Gift of the United States Government

RESILIENTAFRICA NETWORK

APRIES
AFRICAN PROGRAMMING & RESEARCH INITIATIVE TO END SLAVERY

Internal Trafficking of Children in Sierra Leone

A Baseline Assessment





August 2021

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We acknowledge the United States Department of State's Office to Combat and Monitor Trafficking in Persons for providing financial support, and the African Programming and Research Initiative to End Slavery (APRIES), for the invaluable technical support in the co-creation of the methodology that shaped the scope of this study under the leadership of Prof. David Okech.

We also acknowledge the support of the Government of Sierra Leone, the various line Ministries and Departments as well as Non-Governmental Agencies with the mandate of child protection and fight against trafficking in persons. We are also grateful to the leadership of the study districts of Kenema, Kono and Kailahun for their support.

Special thanks go to the research teams at Conflict Management and Development Associates (CMDA) in Sierra Leone, led by Dr. Fred Hassan Konteh and Mr. Abdulai Jalloh, that collected the data, as well as the research participants for volunteering their time and information, without which this report would have been incomplete.

We appreciate the administrative and technical support accorded by the ResilientAfrica Network's (RAN), Makerere University Secretariat: Professor William Bazeyo - Chief of Party; Dr. Roy William Mayega - Deputy Chief of Party; Ms. Christine Muhumuza - Research Manager; Anthony Ssebagereka - Research officer; Nathan Tumuhamye - EARILAB Director; Dr. Julius Ssentongo - the EARILAB Program Coordinator; Dr. Dorothy Okello - Director of Innovations; Ms. Natasha Kassami - Engagement Manager; Ms. Harriet Adong - Communications and Knowledge Management Director; Ms. Deborah Namirembe - Program Administrator and Mr. Wilson Abigaba - IT specialist.



This report is produced with funding from United States Department of State's Office to Combat and Monitor Trafficking in Persons. It was prepared independently by ResilientAfrica Network (RAN), Makerere University School of Public Health

Cover Photo credit (left to right): Marruecos and Raphael Bick respectively.



CONTENTS

Acknowledgment ii
Acronyms vi
Operational definitions vii
Executive summary ix
1.0 Introduction 1
1.I Background and context 1
1.2 Relevant law and policy 2
1.3 Structure of the report 3
1.4 Aims and objectives 3
2.0 Methods 4
2.1 Quantitative methods 4
2.3 Qualitative methods 5
2.3.1 Preamble for the qualitative methods 5
2.3.3 Sample Size and Sampling Strategy 5
2.3.4 Data Collection Procedures 6
3.0 Findings I: Child trafficking characteristics, prevalence and correlates 10
3.1 Background characteristics for the respondents and households 10
3.2 Nature and forms of child trafficking 12
3.2.1 Experiences of victims/survivors 12
3.2.2 Consequences for victims and their families 17
3.2.3 Means of control 18
3.3 Child work, labor or trafficking 22
3.3.1 Understanding and definitions from the respondents' perspective 22
3.3.2 Light work and Child labor 24
3.3.3 Sectors for child work 24
3.3.4 Child labour estimates 24
3.3.5 Correlates of child labour 24
3.3.6 Child trafficking 24
3.3.7 Correlates of child trafficking 25
3.3.8 Child victimization within the respondent's network 25
3.4 Explanations and causal factors 26
3.5 Key actors in the trafficking situation 27
3.6 Means of extraction 28
3.7 Victims' needs and reintegration 29
3.8 Education and employment as routes out of exploitation 30
4.0 Findings II: Policy, implementation, enforcement 31

4.1 The 3 Ps (Prevention, Prosecution and Protection) 32
4.2 Prevention 32
4.3 Protection 33
4.4 Prosecution 34
4.5 Key Insights 35
1) Addressing systemic gaps and blockages 36
2) The challenge of redress and reintegration 36
3) Improving effectiveness and understanding 'what works' 36
4) Trust, community engagement and collective impact 36
5.0 Recommendations 37
Prevention 37
Protection 38
Prosecution 39
Partnerships and research 39
References 40
Appendices 42
Appendix I: Prevalence Survey Tool – Sierra Leone (September 07, 2020) 42
Appendix II: Vignettes 60
Appendix III: Background characteristics of household members 61
Appendix IV: Perceptions of the household's welfare status 62
Appendix V: Child labour among children aged 5 to 17 years 63
Appendix VI: Tabulation of child Labor against Demographic characteristics 67
Appendix VII: Correlates of child labor 68
Appendix VIII: Correlates of child labor (among children in the household only) 71
Appendix IX: Child trafficking against demographic characteristics 72
Appendix X: Correlates of child trafficking 73
Appendix XI: Descriptive statistics for the victimhood assessment within the network of the respondent 75
Appendix XII: Vulnerability characteristics 76
Appendix XIII: Correlates of vulnerability to child trafficking 79
Appendix XIV: Impact of COVID-19 82

ACRONYMS

APRIES	African Program and Research to End Slavery
CBPR	Community-Based Participatory Research
CBO	Community Based Organization
CMDA	Conflict Management and Development Associates
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DCISL	Defense for Children International Sierra Leone
DOS	United States Department of State
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FSU	Family Support Unit
GSI	Global Slavery Index
HDI	Human Development Index
IDI	In-depth Interview
ILO	International Labor Organization
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRB	Institutional Review Board
KII	Key Informant Interview
MSE	Multiple Systems Estimation
MIA	Ministry of Internal Affairs
MLSS	Ministry of Labour and Social Security
MOJ	Ministry of Justice
MSWGCA	Min of Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSUM	Network Scale-Up Model
RAN	Resilient Africa Network
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SL	Sierra Leone
TVPA	Trafficking Victims Protection Act
UNAIDS	The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHI	World Hope International



"People may be considered trafficking victims if they were born into servitude, were exploited in their hometown, were transported to the exploitative situation, previously consented to work for a trafficker, or participated in a crime as a direct result of being trafficked

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS OR HUMAN TRAFFICKING OR MODERN DAY SLAVERY: The act of recruiting, harbouring, transporting, providing, or obtaining a person for labour, commercial sex or other services related to exploitation through the use of force, fraud, or coercion (dcisl, 2016). Modern day slavery includes, but does not require, movement (dcisl, 2016). People may be considered trafficking victims if they were born into servitude, were exploited in their hometown, were transported to the exploitative situation, previously consented to work for a trafficker, or participated in a crime as a direct result of being trafficked (dcisl, 2016).

CHILD TRAFFICKING: children that were subject to any of the ***"worst forms of child labor,"*** per Article 3 of ILO Convention Number 182 , including:

- ***1)*** exposing children to any form of slavery or practice similar to slavery
- ***2)*** recruitment of children into armed conflict;
- ***3)*** using children in prostitution;
- ***4)*** using children in illicit activities such as the production and trafficking of drugs; and
- ***5)*** having children perform work which is likely to harm their health, safety or morals, or work in hazardous conditions, which are harmful to their physical and mental development.

CHILD LABOR: work that deprives children of their childhood, potential, dignity, and is harmful to their physical and mental development; namely, children below 12 years working in any economic activity; children aged 12 -14 engaged in more than light work; and all children engaged in the worst forms of child labor (ILO Conventions 138, 182 and UN Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989, Art 32). In addition, children aged 15-17 are considered to be engaged in child labor if they exceed work hour limits established by the ILO (Global Estimates of Child Labor, 2017) .

FORCED LABOUR: the recruitment, harbouring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labour or services through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage or slavery.

International Labour Office. 2017. Global estimates of child labour: Results and trends, 2012-2016. Geneva.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

It has been documented that Sierra Leone is a source, transit point and destination for victims of human trafficking. The vice, often qualified as 'modern slavery', is one of the most frequently occurring human rights violations, and is often hidden or entangled in poverty. It also contributes to increments in deprivation of basic humans rights including the right to health, justice, security, education and information..

This report analyses findings from a baseline study to establish the prevalence of child trafficking in three-known trafficking hotspots in Sierra Leone. The study also explores the understanding, manifestations and mechanisms of child trafficking in Sierra Leone.

Qualitative and quantitative data collection methods were used, The study was conducted in December 2019 in the districts of Kenema, Kono and Kailahun in the Eastern Province of Sierra Leone.

It was observed that there is a high rate of internal child trafficking in Sierra Leone. A total of 2,990 households were surveyed. We found that the overall proportion of trafficked children was 33.4% (amongst 6,000 children) across the three hotspots. Kono district had the highest proportion of trafficked children (45.4%), followed by Kailahun (32.8%), and Kenema (26.9%). Majority of trafficked children came from rural households (36.7%), while males were trafficked (35.9%) more than females. The following sectors had the highest proportion of child trafficking:
pottering (100%; n=376), construction (100%; n=176), begging (95%; n=60), manufacturing (100%; n=30), fishing (100%; n=179), mining/ quarrying (100%; n=121), motorcycle taxi driving (83%; n=47), working in workshops (81.4%; n=97), and trading activities (66.5%; n=1,130).
We noted that the following correlates were significantly associated with child trafficking:
a child's gender; their age; a child's contribution to household expenses; the status of a child staying/ living in their homes together with their biological parents/official guardians; residence; enrolment in a formal school; and social economic status (SES) of the household.

Traffickers take advantage of children from poorer households, using deception to lure their guardians into handing over the children. This is often under the pretext of promising to provide better education or other opportunities in urban areas, especially cities. The perpetrators often carry gifts to the guardians and make a broad range of promises that convince the former to surrender stewardship of the child(ren). In other instances, negotiations and other transactions occur between the guardians and traffickers before the children are taken by the latter. Traffickers were mainly reported to be close or distant relatives of parents/guardians, and were seldom total strangers. In some cases, extended paternal relatives were also involved at some point, particularly negotiating the position of giving away a child, especially because they were largely trusted by the targeted families. Some traffickers were rich businessmen and high-profile figures in rural communities.

Several drivers for child trafficking in Sierra Leone were identified as follows:

1. The practice is largely perceived as 'kinship care' or 'ward ship', in which the relationship between the child and the household to which they were attached went bad, rather than an actual vice in itself. In this regard, respondents described the trafficking phenomenon as an act of perpetrators, who often are inhabitants of urban centers or cities, taking children from economically disadvantaged communities or villages to urban areas for a better life and an opportunity at education or gainful work.
Once the children are taken by traffickers to urban centres, they are not sent to school, but are used or sold to other perpetrators for purposes of servitude, sexual exploitation, or provision of cheap labour in activities such as domestic servitude, street vending and begging, work on agricultural farms, mining sites and quarries, among others. In domestic servitude, the most commonly occurring form of exploitation reported included subjecting children to fetching water from long-distances and doing household chores for long periods of time, with minimal rest. Such children are often denied any schooling opportunity.

