **Raise awareness among parents and employers about the long-term negative impact of the worst forms of child labour on children's holistic development.** The research found that parents and caregivers recognized the immediate negative consequences of child labour on children's health such as injuries and infections. However they lack the understanding of the long term negative impacts of child labour.
- **Design employment and credit schemes for adults, particularly in areas with high rates of child labour.** As the research found that poor employment opportunities among adults led to engaging their children in child labour, increasing employment opportunities for parents is expected to reduce child labour.

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Annexes

Annex 1: Guide for conducting FGD with parents and caregivers

The objective of the FGD Guide is to facilitate the research team in the undertaking of focus group discussions with parents and caregivers of children engaged or not in child labour.

Session 1. Start of Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

In this Session it is important to take a **PARTICIPATORY** approach, for engaging participants so that participating parents and caregivers understand the objective of the FGD as well as to ensure their consent and engagement. It is also an opportunity for all participating in the FGD to introduce and know each other. In so doing this is expected to make participants to get fully engaged and feel comfortable and free to speak out during the FGDs.

Process:

- ❖ Before starting the facilitator open the session with a prayer
- ❖ Facilitator will welcome and make a brief introduction to the objectives of the research and the FGD sessions
- ❖ Introducing each other will be made using a ball game (see below details).

Suggested script for facilitator to introduce and explain the objectives and to obtain Verbal Consent

We are grateful for your time and participation. First, we would like to introduce ourselves. The Centre of Studies for Peace and Development (CEPAD) is a Timorese NGO that was established in 2007, *with a mission to use collaborative research and interactive dialogue to advance the understanding of conflict-related issues and the major challenges to the consolidation of peace and democracy in Timor-Leste.*

The purpose of this study is to learn more about drivers of child labour in Timor-Leste, to support the Government of Timor-Leste and other development partners to eliminate the worst forms of child labour, including identifying the various factors that contribute to or prevent child labour. It is important to note that child work (not necessarily harmful) is categorized as child labour which may require long hours of working and expose children to hazardous working condition.

More than 165 individuals will be involved in the FGDs and interviews with 65 children consists of boys and girls in six selected Municipalities as Dili, Liquiça, Ermera, Lautem, Covalima and RAEOA, and which will take place in February of 2022. We expect that the FGD will take about 3½ hours and during the FGDs there will be photos taken, however only group photos where faces can't be seen, discussions will be recorded the discussion for our documentation. First, you will be involved in the FGDs and afterward, we would like to interview one child in your household between the age of 5 and 17.

Participation in the research is voluntary. You may choose to participate or not. If you don't want to participate, there will be no negative repercussions for you, your family or your community. The information you shared in the FGDs will be kept confidential. Your name and identity will be disclosed to anyone. However, if there are any serious violations, these should be reported to the relevant referral institutions for child protection through their numbers in each Municipality which will be provided to you. Overall, the information to be provided will be analysed and presented in a generic fashion. No individual in this study will be identified when the results are published.

Cost/Payment: You will be provided with snacks, lunch and a cost for transportation for participating in this research. Potential Benefits: This study will generate knowledge about child labour, working and living conditions. This information may at some point be used to inform Government actions that would help the community.

Any questions about this research may be directed to the research team of facilitators, or directly to CEPAD at 78458385 Email: cepad.tl@gmail.com; ILO/UNICEF: (nu kontaktu/email).

After the introductory note, the facilitator will go on to get the participants to introduce each other through playing a ball game.

- a. Facilitator explains how to play the ball game and why it is important for participants to get to know each other to be comfortable throughout the sessions. When a participant gets the ball, s/he is asked to make a brief introduction by mention his/her name and the village she is from.
- b. The facilitator will initiate the game by holding the ball and introduce him/herself.
- c. The facilitator will then draw the ball to any of the participants, and whoever gets the ball will introduce him/herself following the same pattern the facilitator did; and the same pattern goes on till everyone has had the opportunity to present him/herself.
- d. Participants who have introduced themselves are asked to stand one step back from the remaining ones.