2. The common practice of movement of children between and among families creates lots of opportunities for trafficking, especially where the vice is masked as normal kinship care.

3. Lack of awareness about the manifestation and impact of child trafficking among households and communities. Parents or guardians give away their children with little knowledge of what the children are going to be subjected to. All they hope for is a better education and livelihood for their children.

4. Poverty has made it easy for children to fall prey to traffickers who take them from rural and economically disadvantaged settings and recruit them into exploitative activities for personal gain. It is often a vicious circle of poverty and exploitation, jumping from one form to another. Unfortunately, in several instances, community members find it difficult to react to the problem of child trafficking because many are poor and often think that they are helping themselves by giving away their children to individuals who request for them under the disguise of giving them better opportunities. They ignorantly consider it a relief to the family, not knowing that the outcomes are more harmful to them in the long run.

5. Source communities for survivors of child trafficking, mainly in rural areas, were reported to be largely deprived of social services like schools. It was observed that there is an inequitable distribution of schools, and low school completion rates in Sierra Leone, with the worst affected areas being rural districts. As a result, a large proportion of children in rural areas do not attend school, leaving them vulnerable to traffickers, in the quest for education opportunities and better livelihoods.

6. Large families linked to negative societal and religious norms towards the use of birth control methods, dominate in some parts of the country. This is exacerbated by limited access to family planning services especially in rural areas. Large families are often strained for resources with a higher likelihood of giving away some of their children. Poor parenting practices, as well as orphan hood, were also highlighted as key drivers of trafficking in vulnerable communities.

7. Survivors of trafficking experienced several traumatic and life-threatening events like continuous threats, physical and psychological trauma/abuse, while some girls became pregnant.

Consequently, some children lost interest in furthering their education while others ended up acclimatized to criminal activities in gangs. Some trafficked children remained in trafficking activities because of small monetary benefits given to them by the traffickers, and thus remained in cities or exploitative environments.

There were three main rescue pathways for survivors of child trafficking in Sierra Leone, namely: individual-led, family-led and community-led pathways. There was a multi-dimensional negative impact of trafficking experiences on affected individuals, their families and communities of origin. The impact manifested mainly in form of physical, mental and other psycho-social problems that affected victims of child trafficking.

Despite the Government's efforts to institute measures to combat child trafficking, there are several gaps in policy implementation that have greatly hindered adherence to the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA) minimum standards, as well as fulfilment of the obligations in the Palermo Protocol. Some of the gaps include among others:
a) rampant corruption within Government Agencies mandated to mitigate child trafficking

b) inadequate resource allocation and funding for anti-trafficking activities

c) ignorance of the law amongst enforcement officers and other key actors

d) widespread practice of the phenomenon of wardship or kinship care.
Special attention needs to be paid to the aforementioned salient issues, keeping in mind that the gaps are both structural and systemic in nature, and hence need to be addressed using a multi-pronged approach.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.I background and context

Sierra Leone has faced a series of disasters, both natural and man-made over the last 30 years, particularly conflict and displacement of the population during and after the 1991-2002 civil war, and more recently the 2014 Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) outbreak. It is one of the poorest countries in the world, with its people suffering high levels of poverty, malnutrition and low life-expectancy. The effects on children and childhood have been severe. The 2016 Sierra Leone Child Poverty Report highlighted the fact that 77.4% of children in the country live in poverty, and suffer a violation of at least one of their basic rights (UNICEF 2016). This index reduced slightly to 66% in 2017 (UNICEF & STATS SL 2019).

There are no reliable statistics on the prevalence of child trafficking in Sierra Leone, but in the years following the end of the 1991–2002 civil war, UNICEF estimated that there were more than 800,000 orphaned, abandoned, and vulnerable children in the country (UNICEF 2007), providing potentially fertile ground for child trafficking. According to the Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) Street Child, since the 2014 EVD outbreak, over 12,000 children have been orphaned or experienced adverse consequences, including trafficking (Street Child 2015).

A traditional cultural practice that has been brought to the forefront of trafficking is 'menpikin', which is the dependence of families on informal fostering (or kinship care) arrangements. Menpikin involves children residing in households separate from their biological parents. The 2020 Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report noted that traffickers exploited the traditional foster care practice to convince parents to hand over their children, having been promised education or a better life. However, the children were more often than not subjected to both labor and sexual exploitation in Sierra Leone (US Department of State 2020a).

Menpikin is a traditional cultural practice in Sierra Leone that pre-dates the civil war, and is perceived by many as beneficial for the child and both the biological and new host families. It is considered a way for families to help their children become educated, improve their chances for an advantageous marriage, learn a trade, and become 'civilized' by living in an urban or peri-urban environment (Gale 2008:5). Such practices are commonplace in sub-Saharan Africa, and there is evidence that they can lead to marginalization of some children (Serra 2009). However, outcomes are context-specific with multiple overlapping categories of orphan hood and fostering, leading to very different outcomes for affected children (Hampshire et al 2015).

Research into kinship care practices carried out by GOAL found that the 2014 EVD outbreak and difficult socio-economic conditions led to 'neglect and abuse of many menpikin' (GOAL 2016). This research was followed by a household survey in 2018 which highlighted a range of child protection problems including child labor and trafficking, again citing menpikin (GOAL 2019). The GOAL household survey showed that 51% of household heads were aware of potential child trafficking cases, with respondents confirming that internal child trafficking was more prevalent than international trafficking of children.

The study found that the movement of trafficked children was mostly from rural to urban areas, with key determinants listed as 'deception, adoption, cajoling and exchange of cash' and that 'the motivations, particularly on the part of the would-be caregiver included child labor or marriage, schooling, and forced initiation.' It was also found that children were commonly involved in transactional sex and prostitution (GOAL 2019: 2-3). This confirmed findings of previous research, that the commonest type of child trafficking in Sierra Leone was internal, mainly for purposes of forced labor or sexual exploitation (Surtees 2005).

In light of this evidence, in early 2019, the African Programming and Research Initiative to End Slavery (APRIES) engaged experts and key informants, including key stakeholders and researchers involved in anti-trafficking and child protection in Sierra Leone (see methods section). This resulted



in focusing this baseline study on internal child trafficking in the hotspots of Kono, Kenema and Kailahun.

1.2 Relevant law and policy

The relevant national legislation is the Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act of 2000, which uses the definition of trafficking as established by the Palermo Protocol. The Sierra Leone Ministry of Social Welfare and its partners are advocating for review of the Act, and, at the time of writing (December 2020), the draft document was with the country's Ministry of Justice for review and submission to the national Parliament for approval.

Several other relevant pieces of legislation and policy initiatives relating to child protection exist, including the Child Right Act of 2007, the Three Gender Acts of 2007, the Sexual Offences Act 2012, the National Child Justice Strategy (2013-2017) and the Child Welfare Policy (2014). In 2016, observations of the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) on Sierra Leone highlighted a range of serious concerns such as the practice of female genital mutilation (FGM), sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), registration of births and provision of access to education, poor treatment and stigmatization of pregnant girls including victims of rape (CRC 2016).

The 2005 Anti-Trafficking Act includes a maximum penalty of 10 years' imprisonment for those guilty of trafficking or a fine of 50 million Leones or $5,000. However, the legislation does not stipulate a minimum sentence and does not include any other preventive instruments (such as prevention orders) for use when there is inadequate evidence for a conviction. A lack of successful prosecutions has been blamed on judicial processes, for instance, there was a long period with no convictions until 2020. This is in part attributable to the preliminary investigation (PI) system involving magistrates who take a long time to process cases, which often end up collapsing.

There is also no established victim support or victim support fund. Over the last 10 years, the US State Department's TIP report has twice (2012 and 2018) placed Sierra Leone on the 'Tier 2 Watch-list' due to lack of action on the issue. For

the drafting of the original law, an anti-trafficking task-force was set up in November 2004 by the Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs (MSWGCA) and other members of the Child Protection Network (CPN). However, there are regular complaints of under-funding. The 2018 TIP report noted that "For the fourth consecutive year, the Government did not provide funding for the anti-trafficking task force to adequately fulfil its mandate or implement the 2015-2020 national action plan" (US State Dept 2018:378).

During the presidency of Ernest Bai Koroma (APC), the Sierra Leone Government published a National Action Plan on Human Trafficking (2015-2020) that contained measures for reforming the law, with a National Task Force (NTF) to oversee these efforts. Following the change of Government in 2018, child protection issues including child trafficking were further prioritized. Since his election, the current President Julius Maada Bio (SLPP) has placed children's issues and SGBV high on the political agenda. The Medium-Term National Development Plan (MTNDP) (2019-2023) noted that statistics on "violence against children, child labor, child trafficking, teenage pregnancy, and child marriage remain among the worst in the sub region and in Africa as a whole" (p140-141). President Bio has committed the Government to a 'children-first' approach.

The launch in 2018 of the Government's flagship Free Quality School Education (FQSE) enhanced its focus on children. While the school system still suffers from unequal access and poor outcomes, FQSE has significantly increased the enrolment of children in schools and has attracted international funding (World Bank 2020). Another relevant high-profile initiative is the 'Hands Off Our Girls' campaign, launched in 2018 by the First Lady of the Republic of Sierra Leone, Madam Fatima Bio. The goal of the campaign is to protect Sierra Leonean girls from rape and gender-based violence.

Recent developments in the anti-trafficking regime include an announcement in 2019 that the NTF would be decentralized from Freetown to fourteen (14) districts in order to improve access to justice and protection, and to reduce procedural delays in the criminal justice system. This initiative will be co-chaired by the MSWGCA - the responsible ministry for policy, and the Office of National Security (ONS), which comprises traditional and religious authorities, the police's Family Support Unit (FSU) and other local committees and community groups (IOM 2019).

In the 2020 TIP report, Sierra Leone was upgraded from Tier 3 Watch list to Tier 2 in recognition of the increased investment and creation of district-level taskforces (Brewer 2020). A second National Action Plan (2021-2023), launched in October 2020 underlined this renewed focus on human trafficking. In the same month, the Vice President of Sierra Leone, Mohamed Juldeh Jalloh attended an event to commemorate 20 years since the Palermo Protocol (US Department of State, 2020).

1.3 Structure of the report

This report details the findings from a baseline study on child trafficking in Kailahun, Kenema and Kono districts, which are known trafficking hotspots in Sierra Leone. The hotspots were identified jointly by APRIES and RAN during a scoping visit in Sierra Leone in February 2019.
The qualitative aspect of the study which was carried out by APRIES generated insights that were useful in the design and implementation of the quantitative aspect of the study, a household survey. The report is structured as follows: methods, findings, key insights, recommendations and appendices.

1.4 Aims and objectives

The key objectives of the study were to:

- ***i.*** explore the nature and forms of child trafficking in Sierra Leone including the drivers, context, linkages, and transactions involved;
- ***ii.*** describe the existing policy, institutional set-up, and gaps in addressing human trafficking, as well as barriers to compliance with the minimum standards of the TVPA;
- ***iii.*** estimate the prevalence of child trafficking in target hotspot regions in Sierra Leone;
- ***iv.*** estimate the vulnerability of populations in target hotspot regions of Sierra Leone to child trafficking;
- ***v.*** determine the correlates of child trafficking in target hotspot regions of Sierra Leone;
- ***vi.*** generate insights to inform future programming and policy.

2.0 METHODS

2.1 Quantitative methods

2.1.1 Study site and population

The population-based cluster household survey was conducted in Kailahum, Kenema and Kono, which are known hotspots for child trafficking in Sierra Leone. The study focused on trafficking amongst children aged 5 – 17 years in the sampled households. A household was defined as "a person or a group of persons, related or unrelated, who lived together and shared a common source of food" (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2013).

Survey respondents were the oldest female in the sampled household, and where they were unavailable at the time of the interview, the respondent of choice was the oldest competent adult member of the household (someone who could ably express themselves and understand the dynamics in the household). This was mainly because older females tend to know more about the lives of the children in the household compared to their male counterparts.

2.2.2 Sample size and sampling procedures

We aimed at sampling 3,045 households from 145 enumeration areas allocated to the 3 hot-spot districts, proportionate to the population of each district to ensure that districts with larger populations got a proportionately larger allocation. The computed sample size was based on the number of clusters (enumeration areas) required for this survey using the formula Benet et al (Benet et al 1991; Kumar and Indrayan 2002). A fixed number of households was randomly selected from the sampled enumeration areas based on the household listings obtained from each enumeration area.

2.2.3 Data collection tools

Three data collection tools were used: household listing form(s), questionnaire (Appendix I), and consent forms. An interviewer-administered questionnaire was used to collect data in the target hotspots. The questionnaire was adapted from several questionnaires used to estimate human trafficking including the Delphi Survey questionnaire, the UNICEF report on reversing the trend of child trafficking in Asia, and the questionnaire used to estimate Modern Slavery (Larsen & Diego-Rosell, 2017; UNICEF EAPRO, 2009). Research assistants administered a survey tool for each sampled household containing the following thematic areas:

- ***I.*** Household member listing
- ***II.*** Household characteristics
- ***III.*** Whether the respondent was aware of any victim of child trafficking in the household within the last five years
- ***IV.*** Network size of each household, and thereafter determine whether respondents knew of other households within their networks that might have had victims of child trafficking. The questions for the network scale-up methodology were used to provide an estimate of child trafficking.
- ***V.*** Information about members of the household, to determine the correlates for vulnerability to trafficking at household level.
- ***VI.*** Perceptions and opinions on the status of the household, as well as the children's welfare, assessment of child trafficking victimhood, victimhood assessment and assessment of exploitation.

Prior to survey implementation, the questionnaire was piloted in a sample of 152 households in rural and urban areas of targeted districts. The pilot was done alongside data collection for the qualitative phase of the baseline study. During the pilot, validity and reliability of the questions was checked for, especially those used to estimate prevalence of child trafficking so as to maximize response rates. The validity and reliability of the tool were also checked. Based on the feedback obtained from the pilot, adjustments were made to the questionnaire to produce a version which was translated into Krio and Mende, the local languages spoken in the target districts. The questionnaire was programmed into the Open Data Kit platform and uploaded onto android tablets that were used to collect data.

2.2.4 Measurement of indicators

_I_. Assessment of prevalence of child trafficking victims/survivors in a household

Questions were included in the survey tool to assess the prevalence of child trafficking victims/survivors, as defined by the U.S. State Department (DoS) as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring

or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation." The UN Trafficking Protocol (2000) Article 3 (a) defines exploitation to include "at a minimum, the exploitation or prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs".

II. **Measure of vulnerability to child trafficking**
The vulnerability index was used to estimate the level of vulnerability to child trafficking. This index is adapted from several questionnaires that measure vulnerability to child trafficking and exploitation, as well as RAN's resilience framework (Amin et al., 2013; UNICEF EAPRO, 2009).

III. **Assessment of correlates of child trafficking**
The questionnaire included questions to determine risk and protective factors associated with child trafficking. Data on individual, household and community correlates of child trafficking were captured.

The survey tool also included questions to establish prevalence estimates for child labor and vulnerability to trafficking. Child labour included: "***(a)*** children aged 5-11 who in the seven days preceding the survey worked for someone who was not a member of the household, with or without pay, or engaged in any other family work or did household chores for 28 hours or more, and ***(b)*** children aged 12-14 who in the seven days preceding the survey worked for someone who was not a member of the household, with or without pay, or engaged in any other family work for 14 hours or more or did household chores for 28 hours or more" (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2013).

2.3 QUALITATIVE METHODS

2.3.1 Preamble for the qualitative methods

A community-based participatory research approach was used to ensure that community members' voices were captured. The purpose of the qualitative study was to gain deeper insights into the context, set up, and dynamics of child trafficking in Sierra Leone, so as to understand the drivers of vulnerability, and to explore institutional factors affecting compliance to TVPA standards for prevention of child trafficking. A total of five (5) key data collection methods were employed:

- ***1)*** A comprehensive desk review of relevant literature
- ***2)*** Key informant interviews (KIIs) with representatives of Government and NGOs at national and local government levels
- ***3)*** KIIs with local leaders and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) that are knowledgeable about the set-up and dynamics of human trafficking
- ***4)*** In-depth interviews (IDIs) with identified survivors of child trafficking (that have gone through rehabilitation in shelters or those identified by the community leaders) and/or referred parents/guardians of victims/survivors of child trafficking
- ***5)*** Focus group discussions (FGDs) with representatives of local communities in the geographic hotspots, including an FGD with members of the National Taskforce on Human trafficking (excluding those that had been interviewed during the KIIs).

This assessment focused on human-trafficking activities in the domain of trafficking of children as defined by the TVPA and U.S Department of State. The study specifically focused on child trafficking amongst boys and girls aged 5-17 years.

Interviews however, were conducted among trafficking survivors aged 18-22 years of age with a five-year reference period from when they turned adults. The source and destination activities within Sierra Leone as well as transit activities were also explored.

2.3.3 Sample size and sampling strategy

Sampling for the qualitative study was purposive, targeting information-rich sources at each level of data collection. Sampling at the community level (for IDIs and KIIs) involved the use of snowball sampling—information-rich sources identified in the first round nominated other local information-rich sources. The table below summarizes sampling at each level.

Table 1: data collection activities, data sources and sample size for the qualitative study

Data collection method	Data source	Est. No. Of participants
1) Comprehensive desk review of literature on human trafficking in the West Africa region	• Key published articles on human trafficking in West Africa • Reports, laws, polices and guidelines from Government agencies involved in addressing human trafficking • Reports, polices, and guidelines from national and international NGOs involved in mitigating human trafficking	N/A
2) KIIs with representatives of Government and NGOs at national and sub-national levels	Key Informants from Government agencies such as: • Ministry of Social Welfare/Action • Ministry of Justice • Police Family Support Unit (FSU) (focuses on gender and child protection issues) Key Informants from national level NGOs/INGOs such as: • IOM • UNICEF- child protection units • WHI • Caritas Key Informants from regional local Government leaders from hotspot districts of Kono, Kenema and Kailahun.	20
3) KIIs with local opinion leaders and CSOs knowledgeable about the dynamics and set up of human trafficking	In the first round of interviews, one local opinion leader and one CSO leader was identified at local level. Each was then asked to nominate two other entities/individuals in each category, until at least three levels of referrals were attained (snowball sampling).	
4) IDIs with referred survivors of child trafficking and/or parents or guardians of victims/survivors of child trafficking in Sierra Leone	Opinion leaders and/or NGOs were requested to identify survivors of child trafficking and/or their parents or guardians. Some of the victims were identified from receiving centers/shelters for children rescued from trafficking (survivors).	50
5) FGDs with representatives of local communities in geographic hotspots for child trafficking in Sierra Leone	Representatives of households in hotspot source and destination communities for child trafficking were identified and organized into FGDs. Representatives of households in hotspot source and destination communities for child trafficking were identified and organized into FGDs.	25 FGDs

2.3.4 Data collection procedures

Five key data collection techniques highlighted above and detailed below were employed. FGD participants from communities of study districts were identified by a field guide, usually, a local leader in a given community. At national level, an FGD was conducted with members of the National Task Force on Human Trafficking.

All interviews and discussions were conducted in isolated places to allow respondents confidentiality. Additionally, research officers sought consent from participants before collecting data. An approved consent form was read out aloud and in detail to each participant in the case of KIIs and IDIs, while for FGDs it was read out to the group. Once consent was given, KII and IDI participants signed the informed consent form by appending a signature or thumb print.

For FGDs, respondents gave verbal consent before the interview was conducted, and one participant signed on behalf of other group members. FGDs had an average of 8-12 participants and discussions lasted 30-90 minutes. Two research officers participated in each interview either as a moderator or note taker. A total of 20 KIIs, 25 IDIs and 25 FGDs were conducted in December 2019. Interviews were conducted in either English or the local languages of Krio or Mende.

Comprehensive desk review of literature on human trafficking in West Africa

The aim was to obtain key published and unpublished articles on child trafficking in the region, so as to understand the context, prevalence and impact of the problem, interventions undertaken so far, and institutional capacities for addressing the issue. The literature review also provided information on key instruments and tools available to measure human-trafficking and their use. Source documents included reports from national and international NGOs involved in mitigating human trafficking, in addition to results of literature searches from search engines such as Google Scholar and databases like PubMed.

Key informant interviews with Governmental and Non-Governmental agencies

KIIs were held with representatives of the Government, NGOs and experts at national and community levels. To gain an understanding of the local context of child trafficking, key informants were also recruited from district local governments in the identified hotspots. The purpose of the interviews was to collect key informants' views on the burden of child-trafficking, the dynamics involved, and the capacity of institutions to address human trafficking.