The time needed to complete this Session 1 is 30 – 45 minutes. Materials needed for this self-introduction game include pens, flipchart and a small handball.

Session 2 FGD questions

In this session, the facilitator will ask specific questions to obtain information in response to the following key aspects. The facilitator will give opportunity to each of the participants to answer the following questions:

Key aspect 1: What is 'Child labour' according to father/mother's knowledge.

Process: All participants are sitting in one group only to get to know each other's general comments about child labour in their community.

Specific Questions:

1. When a father/mother hears the words 'child labour'? What comes to your mind?
2. How and when did child work practice start in your family/community? Why?
3. According to father/mother, at what age can a child or young person be employed? What type of work?

Key aspect 2: What are the factors that determine and contribute to change/prevent child labour practice according to the father/mother's opinion?

Process: In this session, participants will be divided into small groups of 7-8 each, to facilitate the discussion on factors that determine and contribute to or prevent child labour, by asking specific questions as follows:

Specific questions:

1. Is your child involved in the household work/economic activity outside the household? Please give an example? The facilitator will list/separate types of activities whether in the plantation, household or other activities; and do follow-up questions about type of activities for girls and boys.
2. Why are your children involved in child labour practices?
3. Why did the father/mother allow your child to do such work?
4. How do you feel when you see your child do such work?
5. In your opinion, is it good/bad for your children to work? What are the positive and negative consequences for children in terms of education, health and other social aspects?
6. Are any members in the household employed? How does the household decide who is to engage in wage or in-kind employment, particularly for the children to work?
7. Aside from the aforementioned factors [the facilitator will mention their previous responses link to wealth/poverty], are there any factors other than wealth that contribute to child labour practice in their family/community?
8. For the children who work in wage (in the household or outside the household), how often is the payment arranged – daily/weekly/monthly? how is the salary used?
9. What about the children who are not getting paid?

10. Is the child studying or has stopped schooling? Explain why? For those whose child is still studying, how do you manage between their school and work?
11. According to your experience, have you seen your child working in a hazardous situation? Could you please explain? And what do you do/think about this?
12. In your opinion what is the importance of education for the child's future?

For those of you whose child is not involved in child labour activities:

13. Living in difficult situation as other families, what are the reasons for you to not allowing your child to work?
14. In your opinion, what age is a child permitted to work?
15. In your opinion, what should be done for the child not to involve in child labour practices?
16. In your opinion, what should be done for the child not to involve in child labour practices?
17. What are the measures the government has put in place to support families in your municipality? (This could include financial support or providing information, for example.)
18. Have you or any member of your household received any benefits from those measures? How useful were those?
19. Were there any specific measures to support children's schooling (including remote schooling)? If yes, what were those? How useful are those?
20. Were there any specific measures to deter children from engaging in child labour? If yes, what were those? How useful are those?
21. Compared to one year/six months ago, do you see a change in child labour practices in this community? And why do you think this change happened?

Key aspect 3: Social and economic situation at the household level– access to employment, income generating activities, health facilities, education and access to credit.

Process: Retain in small groups.

Specific Questions:

1. In this community/Municipality what opportunities you can access in terms of employment, education, health, public information and other sector?
2. In line with your work, how much do you earn in a day?
3. Aside from the wage you earn from this work, do you have other source for your income that comes from other activities?
4. Do you have access to any credit? Wait for their response and give example like kaibauk and moris rasik; and what do you use for?
5. What do your family face during COVID-19? How COVID-19 and related school closure affected broader household wellbeing and child labour?

Key aspect 4: What are the most important social assistance mechanisms (formal and informal) that help prevent child labour? How is the situation during COVID-19?