Key informant interviews with local leaders and local Civil Society Organizations

KIIs were held with local opinion leaders and local CSOs that are knowledgeable about the dynamics and set up of child trafficking. A snowballing approach was used to identify referrals for interviews. During the first round of interviews, one local opinion leader and one local CSO were identified by district local government leaders (one in each category of known source communities and one in each category of known destination communities).

Thereafter, each of the primary entities identified was asked to nominate two other entities in each category until at least three levels of referrals were attained. The purpose of the interviews was to understand:

- ***a)*** local dynamics of child trafficking;
- ***b)*** key influencers and traffickers;
- ***c)*** routes of movement;
- ***d)*** most vulnerable sub-groups/households and factors driving their vulnerability; and
- ***e)*** local institutional frameworks for mitigating the problem

The KIIs were also intended to gain insight into the factors that characterize the "hidden in open sight" nature of child trafficking.

In-depth interviews with survivors of child trafficking and/or their parents or guardians

IDIs were held with adult survivors of child-trafficking who had experienced trafficking in the last five years as well as parents or guardians of referred victims/survivors of child trafficking. Individuals currently in trafficking were excluded.

Respondents in previously held KIIs referred the research team to survivors of child trafficking (aged 18-22 years) known to them. Identified survivors and/or their parents or guardians who were

accessible participated in semi-structured interviews. Survivors were also identified from reception/ rehabilitation centres. The purpose of the IDIs was to understand survivors' experiences and the processes involved in the child trafficking chain.

Focus group discussions with community representatives.
FGDs with representatives of communities in geographic hotspots for child trafficking were conducted with selected members from hotspot source and destination communities. The purpose was to understand community members' perceptions of the local dynamics of child trafficking, key influencers and traffickers, most vulnerable sub-groups/households and factors driving their vulnerability, and local institutional frameworks for mitigating the problem. The FGDs also investigated factors that lead to the 'hidden in open sight' nature of child trafficking. In each hotspot, at least one FGD was conducted with four participant groups which included adult males, adult females, female and male youths.

2.3.5 Data collection teams
Data was collected by 60 local research officers with graduate level training and prior experience in collection of qualitative and quantitative data. This ensured research officers' familiarity with the regions, political, cultural, and socio-economic context of the respondents. In addition, a team of five local research supervisors supported the data collection exercise. The local research team was trained as trainers of trainers (ToT) by RAN and APRIES teams for a period of two weeks. The training focused on the concepts of the baseline assessment, and orientation to the data collection tools.

Individuals trained through the ToTs subsequently trained the rest of the research officers in a 3-day mandatory exercise which focused on orienting them about the study protocols and procedures. The training also provided an overview of the basic concepts of human and child trafficking, as well as guidelines and strategies for data collection on sensitive topics. The research officers and supervisors pilot tested and refined the data collection tools while ensuring that their core content was not changed.

The aforementioned trainings enabled the data collection team gain basic understanding of human



trafficking and best practices on collection of the required data.
To ensure maximum adherence to the study protocol, data collection was closely supervised by teams of experienced researchers from RAN and Conflict Management & Development Associates in Sierra Leone (CMDA-SL).

2.3.6 Qualitative data management and analysis
Transcription: All interview data was recorded using portable audio recorders. Recordings were assigned a unique identification code, and all were de-identified before analyses.

At the end of each day of data collection, the recordings were downloaded to a computer and backed up on another password-protected computer. Audio files were transcribed in two rounds. In round 1, audio files were transcribed by a local transcriber fluent in English and the local language. In round II, transcribers fluent in English and the local languages transcribed all audio recordings into English using verbatim translation—ensuring that the inherent meaning or context of the interview was not lost.

Analysis: Once the recordings were transcribed, resulting transcripts for all types of qualitative data were analyzed using the constant comparative method and guided by the constructionist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2002; Glaser, 1965). This process was performed in four steps detailed below:

Step 1. Development of preliminary coding schemes

A specific coding scheme was developed for each of the four types of qualitative data, namely, IDIs with survivors and parents of survivors, KIIs with opinion leaders at community and national level, FGDs with the national anti-trafficking task force and community members.

Three coding scheme development teams, each comprising a minimum of 2 individuals were created at RAN and the Universities of Georgia and Liverpool. Each team was assigned a subset of transcripts by the Qualitative Analysis Lead (QAL). Each team identified themes, major codes and sub codes based on the interview questions and respondents' responses (Miles & Huberman, 1994) (Glasser & Strauss, 1967). This process resulted in three preliminary coding schemes.

Step 2. Finalizing coding scheme

The three coding schemes were merged by the QAL and discussed with all the coding scheme development teams to establish a near-final coding scheme document. The final coding scheme comprised themes, major codes, sub codes, and their respective definitions, as well as examples retrieved directly from the transcripts. The coding scheme was used to code transcripts in Steps 3 and 4 below.

Step 3: Individual coding

The coding process is performed in two phases: individual coding ***(Step 3)*** and coding-to-agreement ***(Step 4).***

Multi-disciplinary two or three-person coding teams were created to ensure inclusion of diverse perspectives and increase the credibility of the analysis. Due to the high volume of transcripts and the need to ensure accuracy of coding, a coding schedule was developed comprised of several rounds. Each round was divided into eight codes. This strategy enabled the coder to focus on only coding the transcripts for up to eight codes at a time, thereby reducing coder fatigue and increasing the accuracy of outcomes of the exercise.

Each team was informed of which rounds of codes they would be assigned and once assigned, each team member was responsible for individually coding all transcripts for codes within their designated round. To facilitate the process, a team lead was assigned within each team to guide other team members as needed. This team lead was responsible for keeping the team on schedule, facilitating and finalizing the coding-to-agreement process (described below in Step 4).

Step 4: Team coding-to-agreement

This was the final step of the coding process and entailed teams meeting to discuss each person's codes, agree and finalize codes for each round. Each member presented their coded transcripts and codes to the group. If the team's codes matched, then the code was finalized. If the team's codes differed, each team member explained to the group why they chose that specific code and provided supporting evidence from the transcript. The group then discussed the differing code until a consensus was reached. This process was led by the team lead and took place after each round. The goal of the process was to achieve 100% consensus amongst the coding team regarding each code before moving on to the next round of coding.

Steps 1 through 4 were overseen by the project's QAL. In addition, all coding team members were required to attend a weekly team supervision meeting which focused on resolving problems that arose during the coding process. Once all the coding had taken place, the teams entered the final codes into a qualitative analysis software - Nvivo, which was used to facilitate data organization, retrieval, and analysis for report writing.



3.0 FINDINGS I: CHILD TRAFFICKING CHARACTERISTICS, PREVALENCE AND CORRELATES

3.1 Background characteristics for the respondents and households

A total of 2,990 households with eligible adult respondents across the three hotspots of Kenema, Kono and Kailahun were surveyed. Enumerated households totaled to 1,220 (39.7%), 945 (30.8%) and 905 (29.5%) in the districts of Kenema, Kono and Kailahun respectively, with a total of 16,408 household members.

Overall, 63% of the households were from rural areas with Kono district having the largest proportion (75%) of respondents residing in rural areas, while Kenema had the highest proportion of respondents (45.9%) residing in urban areas.

Table 2: background characteristics for respondents in the household survey

Characteristic	Category	Kenema n=1,143		Kono n=944		Kailahun n=903		Overall n=2,990	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Residence type:	Urban	525	45.9	233	24.7	342	37.9	1,100	36.8
	Rural	618	54.1	711	75.3	561	62.1	1,890	63.2
Gender	Male	188	16.4	319	33.8	91	10.1	598	20
	Female	955	83.6	625	66.2	812	89.9	2,392	80
Marital status	Single	55	4.8	84	8.9	21	2.3	160	5.4
	Married	874	76.5	664	70.3	712	78.8	2,250	75.3
	Separated/Divorced	43	3.8	51	5.4	15	1.7	109	3.6
	Widowed	171	15	144	15.3	155	17.2	470	15.7
	Other	0	0	1	0.1	0	0	1	0
Mean age	Mean:	38.6(12.7)		38.8(12.2)		39.4(12.4)		38.9(12.5)	
Age category	18-29	276	24.1	223	23.6	202	22.4	701	23.4
	30-39	382	33.4	332	35.2	284	31.5	998	33.4
	40-49	264	23.1	203	21.5	217	24	684	22.9
	50-59	128	11.2	114	12.1	128	14.2	370	12.4
	60-69	54	4.7	50	5.3	47	5.2	151	5.1
	70+	39	3.4	22	2.3	25	2.8	86	2.9
Level of education completed by last school year	0= None	694	60.7	602	63.8	683	75.6	1,979	66.2
	Pre-primary	2	0.2	19	2	3	0.3	24	0.8
	Primary	170	14.9	142	15	81	9	393	13.1
	JSS	117	10.2	93	9.9	80	8.9	290	9.7
	SSS	108	9.4	63	6.7	42	4.7	213	7.1
	Tertiary	37	3.2	19	2	7	0.8	63	2.1
	Other	15	1.3	6	0.6	7	0.8	28	0.9
Religion	Christian	157	13.7	443	46.9	259	28.7	859	28.7
	Muslim	985	86.2	491	52	637	70.5	2,113	70.7
	Tribal religion	1	0.1	2	0.2	3	0.3	6	0.2
	Don't know	0	0	8	0.8	4	0.4	12	0.4

Majority (80%) of respondents were females, 75% were married and their average age was 38.9 (SD=12.5). Most (70.7%) respondents were Muslims, and 66% had not received any formal education, with Kailahun district having the highest proportion of respondents (70.7%) who had not received any education.



Table 3: background characteristics of household heads

Characteristic	Category	Kenema n=1,143		Kono n=944		Kailahun n=903		Overall n=2,990	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Residence type:	Urban	524	45.8	233	24.7	342	37.9	1,099	36.8
	Rural	619	54.2	711	75.3	561	62.1	1,891	63.2
Gender	Male	844	73.8	720	76.3	713	79	2,277	76.2
	Female	299	26.2	224	23.7	190	21	713	23.8
Marital status	Single	29	2.5	71	7.5	16	1.8	116	3.9
	Married	893	78.1	674	71.4	718	79.5	2,285	76.4
	Separated/Divorced	48	4.2	51	5.4	18	2	117	3.9
	Widowed	173	15.1	147	15.6	151	16.7	471	15.8
	Other	0	0	1	0.1	0	0	1	0
Mean age	Mean:	45.4(13.4)		43.9(12.5)		47.1(12.7)		45.4(13.0)	
Age category	18-29	104	9.1	99	10.5	56	6.2	259	8.7
	30-39	282	24.7	284	30.1	194	21.5	760	25.4
	40-49	357	31.2	262	27.8	270	29.9	889	29.7
	50-59	212	18.5	181	19.2	218	24.1	611	20.4
	60-69	111	9.7	78	8.3	105	11.6	294	9.8
	70+	77	6.7	40	4.2	60	6.6	177	5.9
Level of education completed by last school year	0= None	590	51.6	556	58.9	602	66.7	1,748	58.5
	Pre-primary	2	0.2	13	1.4	2	0.2	17	0.6
	Primary	147	12.9	152	16.1	78	8.6	377	12.6
	JSS	126	11	106	11.2	93	10.3	325	10.9
	SSS	148	12.9	80	8.5	70	7.8	298	10
	Tertiary	87	7.6	26	2.8	35	3.9	148	4.9
	Other	43	3.8	11	1.2	23	2.5	77	2.6
Religion	Christian	147	12.9	439	46.5	264	29.2	850	28.4
	Muslim	996	87.1	494	52.3	634	70.2	2,124	71
	Tribal religion	0	0	3	0.3	2	0.2	5	0.2
	Don't know	0	0	8	0.8	3	0.3	11	0.4

On the other hand, majority of household heads (76.2%) were males, and 76.5% were married.

Their average age was 45.4 years (SD=13), majority (58.5%) had not received any education, and 71% were Muslims.

Table 4: characteristics of children in households

Characteristic	Category	Kenema n=7,182		Kono n=4,518		Kailahun n=4,708		Overall n=16,408	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Age categories of children in the household (n=7,623)	0-4	823	23.2	460	23.1	340	16.3	1,623	21.3
	5-17	2,731	76.8	1,528	76.9	1,741	83.7	6,000	78.7
Person contributes to the expenses of the household (n=7,623)	No	3,320	93.4	1,693	85.2	1,722	82.7	6,735	88.4
	Yes	234	6.6	295	14.8	359	17.3	888	11.6
Person currently lives in the home (n=7,623)	No	343	9.7	163	8.2	170	8.2	676	8.9
	Yes	3,211	90.3	1,825	91.8	1,911	91.8	6,947	91.1
Among those who left the households (n=1,185): Time since they left	0-6months	126	36.7	29	17.8	99	58.2	254	37.6
	7-12months	76	22.2	44	27	24	14.1	144	21.3
	13-24months	63	18.4	47	28.8	25	14.7	135	20
	Over 24months	78	22.7	43	26.4	22	12.9	143	21.2
Reason the person left the home (n=1,185)	Marriage	3	0.9	1	0.6	3	1.8	7	1
	Migration	30	8.7	0	0	3	1.8	33	4.9
	School	294	85.7	144	88.3	159	93.5	597	88.3
	Work	10	2.9	6	3.7	4	2.4	20	3
	Other/	5	1.5	11	6.7	2	1.2	18	2.7
This person has disability	No	3,483	98	1,948	98	1,995	95.9	7,426	97.4
	Yes	71	2	40	2	86	4.1	197	2.6

Majority of children (75.4%) were enrolled in school at the time of the data collection, while 12.5% were single orphans. Furthermore, 54.6% of respondents indicated lack of funds to pay for education as the reason for some children not being in school.

Among the children that had left home to leave elsewhere, 83.3% had gone to stay with their relatives or extended family members. In addition, 6.7% of the children had reportedly been sent away from home to learn some trade or skill, while 18.2% of the children were not allowed to contact their family members. Furthermore, 18.3% of the children were said to have left their homes to work elsewhere as Menpikins. However, only 9.7% (n=6,000) of the children in the households had reportedly worked as a Menpikin during the year preceding the survey. On the other hand, 21.2% of children living away from home were reportedly staying in very bad living conditions such as having little access to food, clean water, or sanitation.

3.2 Nature and forms of child trafficking

3.2.1 Experiences of victims/survivors

Our research revealed that children removed from their homes could find themselves faced with a range of forms and types of work and non-work-related exploitation and abuse. Interviews carried out with survivors of child trafficking, parents of survivors, and key informants provided rich and detailed information about street-selling/vending, domestic work, hazardous work, forced begging, criminality, prostitution and sexual exploitation.

A range of circumstances were reported, but majorly the most common themes involved relocation away from a child's biological family with the promise to send them to school. Once relocated to the new residence, the reality facing the child was a requirement to spend long periods helping with domestic chores or engaging in street vending, at the expense of school attendance:

"He told me that the program on my education hadn't worked and so I had to join him do his business if I wanted to live my life. While selling for him, I lost one of his bed sheets and he asked me to pay for it." (SUR05)

"But when I went there, about a week to the re-opening of school, she told me to be selling cold water until school re-opens. So, I started selling until school reopened, then I asked her about the school business. She then told me to continue selling the cold water, the money she will use to buy my school materials. But for her own children, they started to go to school straight off while I stayed home selling." (SUR08)

"In the morning, I would be the one to wash the dishes, launder her children's clothes, and sweep the compound. While her own children went to school, I was left at home to undertake the household chores." (SUR13)

"When I was with my step mom, I was selling for her, nothing ever seemed right for her, whatever I do she will shout and use abusive words on me." (SUR17)

"The children were convinced to sell various items, often with a promise that this work would be used to raise money to cover school costs, but that this turned out to be a false promise.

"I am the only one doing all the work and she did not send me to school, I do all job for her children, one day when I was on the street selling, I saw my uncle, I told him to call my mum but he said my mum does not have a phone." (SUR20)

"When my mother returned to the village, my aunt started complaining that early in the morning I am preparing myself to go to school and not going to sell for her. This happened twice. She asked me to take off my uniform and go to the market to sell for her." (SUR10)

There was one example of a boy sent to a Koranic school who complained of exploitation at the hands of the Marabout (teacher). While this child was able to escape and return home, his parents did not believe him and would not accept him back, leaving him to live on the street:

"While I was staying with her, she would often lie to my parents that I was in school, when in fact I was out on the streets selling wares for her." (SUR12)

"The koranic (marabout) teacher who was also our caretaker was not taking proper care of us, he was maltreating us…. So I left the school and came back to my parents, but they did not accept me to stay with them." (SUR05)



Another complex, exploitative and highly gendered experience frequently emerged for young girls who have been moved to a new home, where prostitution and sexual relationships with older men becomes a means of earning money. While there was a potential for victims to gain some sort of independence from domestic life, there are very high risks attached.

In our sample of survivors, there was often a fine line between transactional sex and prostitution but both contained strong indicators of exploitation and abuse. For the victims there was a perception that sexual relationships represented a viable means of escape and survival, or avoidance of other forms of exploitation:

"Later when a girl in the community made friends with me and encouraged me to move in with her, I did so gladly. That is how I entered prostitution." (SUR03)

Pregnancies were also reported in situations outside of prostitution and transactional sex, such as in the context of domestic work:

"In the survivors' accounts, the transactional and exploitative characteristics of sexual relationships was clear, but for the victims there was a distinction between prostitution and a relationship that results in financial gain or gifts. However, the abusive and controlling nature of these relationships became all too apparent once a girl became pregnant, or otherwise dependent:

"The boy lived in the same place where I live and that is why I got pregnant" (SUR04)

"I was having what I needed but there was so much violence. Some men will take me to get sex with me, when I go with them, they will start beating me up, collecting the money that I have made for that night." (SUR18)

"My aunty did not ask me to leave the house, me - I ran away from her to the street to look for men who can give me money ……. (Silence for while) I think I was fifteen years when I left her." (SUR20)

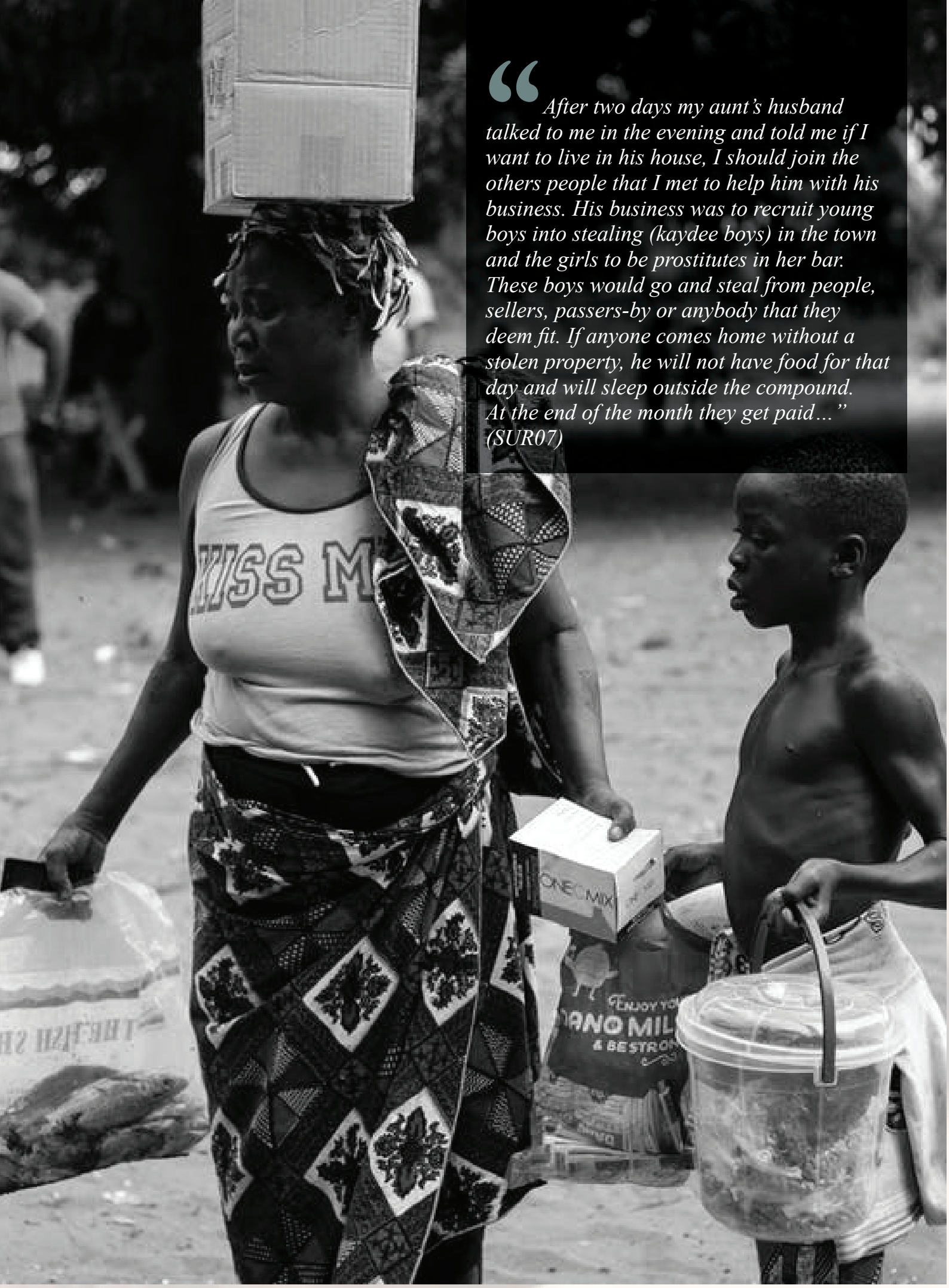
"Although I have started doing it before I went to their house, but I like having sex with him because anytime we did it, he will give me a lot of money and also will not allow her wife to maltreat me." (SUR01)