Process: Retain in small groups and the facilitator will ask specific questions below:

Specific questions:

1. Does Father/Mother have access to any social assistance or protection from the Government? Give examples, such as Bolsa da Mãe. The facilitator will follow-up about how effective these mechanisms have been in the COVID-19 pandemic situation?
2. For those who have received this assistance, has this benefitted the household; has this contributed to change the situation for the child? May the assistance stop the child from engaging in child labour? And during the COVID-19 what benefits have these mechanisms brought about?
3. Aside from the social assistance giving by the government, is there any informal assistance exist in the community? Can households (members) access to formal/informal assistance at the same time?
4. For those who have not received the Bolsa da Mãe, the facilitator will ask follow-up question like: try to think if Father or Mother had received this assistance, would this have contributed to preventing the child from working?
5. Does Father or Mother know about any other assistance/subsidies which the government or development partners have provided to contribute to change child labour situation in this community?
6. Could you please explain, what are the barriers or enabling factors to access these social assistance mechanisms? The facilitator will note if they differ between household.

Before ending, participants are reconvened in one large group to have the opportunity to share their thoughts, perspectives and experience, the facilitator will thank them again for their participation in the hope that through their participation and sharing they will have contributed to the understanding of 'child labour' their children are experiencing at the local level. The facilitator will continue to contact those responsible if they have further questions.

FGDs with uncle/aunt, parents and siblings as caregivers

Session 1: The process is same as described above

Section 2: FGD questions

Same as above, in this section the facilitator will ask specific questions to obtain information in response to the following key aspects. The facilitator will give opportunity to each of the participants to answer the following questions:

Key aspect 1: What is 'Child labour' according to Aunt, Uncle, Sister/Brother's knowledge

Process: The participants will be sitting in one group in order to know each other's general comments about child labour in their community.

Specific Questions:

1. When aunt, uncle, sister/brother's hears the word 'child labour'? What comes to your mind?
2. How and when did child work start in your family/community? Why?
3. According to aunt, uncle, sister/brother, at what age can a child or young person be employed? What type of work?

Key aspect 2: What are the factors that determine and contribute to change/prevent child labour practices according to the uncle, aunt, sister/brother's opinion?

Process: In this session, participants will be divided into small groups of 7-8 each, so as to facilitate the discussion on factors that determine and contribute to or prevent child labour, asking specific questions as follows:

Specific questions:

1. May we know the reason why you accept your niece/nephew or younger sister/brother to leave with you? What age?
2. When these children are staying with you what type of work is she/he is doing in the household or outside the household? How many hours are they working? And asking for what type of activities are allocated to girls and boys?
3. How does the household decide who is to engage in wage or in-kind employment particularly for the children to work? And if only the adapted child is asked to do work or also their own children? Please explain?
4. May we know why is the child involved in child labour?
5. For the children who work in wage (in the household or outside the household), how is the salary used for?
6. What about the children who work in the household but they are not getting paid? How are they compensated, and do they contribute to the household?
7. Aside from the aforementioned factors [the facilitator will mention their previous responses link to wealth/poverty] and ask: is there any other factors other than wealth contribute to child labour practice in their family/community?
8. According to your experience, have you seen the child or children working in hazardous situations? Could you please explain? And what do you do/think about this?
9. In your opinion what is the importance of education for the child's future? Do you know of any measures to support the child's education during COVID-19 (such as remote school)? Is it effective?

10. According to your opinion what should be done for the child not to involve in child labour practices?

For those of you whom your child is not involved in child labour activities:

11. Living in difficult situations as other families, what are the reasons for you to not allowing your child to work?
12. According to your opinion what age is permitted for a child to work?
13. According to your opinion what should be done for the child not to involve in child labour practices?
14. What are the measures the government has put in place to support families in your municipality? (This could include financial support or providing information, for example)
15. Have you or any member of your household got any benefits from those measures? How useful were those?
16. Were there any specific measures to support children's schooling (including remote schooling)? If yes, what were those? How useful are those?
17. Were there any specific measures to deter children from engaging in child labour? If yes, what were those? How useful are those?

Key aspect 3: Social and economic situation at the household level– access to employment, income generating activities, health facilities, education and access to credit.

Process: Retain in small groups.

Specific questions:

1. In this community/municipality what are the opportunities available to you to access employment, education, health and public information?
2. Are any members in the household employed?
3. What work do you do for living? How much do you earn in a day?
4. Aside from the wage you earn from this work, do you have other source for your income that comes from other activities?
5. Do you have access to any credit? Wait for their response and give example like *kaibauk* and *moris rasik* and ask what do you use the credit for?

Key aspect 4: What are the most important social assistance mechanisms (formal and informal) that can help prevent child labour? How is the situation during COVID-19?

Process: Retain in small groups and the facilitator will ask specific questions below.

Specific questions:

1. Does aunt, uncle, sister/brother have access to any social assistance or protection from the Government? Give examples, such as Bolsa da Mãe. The facilitator will confirm how this assistance is useful during the COVID-19 pandemic? Give examples.
2. For those who have received this assistance has this benefitted the household and if this has contributed to change the situation for the child? May the assistance help to stop the child from engaging in child labour? During the COVID-19 has this assistance proved beneficial to the child engage in child labour?

3. Aside from the social assistance giving by the government, is there any informal assistance exist in the community? Can households (members) access to formal/informal assistance at the same time?
4. For those who have not received the Bolsa da Mãe, the facilitator will ask follow-up question like: try to think if aunt/uncle, sister or brother had received this assistance, would this have contributed to the household particularly from preventing the child to work?
5. Does Aunt/Uncle, Sister or Brother know about any other assistance/subsidies which the government or development partners have provided to contribute to changing child labour situation in this community?
6. Could you please explain, what are the barriers or enabling factors to access these social assistance mechanisms? The facilitator will take note if they differ between households.

Before ending, participants are reconvened in one large group to have the opportunity to share their thoughts, perspectives and experience; the facilitator will thank them again for their participation in the hope that through their participation and sharing they will have contributed to the understanding of 'child labour' their children are experiencing at the local level. The facilitator will continue to encourage the participants to contact those responsible if they have further questions.

Annex 2: Key informant interview guides

The following questions for key informants will be adapted based on our assessment of their role at the Municipality level and or promoting prevention of child labour in general

Tetun	English
<p>Bele hato'o ita nian observasaun kona-ba situasaun trabailu infantil iha ita nian Munisipiu?</p> <p>Sa atividades mak konsidera hanesan trabailu infantil ba comunidade?</p>	<p>Can you tell us about your observation of the child labour situation in your Municipality?</p> <p>What activities are considered to be child labour in this community?</p>
<p>Tuir ita nian opiniaun sa fatores mak kontribui ka prevene trabailu infantile iha ita nian Munisipiu?</p>	<p>In your opinion what factors do contribute to or prevent child labour in your municipality?</p>
<p>Tuir ita nia hanoin mekanizmu assistensia sosial saida de'it mak ofrese husi parte Governu? Oinsa nia funsaun sira? Iha ka lae mekanizmu assistensia informal seluk? Bele ka lae uma kain sira simu assistensia formal no informal dala ida?</p>	<p>In your opinion, what social assistance mechanisms by the government exist in this community? How do they work? Does any informal assistance exist in the community? Can households (members) access formal/informal assistance at the same time?</p>
<p>Ita hare ita nian papel institucional hodi prevene trabailu infantil? Oinsa ita deskrebe papel ne'e?</p> <p>Perguntas espesifiku balun ba kada instituisaun:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To'o iha ne'ebé akompañamentu ba implementasaun política liu-liu assistensia sosial inklui bolsa da Mãe? Mekanizmu ne'e kontribui duni ba hamenus trabailu infantil? Foti esperiensa FGD (MSSI, xefe suku) Ho baze iha servisu inspesaun jeral ne'ebé ita boot sira halo saida mak sai kauza ba trabailu infantil iha ita nia Munisipiu? Dezafius no progresu ba prevene prátika ne'e? (Inspetor trabailu SEFOPE) Tuir ita nia akompañamentu estudante (feto/mane) ne'ebé hafoin aula halao mos servisu balun hanesan fan sasan no seluk tan afeita ba labarik sira nian performansia ka oinsa? Husi parte eskola halo ona esforsu ruma atu proteje labarik sira 	<p>Do you see your institution having a role to prevent child labour? How would you describe this role?</p> <p>Specific questions to each Institution:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do you monitor the implementation of the social assistance mechanism including Bolsa da Mãe? Has this contributed to reduce child labour? Taking some experience from FGD (This to be addressed to MSSI & Suku Chief) Based on the results of the general inspection work, what could be the drivers of child labour in this municipality? Challenges and progress to prevent child labour practice? (This question to be addressed to SEFOPE regional inspector) Can you tell us, according to the schools' monitoring what impact has on students (boys/girls) who work after schools, and how it affects their school performance? What efforts do the schools have to protect the