"At that moment he was helping me. That gave me the cause to move to him but no sooner I was with him, he started mistreating me. I don't know if it is because of the pregnancy. He doesn't care whether I needed soap or food." (SUR10)

Patterns of school attendance were complex across our sample of survivors. On many occasions, children were allowed to go to school for a short period and then required to work, or alternatively expected to work very early in the morning and then attend school later. We also heard testimonies of children carrying out hazardous work such as mining. These activities were sometimes, but not always, arranged to accommodate school attendance:

"I was also mining stones at Kongordadukor in Simbakorror where they are mining gold or I go fetch firewood. When I work in the mining site, whatever little I have for that day, I will have to manage it. We go there as early as 4am on foot because it's a long distance. Then we return around 7am to 8am then I get ready for school. (SUR17)

There were several cases of criminal activity (street crime) and begging in our sample of survivors. With regard to criminal activity, testimonies pointed to coercion by other household members who frequently used drugs and alcohol to control the children. With regard to street begging, children engaged in this activity due to abandonment and necessity rather than as part of organized crime. They are 'made' or forced to beg on the street to survive - because they are not receiving basic needs:



"After two days my aunt's husband talked to me in the evening and told me if I want to live in his house, I should join the others people that I met to help him with his business. His business was to recruit young boys into stealing (kaydee boys) in the town and the girls to be prostitutes in her bar. These boys would go and steal from people, sellers, passers-by or anybody that they deem fit. If anyone comes home without a stolen property, he will not have food for that day and will sleep outside the compound. At the end of the month they get paid…" (SUR07)

"I stole a mobile phone and I was caught in the act. I was taken to the police station at Lumley but I manage to call my uncle and I was released the next day. Because my uncle knew I was too afraid, he increased the amount of drugs and alcohol that he used to give me, I use to take one tablet of tramadol and 5 packets of rum and one tie weed (jamba) for the day and another dose at night." (SUR07)

"My friend saw me begging in Kenema district and she told me that it is not good and what the mammy was doing is bad. She told me that the mammy should have brought me to my parents instead of making me to beg in the street. I said that it is true. I did not have what to eat, I was just passing in the street without any food and with my sickness." (SUR04)

3.2.2 Consequences for victims and their families

Among our sample of survivors, there was evidence in their responses of the trauma due to the trafficking experience. These included comments about feelings of depression, suicidal thoughts, difficulties in communicating, and ongoing emotional distress. These were triggered when recalling their experiences, or perhaps inadvertently by reminders such as presence of family members who had been involved:

"I'm afraid of her up till now. Anytime when I see her I felt the experiences I had when I was with her in Kono…. anytime I see her, I felt the pain I experience when I was with her." (SUR02)

"What was easy for me to learn is now difficult - I can't comprehend much for now, my brain is now weak. Whenever I make an effort to study, she will shout my name." (SUR17)

"I keep quiet most of the time; I just leave everything in my heart." (SUR15)

"The parents we spoke to often noted the physical and psychological consequences of their children being trafficked . These observed as changes in behavior, sometimes directly related to the trafficking experience, other times due to stigmatization upon return to the community:

"When I tell you he looks not fine and that means he is not well. He is not alright." (PAR01)

"From the way I am seeing her, she is not quite normal. Sometimes even when you talk to her, her attention will not be there. She does all her domestic work correctly. Really there is a problem perhaps because of the defect on the ear." (PAR03)

"My daughter used to talk and play with her friends. But since she come, she has not been talking or even see her with her friends. When you ask or she will say nothing. Even her friends don't want to be with her, people (some) are laughing at her and my family too." (PAR02)



3.2.3 Means of control

Interviewed survivors reported that they were subjected to a range of restrictions in order to maintain them in a state of exploitation. Cases of physical and psychological forms of violence were common. These were described as happening in an open and almost casual manner, often repeated and as punishment for a perceived lack of productivity on the part of the child, or in response to complaints about the work, sometimes with long-lasting repercussions:

"Well if I do the work, she was happy but if not she will shout, insult and sometimes beat me severely." (SUR09)

"...one day she gave me a heavy slap on my left ear with a heavy pot lid. I felt pain for months on my left ear from that time I can only hear with my right ear I cannot use my left ear because I cannot hear anything." (SUR02)

"At one time she asked me to put the pot on the fire, I did not know that there was sand under the pot, she throw the hot water on me. You can see the marks on my body but I did not take her to the police." (SUR17)



The victim/perpetrator pattern was highly gendered, with boys and girls trafficked for labor exploitation normally controlled by an adult woman (referred to as 'Aunty' or in some instances referred to as 'Sister') who would be running the business in question, or acting as head of the household. Girls were often moved to a sister's or auntie's house to perform domestic chores and look after other children. Survivors often mentioned frustration of witnessing their abuser's biological children go to school and get fed, while they suffered.

In the context of prostitution or transactional sexual relationships, the victims were female, and use of violence was even more frequent, with survivors reporting that physical abuse was a constant threat from the men they were with. Evidence from our sample suggests that the prospect of any police involvement would work to the advantage of the trafficker, rather than the victim:

> *"I was having what I needed but there was so much violence. Some men will take me to get sex with me, when I go with them, they will start beating me up, collecting the money that I have made for that night." (SUR18)*

> *"Some of the men I met were good while others were very terrible. Some beat me and took my property after we finish and they would shout at me to leave their house or they would call the police." (SUR03)*

One of the key features of child trafficking we found was the ease with which victims, once separated from a safe environment, could be controlled and manipulated. This grip is tightened through the use of restrictions either on travel or communication with family and friends, thus isolating the individual and keeping them trapped in the situation, often through deceptive techniques, and consequently generating significant emotional anguish for the victim:

"I thought I will be seeing my parents often, but I never saw them for five years. Every day I slept at her house. I prayed and begged for my mother or father or for anyone that I know from my village to come and visit our house but my prayers did not work." (SUR02)

"I spent two years in Kono and never communicated with my parents. I was not having a phone and I never knew how to handle one... Sometimes I searched around parking places to trace familiar 'okada' riders from my home town to help send a message to my parents, but I couldn't find one." (SUR05)

"She was not allowing me to talk to any of my family members because she was saying when you come with those children from the village they will be in haste to go back to the village. So she was not allowing me." (SUR10)

Denying basic needs to the children was frequently part of the system of control, rendering the victim hungry and helpless, while at the same time forcing them to make difficult choices that could result in violent retribution.

"She was asking me to do business but she was not feeding me in the morning. So if I happened to sell two or three pints of palm oil, I will use some of the money to find something to eat…When she discovered that I have eaten some of the money from the sales, she will be aggressive with me, she will even beat me up." (SUR10)

"At a certain time, I spoke with my sister that the work was too much for me and that I'm not used to eat once a day with too much work." (SUR02)

"I do the cooking, but no food was given to me to eat and everything will be given to her children to eat." (SUR11)

Parents of survivors confirmed that when they heard from or reconnected with their children, they often discovered that they were in a state of extreme hunger and left to fend for themselves, sometimes without even basic shelter:

"He reported that it's taken a week that both he and the child have been outdoors and he is not well and that the woman does not allow the child indoors at all." (PAR03)

"They were not having food to eat and they were sleeping on empty wooden stick made to hold clothes… They said that is where they were sleeping. They said the mother of the Karamokoh was not kind to them" (PAR07)

Abusers take advantage of a number of factors that make it difficult for victims to extract themselves. One of these is the belief among many victims that if they remain patient the situation would improve, or that there is little that they can do because the situation they face is part of God's plan.

"I was exercising patience because I thought that as time progresses; she will change her attitude towards me because when you are waiting for good things, you will have to exercise patience…. In life you have to exercise patience and cope with the condition you are faced with because nothing lasts forever." (SUR14)

"It happened because God wanted me to go through it. It was God that took my mother and father leaving me alone so I don't think anyone can stop God." (SUR07)

"I accepted whatever maltreatment I got from her since I had no way out at that time." (SUR12)

"The only advice I will give my colleagues that have faced similar trafficking is for them to have the courage and I will tell them that there's no life without challenges. So, they need to be patient with their present situation." (SUR19)



3.3 Child work, labor or trafficking

3.3.1 Understanding and definitions from the respondents' perspective

FGDs with community representatives included three vignettes [Appendix II] which were designed to explore justifications and moral judgements concerning children and their treatment. We were particularly interested in opinions and understanding of the distinctions between the various definitions of child work, labor, and trafficking.

- Vignette 1 [child trafficking] described the situation of a 9-year-old girl who is forced to work and not allowed to go to school, with other indicators of trafficking (coercion, violence, isolation).
- Vignette 2 [child labor] described the situation for two children aged 14 and 10, who are expected to carry out hard work on the family farm and are only occasionally able to attend school.
- Vignette 3 - described the situation for a sister and brother aged 15 and 8 respectively, who regularly attend school but are also expected to carry out (age-appropriate) work (domestic chores)

As expected, FGD participants strongly condemned the exploitation of the child in Vignette 1. This reaction allowed us to explore how familiarity of this situation, and the terms and concepts commonly used by community members to describe cases of child trafficking. Vignettes 2 and 3 enabled the FGD to explore a bit more deeply the distinction between child labor and child work.