<p>husi prátika trabailu infantil? Dezafius no progresu? (professor/a).</p>	<p>children from child labour practices? (This question to be addressed to teachers)</p>
<p>Perguntas ba Empregador:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ho razaun saida mak ita hakarak fo servisu ba labarik sira? • Idade ne'ebé permiti atu servisu iha ita boot nia fatin? No halo servisu saida de'it (feto/mane)? • Ita iha kontratu ruma ho alin oan sira ba servisu ne'ebe sira halo? • Iha ka lae tratamentu espesifiku entre traballador adultu ho labarik? Se iha/laiha tanba sa? • Oinsa ita boot rekompensa/selu servisu ne'ebé labarik sira halo? Selu kada loron/fulan? 	<p>Questions to employers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the reasons for you to employ children? • What age is permitted to work in your company? And what type of work will be given to a child (boy/girl)? • Do you have any formal contract with these children? • Is there any specific treatment that is different when applied to an adult worker and a child? Yes or no, please explain? • How do you compensate the child? Per day or monthly salary?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tuir ita nian hanoin esforsu saida de'it mak presija halo atu prevene trabailu infantil? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In your opinion, what efforts should be done to prevent child labour?

Annex 3: Guide for interviews with children

By interviewing the children this research tries to provide insight of children who are involved in child labour activity in a specific municipality.

Practical aspect:

Setting:

- The place of interview should be a neutral place, quiet and secure. The respondents will be compensated for travel to data collection site (if applicable)
- The interviewer will keep the paper and crayons ready
- Allow a child to get used to the new place (to look the room over)
- Sit in such a way as to allow an eye level contact with the child. If a small child is sitting on the floor, sit on the floor as well. It is not advisable to talk sitting behind a desk or a table, better sit at the table together with the child. Sit close to the child but not too close
- Provide with refreshments/light snacks.

Greeting, the first contact:

- Greet a child by their first name
- Be open and friendly.

Suggested script for obtaining verbal assent/consent:

My name is _____ and my job is to research what life is like for children your age and we think this research could help tell us that.

I am going to give you information and invite you to be part of a research study. You can choose if you want to participate. We have discussed this research with your parent(s)/guardian and they know that we are also asking you for your agreement. If you are going to participate in the research, your parent(s)/guardian also have to agree. But if you do not wish to take part in the research, you do not have to, even if your parents have agreed.

There may be some words you don't understand or things that you want me to explain more about because you are interested or concerned. Please ask me to stop at any time and I will take time to explain.

Purpose: We want to better understand your situation, what you do, who helps you and what your day-to-day life is like to try and understand what supports are needed for you to have a good life.

Choice of participants: We are asking questions of all children who are your age - between 12 and 16 years old - who live in area _____.)

Participation is voluntary: You don't have to be in this research if you don't want to be. It's up to you. If you decide not to be in the research, it's okay and nothing changes. Even if you say "yes" now, you can change your mind later and it's still okay.

I have checked with the child and they understand that participation is voluntary __ (initial)

Process: If you and your parents/guardians agree, you will participate in an interview with [name of interviewer] or myself. I am going to ask you some questions about what you do day to day, and who helps support you and what you think could make your life better. If you don't want to answer a particular question we can just go to another question, and if, at any point you don't want to continue, that's ok too. The interview will take place in [location of the interview], and no one else but the interviewer will be present unless you ask for someone else to be there. The information recorded is confidential, and no one else except [name of person(s) with access to the information] will have access to the information documented during your interview.) [The tapes will be destroyed after _____ period of time.]

Benefits: Doing this interview does not mean anything really good will happen to you. But this research will be considered by people in Government and people who provide programs for young people, and it will help them understand what young people your age might need when they are making decisions about services and programs (nationally/in this municipality.)

I have checked with the child and they understand the benefits _____ (initial)

Reimbursements: We want to be able to say thank you for participating, but we want to make sure that all young people will be able to benefit from this study so we are providing you with refreshments/light snacks and will compensate you with travel cost if applicable.

Confidentiality: We will not tell other people that you are in this research, and we won't share information about you to anyone who does not work in the research study.

Any information about you that will be collected from the research will have a number on it instead of your name. Only the researchers will know what your number is, and we will lock that information up with a lock and key. It will not be shared with or given to anyone except [name who will have access to the information, such as research steering committee].

Right to refuse or withdraw: You do not have to be in this research. No one will be mad or disappointed with you if you say no. It's your choice. You can think about it and tell us later if you want. You can say "yes" now and change your mind later and it will still be okay.

Who to contact: You can ask me questions now or later. I have written a number and address where you can reach us. If you want to talk to someone else that you know, like your teacher or doctor or auntie, that's okay too.

If you choose to be part of this research, I will give you a copy of this paper to keep for yourself. You can ask your parents to look after it if you want.

You can ask me any questions about any part of the research study, if you wish to. Do you have any questions?

Certificate of Assent

I understand the research is about young people aged 12 to 16 years, in this place and what their life is like, what supports they have and what they think would make their life better.

I have read this information (or had the information read to me). I have had my questions answered and know that I can ask questions later if I have them.

I agree to take part in the research.

OR

I do not wish to take part in the research, and I have not signed the assent below _____
(initialed by child/minor)

Only if child assents:

Print name of child _____

Signature of child: _____

Date: _____
day/month/year

If illiterate:

A literate witness must sign (if possible, this person should be selected by the participant, not be a parent, and should have no connection to the research team). Participants who are illiterate should include their thumb print as well.

I have witnessed the accurate reading of the assent form to the child, and the individual has had the opportunity to ask questions. I confirm that the individual has given consent freely.

Print name of witness (not a parent) _____ AND Thumb print of participant

Signature of witness _____

Date _____
Day/month/year



I have accurately read or witnessed the accurate reading of the assent form to the potential participant, and the individual has had the opportunity to ask questions. I confirm that the individual has given assent freely.

Print name of researcher _____

Signature of researcher _____

Date _____

Day/month/year

Statement by the researcher/person taking consent

I have accurately read out the information sheet to the potential participant, and to the best of my ability made sure that the child understands that the following will be done:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

I confirm that the child was given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and all the questions asked by him/her have been answered correctly and to the best of my ability. I confirm that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

A copy of this assent form has been provided to the participant.

Print Name of Researcher/person taking the assent _____

Signature of Researcher /person taking the assent _____

Date _____ Day/month/year

Copy provided to the participant _____ (initialed by researcher/assistant)

Parent/Guardian has signed an informed consent ___Yes ___No ___ (initialed by researcher/assistant)

Questions and structure below are not intended to be fixed topics that must be covered in a structured way of conversation or interview with children. They should be used as prompts for the researcher rather than patterned questionnaires, and while the child is engaged in an activity (drawing and storytelling) during this interaction the facilitator can ask questions related to the topic.