We found a strong consensus within our community focus groups around the appropriateness of child involvement in domestic duties and helping with the family business, aligned with gender and age-specific roles and expectations. This was combined with a strong norm that such activities would only be acceptable work for children to carry out if they were reasonable and could be fitted around school attendance. However, it was unanimous that what constitutes reasonable amount of work should be left to parents' judgement:



"I say [Vignette 3] is nice because it does not take you away from school, it allows you to study and rest. In the morning you clean your room and in the afternoon you do some work so it's nice." (FGD09)

"It's [Vignette 3] fine because their father was training them for their future marital homes so that they cannot be lazy, and will be able to carry out their domestic duties." (FGD07)

"It's [Vignette 3] acceptable because the children will learn a lot through domestic training from their parents especially for the girls when they get married." (FGD17)



In the vignette where children are expected to perform hard work and not allowed to regularly attend school, the consensus was not quite as strong that this was wrong. Many comments were made about poor parenting practices in rural areas, where people were said to be 'lazy', have too many children, and then try and benefit from them financially. Participants blamed both the child's parents for not adequately monitoring the situation, and the hosting 'aunty' or 'uncle' who was mistreating the child. However, the balance was more on denouncing the denial of education. There were less comments on the age-appropriateness of the work itself.

"[Vignette 2] So when the children came back from school they should help their parents two or three hours but it should not be hard work." (FGD08)

"I believe every good parent will want their children to learn how to do some work for themselves. You as a parent should know when to be hard on the child and when to be soft." (FGD18)

"[Vignette 1] The only thing I think is wrong in the story is when the woman in the story in the city did not send her to school. But later gave so much work to the poor child." (FGD02)

"It is not fine because if you say your children should go to school you should allow them go to school, as parent your hope and trust should be on their schooling…" (FGD08)

"[Vignette 1] It is not good because the work is too much for her age: nine years." (FGD09)

3.3.2 Light work and child labor

We found that 86.9% (n=6,000) of the children in enumerated households had performed some form of work inside the home, with the largest proportion (87.3%) reported in Kono district.
Majority (96.6%) of children were reportedly performing some form of work outside the household, with the highest proportion being in Kenema district (98.1%), followed by Kailahun district (97.5%) and in Kono (93.4%). The average number of hours of work outside the home was 8.1 (SD=15.1), with Kono district recording the highest average number of hours (15.5 (SD=20.2) that children were involved in work. However, just about one third of the respondents were certain of the estimated duration of work hours for the children.

3.3.3 Sectors for child work

Most (83.2%; n=6,000) children were reportedly working in the service sector as domestic workers, followed by agricultural work (38.1%), while 18.8% were involved in trading activities. Kono district had the highest proportion of children involved in domestic servitude (91.6%), agricultural sector (51.2%), trading (24.7%), pottering (9.6%), and construction (8.3%). It was also noted that majority of the children were working for their family - nuclear family/household (86.2%), their own self (22.6%) and extended family members (20.3%).

3.3.4 Child labour estimates

Overall, 2%of the children who were exposed to any form of work had been subjected to child labour. Specifically, 47.1% (n=2,731), 61.3% (n=1,528) and 51.6% (n=1,741) of children had experienced child labour in the districts of Kenema, Kono and Kailahun respectively. Majority of the children that experienced child labour were males (53.5%; n=2,888); from rural households (53.1%; n=3,448); aged 10-14 years (62.5%; n=2,200); and were said to be leaving in the household at the time of the survey 52.4% (n=5,356). Most of the children that were experiencing child labour were in primary school (57.2%; n=3,387), followed by those that had not attained any formal education (53.5%; n=630).

The following sectors were noted to have the highest proportion of children subjected to child labour: pottering (88.8%; n=376), construction (86.4%; n=176), begging (85%; n=60), manufacturing (83.3%; n=30), fishing (73.7%; n=179), mining/ quarrying (73.6%; n=121), motorcycle taxi riding (72.3%; n=47), working in workshops (71.1%; n=97), trading/vending activities (70.4%; n=1,130), sex work (70.4%; n=27), and agricultural work (65.7%; n=2,287).

3.3.5 Correlates of child labour

A number of factors were associated with child labour including gender, age, child being enrolled in a koranic school, social economic status (SES) of the household, household welfare, and a child's contribution to the household's expenses.
Females were less likely to experience child labour compared to males (PR 0.95; CI 0.9-0.99). Children aged 10-14 years were more likely to experience child labour compared to those aged 5-9 years (PR 1.26; CI 1.19-1.32). On the other hand, children aged 15-17 years were less likely to experience child labour compared to those aged 5-9 years (PR 0.78; CI 0.72-0.84). Children that had been enrolled in a koranic school were more likely to experience child labour compared to those not in koranic schools (PR 1.12; CI 1.06, 1.18).

Children that contributed to household expenses were 46% more likely to experience child labour compared to those that did not make any contribution (PR 1.46; CI 1.39-1.54).
Children belonging to households in higher wealth quintiles were less likely to experience child labour compared to those from the lowest wealth quintile. Children, particularly from households with the highest SES were 12% less likely to experience child labour compared to those that came from the lowest SES (PR 0.88; CI 0.81-0.95).

In addition, children from households with higher welfare were less likely to experience child labour compared to those from the lowest welfare quintile. For example, children from households with the highest welfare score quintiles were less likely to experience child labour compared to those from the lowest welfare quintile (PR 0.99; CI 0.91-1.07).
The other important variables that were not significantly associated with child labour include: relationship to the household head, household size, enrolment of a child in a formal school, child being an orphan, and the situation where the child was staying at the household at the time of the study.

3.3.6 Child trafficking

Overall household survey findings revealed that prevalence of child trafficking was 33.4% (n=6,000) across the three hotspots. Kono district had the highest proportion of trafficked children (45.4%;

n=1,528) followed by Kailahun (32.8%; n=1,741) and Kenema (26.9%; n=2,731). Males were more frequently trafficked (35.9%) than females. Majority of trafficked children came from rural households (36.7%); aged 15-17 years (50.1%); not staying within the households at the time of the survey (48.4%); attending Junior Secondary School (JSS) (42.9%); and were double orphans (49.5%).
It was also noted that majority of children were working for their family, especially nuclear family/ household (86.2%), their own self (22.6%), and extended family members (20.3%).

SECTORS FOR CHILD TRAFFICKING
The following sectors had the highest proportion of trafficked children: pottering (100%; n=376), construction (100%; n=176), begging (95%; n=60), manufacturing (100%; n=30), fishing (100%; n=179), mining/quarrying (100%; n=121), motorcycle taxi riding (83%; n=47), working in workshops (81.4%; n=97), trading/vending activities (66.5%; n=1,130), sex work (100%; n=27), agricultural work (54.5%; n=2,287) and domestic work (37.6%; n=4,989).
There were two common modes of trafficking. Related vulnerabilities were among 11.6% of children who were not allowed to leave or contact their parents, and 10.3% of children who were forced to work for individuals who were members of their household.

3.3.7 Correlates of Child Trafficking
The correlates that were significantly associated with child trafficking include gender, relationship to the household head, age, children contributing to the household expenses, status of the child staying/living in their homes together with their biological parents/ official guardians, child being enrolled in a koranic school, child being enrolled in a formal school, child being an orphan, social economic status (SES) of the household, and the household's welfare.
Females were less likely to be trafficked compared to males (PR 0.86; CI 0.80-0.93). Children aged 10-14 years were twice more likely to be trafficked compared to those aged 5-9 years (PR 2.0; CI 1.81-2.19). In addition, children aged 15-17 years were also more likely to be trafficked compared to those aged 5-9 years (PR 2.54; CI 2.32-2.82). Children that were reported to have contributed to their household expenses were twice more likely to be trafficked compared to those that did not make any contributions (PR 2.32; CI 2.17-2.48).
It was also noted that children that were staying in their homes were 35% less likely to be trafficked compared to those that were staying away from home (PR 0.65; CI 0.60-0.71).
Children that had been enrolled in a formal school by the time of the study were 31% less likely to be trafficked compared to those not enrolled in a formal school (PR 0.69; CI 0.63-0.75). Furthermore, children that had been enrolled in a koranic school were 11% more likely to be trafficked compared to those not enrolled in a koranic school (PR 1.11; CI 1.02, 1.20).
Children that were single orphans (one of the parents was deceased) were 30% more likely to be trafficked compared to those that were not orphans (PR 1.30; CI 1.19-1.43). In addition, children that were double orphans (both parents were deceased) were 56% more likely to be trafficked compared to those that were not orphans (PR 1.56; CI 1.27-1.92).

Children belonging to households in higher wealth quintiles were less likely to be trafficked compared to those from the lowest wealth quintile. For example, children from households with the highest SES were 37% less likely to be trafficked compared to those that came from household with the lowest SES (PR 0.63; CI 0.56-0.71). In addition, children from households with higher welfare were less likely to be trafficked compared to those from households in the lowest welfare quintile. For example, children from households with the highest welfare score quintiles were 19% less likely to be trafficked compared to those from the lowest welfare quintile (PR 0.81; CI 0.73-0.91).
The other important variable that was not significantly associated with child trafficking was the household size (that is, the total number of household members).

3.3.8 Child victimization within the respondent's network
A total of 1,544 children within the respondents' networks were attributed to having been trafficked. The largest proportion of these children were in Kailahun district (51%) followed by Kono (29%) and Kenema (20%). Majority of trafficked children in the respondents' network were reportedly within the age group of 14-17 years (50%), females (53.9%), from the Mende tribe (56.9%), Muslims (65.8%), nationals of Sierra Leone (98.4%), were not orphans (46.8%), and were in primary school (45.9%).

Descriptive characteristics of trafficked children within respondents' network

We identified several characteristics attributed to trafficked children within the respondents' networks. Up to 35.2% of the children reportedly had a history of going missing or were frequently away from home. Furthermore, 77% of the children reportedly lived apart from their biological parents. Relatedly, 37.1% of the children had lived apart from their official guardians at any one time during the past year preceding the survey. On the other hand, 74.7% of the children were reportedly living in very bad conditions away from their homes. Only 4.9% of trafficked children within the respondents' network had any form of disability.

However, 73.7% of the trafficked children within the respondents' network were said to attend school regularly.

The sector with the highest proportion of trafficked children within the respondents' network was domestic servitude (69.8%), followed by agriculture (49.2%) and trading (36.7%). Additionally, 32.3% of children within the respondents' network had reportedly worked as menpikins in the year preceding the survey. It was also reported that 53% of children within the respondents' network had been exposed to hazardous work, with the majority performing work that involved carrying heavy loads (40.8%), while 31.1% performed work that exposed them to extreme cold, heat, or humidity.