English
<p>Questions for obtaining some information about a child</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is your name and how old are you? - Are your parents alive; are you living together, living with family or others? - How many of you are in the family? Number of siblings and age of siblings - How old were you when you first went to work? <p>Schooling:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Have you ever attended school (type), and if so, for how long? - If you are attending school now (how many hours per day/week) - Why have you stopped; would you like to return to school? and give reasons (yes/no)
<p>Questions for obtaining information about the work (employed child)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Are you involved in the household work or economic activity outside the household? Please give us example? (The interviewer should register what is the main economic activity, and if this is within or outside the household. The specific sector should also be registered) 2. How was employment arranged and through whom? 3. Formal contract, verbal agreement, neither? 4. Hours and times of the day (part-time/full-time, days per week, irregularities, etc.) 5. Mode of payment (wages, in-kind only, by piece etc) 6. Timing of the child's payment (when/how often paid/to whom) 7. Do you take any transportation to and from the workplace? How far is the workplace, and time required (will not be asked for those who work within the household) 8. In your opinion, is it good or bad for you to work? 9. What do you gain in terms of positive consequences and what do you lose in terms of negative consequences? 10. In your opinion, what should be done to stop child labour practices? <p>Specific questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Were you given time to eat your breakfast by your father/mother, uncle/aunt before going to work? Did you eat before you left home? 2. After long workdays, could you always get to work on time the next day? 3. What time do you usually wake up in the morning?

4. Early wake up in the morning, is it because you want to do the work, or someone decided for you to do the work?
5. What would happen if you were late, or if you don't want to go to work?
6. When you get home at night, do you usually feel tired?
7. Do you have any time to be with your parents, siblings, or to do your homework from school (for those who are still studying)? What did you do?
8. Are the rest of the children in the place you work in a similar situation?
9. Thinking about your main work, are you satisfied with the working conditions? Why or why not?

To explore the COVID angle, one could add:

10. Can you describe the way your life has changed since the breakout of COVID-19? What do you miss most that you can't do anymore? What about some of the good things that have happened since COVID-19 pandemic? What about the life of your brothers/sisters?
11. Has the time you spend doing economic activities, or the type of work you do changed since the start of COVID-19? [ask the same for household chores]

Questions for child domestic workers

Same as above to start asking about a child's name and other details.

Followed by general questions about the household:

1. How many of you living in the house?
2. Could you describe the size of the house in terms of how many rooms? And access to water and sanitation facilities is available?

Questions about the work, accommodation, children's health and education:

3. What tasks do you perform in the house?
4. About your working hours (rest breaks, chance for leisure time, and time off)
5. Activities available for leisure within the household (e.g. TV)
6. Mode of payment (wages, in-kind only, by piece etc)
7. Degree of continued contact with parents for those who stay with caregiver, any visits home? This question will not be asked for those who stay with their parents.

Sleeping conditions and hours, meal preparation and consumption:

8. After long workdays, could you always get up early the next day to work on time?
9. What time do you wake up in the morning?
10. Is it because you want to do the work, or someone decided for you to do the work?
11. What will happen if you are late or sick and cannot do the household work?
12. Child's health status - have you had any serious illness?
13. Can you describe the way your life has changed since the outbreak of COVID-19? What do you miss most that you can't do anymore? What about some of the good

things that have happened since COVID-19? What about the life of your brothers/sisters?"

14. Has the time you spend doing economic activities, or the type of work you do changed since the start of COVID-19?

15. Child's schooling or potential schooling, do you want to continue studying?

Closing the interview

- Explain to the child what will happen next
- Praise child for his/her effort
- Address any questions the child might have