Among the children that are living way from their parents(n=979), 19.9% had been adopted under suspicious circumstances; 55.2% were not allowed to contact their family or communication with their family had been cut off by their employer(s); and 27.6% had been sent away from home to learn some trade or skill.

3.4 Explanations and causal factors

When asked about the ways in which menpikin and the movement of children could result in exploitation and trafficking, key informants cited a number of factors:

- ***1)*** economic inequalities (the 'rural-urban divide'),
- ***2)*** lack of access to education and healthcare,
- ***3)*** poor parenting,
- ***4)*** demand for cheap labor,
- ***5)*** corruption,
- ***6)*** criminality.

According to the key informants, child trafficking flourishes in Sierra Leone due to a combination of reasons, high among these being the cultural acceptance of child labor, menpikin practices, as well as a lack of effective enforcement or punishment of traffickers.

> *"Where the most forms of internal child trafficking occur especially in the East and South you find children who they call 'Menpikin' [fostering], they face the worst forms of child trafficking. They are taken away from their biological families to live with extended families and they move to the towns with the promise that they will be taken care of." (KII05)*

> *"People are poor, they give birth to many children but they cannot sustain them. The nature of things that are here is that, sometimes to allow these children to go and work for money and come back home." (KII02)*

Perceptions of family welfare

Majority (42.2%) of respondents felt that their households were not able to live on their present household income. Up to 64% of respondents felt that there was inadequate food or money for food to feed all members of their households. Further, 69.2% of respondents disagreed with the view that there were adequate funds for school fees to send every child in their household to school.

Additionally, 71.8% of respondents disagreed with the view that there were adequate funds to supply clothing for everyone in their household, while majority (72%) of respondents disagreed with the view that there was adequate funding to supply required medication for all household members.

Impact of COVID-19

Two thirds (66.4%) of respondents observed that COVID-19 had a negative impact on the level of exploitation of children in their communities, with

the highest proportion in Kenema district (75.2%). Most (68%) respondents highlighted that COVID-19 had a negative impact on the welfare of the families in their communities, with the highest proportion from Kenema district (82%). In addition, 70.3% of the respondents believed that COVID-19 had a negative impact on the welfare of children in their communities, with the highest proportion being from Kenema district (82.5%). Furthermore, 63.6% of the respondents noted that COVID-19 had negatively impacted access to essential social services like healthcare, child protection, and litigation in their communities, with the highest proportion reported from Kenema district (70%).

Among the key causal factors cited by parents of survivors and FGD participants were challenges resulting from bereavement, separation and poverty, or other reasons affecting their ability to cope with the number of children in their household. There was a smaller number of instances where parents reported that a child had run away from home, and one case where it was claimed that the child had been kidnapped. From the parents' perspective, the decision to send a child away was nearly always due to the promise of a good education for the child at their destination, with many claiming it was only later they realized that this was not happening, and they were being deceived:

"They made a promise to me that, once they take this child away, they would take good care of her, and get her into school for her to have a very good education and a brighter future… It was their promise to give her a better education that kept the child with them in Kenema, though they did not do as they had pledged at the time they came to request taking her away." (PAR09)

"They promised to get him into school, but he ended up working at an 'Overbar' (mining site)" (PAR12)

"the level of hardship and poverty most parents in this part of the country undergo have been the major driver of child trafficking. We believe that if a parent is able to cater for all the needs of his or her children, that parent would be less inclined to give his or her child away to someone else." (FGD15)

3.5 Key actors in child trafficking

Survivors referred to individuals involved in the trafficking experience as 'aunty' or 'sister' if they were females, and sometimes 'brother' or 'uncle' if they were males. These individuals were reported to be involved at least once along the trafficking process: recruitment, transportation, harboring or exploitation. While parents and family members were most frequently cited by survivors and key informants as the relevant actors in the trafficking process, there were also reports of middle-men and women getting involved in recruiting children in rural areas on behalf of clients in cities.

This occurred in situations where children were recruited for jobs rather than moved to another household to attend school. In these cases, money would typically change hands as part of the recruitment process, but as with menpikin there were similar risks for the child ending up in an exploitative situation:

"My uncle saw it necessary and decided to bring me to my aunt who lived in Kenema. My aunt did not take care of me as I was expecting. She made me do a lot of work in the house and to sell." (SUR09)

"It [child trafficking] happens in the extended family. But it also happens a lot with traders. You know traders go to the rural areas to buy food stuff to come and sell in Freetown. They build relationship with the people they buy from and before you know it they are bringing a child to Freetown, two children to Freetown." (KII14)

"And in the event, they are being treated or being given to people to work and at the end the employer pays the money to the person that brought the child and the child works for nothing." (KII08)

There was mixed evidence of the existence of networks or syndicates and their involvement in human trafficking. While there were reports of systematic trafficking of children across international borders, this was not presented as a common occurrence and was not seen as relevant for internal trafficking – the more common form of trafficking according to our key informants. There was one example of arrangements involving child marriage in order to meet the costs of initiation into a secret society:

"Let me share with you a case that came to us recently. There was a girl at the age of around 14 who lives with her parents in Waterloo at the outskirts of Freetown. One day the mother went to the father and told him they would like to initiate the girl in the Bondo (FGM) secret society. It is a tradition that requires spending money. The dad had a friend living in Lungi. So, they went in to a deal. I would sponsor your child to get into the society with the agreement that I marry her. Money was exchanged and the girl was initiated and the girl was handed over to the man." (KII10)

3.6 Means of extraction

Survivors and their parents reported that extraction from the trafficking situation occurred through several routes and methods. The most common was through contact with family members or friends who then arranged for the child to return home, or to another safe residence. Less frequently the authorities (chiefs, or the police/FSU) were involved in the process of getting the child out of the situation and/or returning them to their family. There were several cases where fortunate contact with strangers was the key to alleviating the situation, either when others in a community recognized the problem and took the child into their own home, or where concerned citizens intervened on behalf of the child to help them:

"It was my brother that came to visit me when he noticed my physical structure was bad, no schooling and he confronted my sister about it and he knew I wasn't treated properly so he took me with him to the village." (SUR02)

"They advised me to get to him immediately and so I did...FSU gave me the authority to pursue my son and get him back. I took two of my brothers along who helped me trace the child and brought him back." (PAR05)

"When I told my mother, she did not believe me. She said I only want to go back for nonsense. It was the other woman who told her that, what I was saying was true. Then my mother travelled to Kenema." (SUR08)

"At that time my aunt had a friend she was older than my aunt. I was calling her grandmother but she wasn't really my grandmother. She became interested in me and she asked my aunt so that I can go with her, she was the one who sent me to school." (SUR14)

"I gave the policeman the Chief's number who was in the village whose number my mother has been using to make calls. So they sent this police officer to go and ask for my mother. So they directed the police officer where my family was. The police officer traced my family and explained to them everything I was going through." (SUR10)

"The role of friends was quite important for some survivors, less in relation to extraction but more in coping with the trafficking situation.

"I was in this way when I came across a friend by the name of […]. He was helpful to me, sometimes he will give me money for lunch and was doing other assistance, like giving me food to eat" (SUR10)

3.7 Victims' needs and reintegration

The immediate needs of the survivors we interviewed in many ways reflected the deprivations they had experienced while being exploited, although some had specific health needs directly related to the violence they had been subjected to. The majority reported that they simply wanted to be with their families, and be loved and cared for like any other child; to have everything they might need to go to school, meaning all the basic necessities (food and clothing) plus support for any expenses related to education. Unfortunately for some survivors, these needs were still not met even after they had been extracted from the trafficking situation:

"I needed love, care and education… At the time I was really stress I needed to go to school." (SUR11)

"Yes, I stopped going to school so I want to go to school again. I want to take the West African Senior Secondary School Certificate Examination (WASSCE)." (SUR20)

"All I wanted was to come to my parent, I wanted to be with my family, go back to school and be taken away from my sister's place." (SUR02)

"If I say I will go to school, I don't have someone that will buy me uniform, shoes, books and bag to go to school… I want someone who will support me to continue with my education" (SUR16)

Another challenge was reintegration in the community: this was not always straightforward because of the risk of lack of acceptance by the individual's family or stigmatization in the community. This applied mainly to girls who were pregnant or had become mothers while away from home, but also held where a child had been involved in criminal activity. This left children vulnerable to further isolation, exploitation or even re-trafficking:

"My uncle helped me to take care of the baby, helped me to do my nursing course, rented a place for me and also took care of me until I got a job. I needed my family but I know that is not possible because they are not happy with me, even though I have begged them." (SUR01)

"People were saying bad things about me in relations to my past, but there came a time when none of them have the courage to say bad things in front of me or about me. Before when they were saying words and bringing my past, I used to go to a corner, crying and feeling bad about myself." (SUR18)



3.8 Education and employment as routes out of exploitation

For many survivors the main positive routes away from exploitation were enrolment in school or securing paid work, options perceived as effectively ending the trafficking experience.

"When I was going through this situation, I said this is not the reason I am here. I want to be someone in the family but if my aunt refuses to send me to school, I decided to do hair dressing. So I went to this Isha who accepted me." (SUR10)

"In that instance, one of our neighbors to whose attention I brought my ordeal, told me of his brother who is a carpenter, but would get a discussion with him to see if he can employ me as an apprentice, so I could at least be earning some little money." (SUR13)



4.0 FINDINGS II: POLICY, IMPLEMENTATION AND ENFORCEMENT

The second set of findings relate to policy and its implementation and enforcement. Enforcement of the formal legal framework in Sierra Leone, including trafficking, gender-based violence and all other child protection matters is handled by the FSU of the police, sometimes working alongside staff from MSWGCA. Research by CARL-SL reported that in 2014 there were 62 FSU units in Sierra Leone with 403 staff and 20 social workers from the MSWGCA (CARL 2016). CARL found the FSU to be under-equipped, under-staffed and under-funded, with 'obstacles to access the justice system' meaning many crimes went 'unreported and unpunished thus creating an impunity gap for perpetrators' (Ibid: p5).

The FSU's approach is to resolve claims with out-of-court settlement of cases, and officials claim that in most situations 'families prefer to solve the issue at home and only in cases of death are cases prosecuted' (MSWGCA 2014: 19). This may be due to unavailability of courts, ability for traffickers to pay off victims' families, case backlogs and a range of other obstacles of access to justice, as well as the unwillingness of many women to bring cases against male family members for fear of alienation and ostracization (Castillejo 2009).

As with many African States, the formal framework for law, security, policing and justice in Sierra Leone co-exists with customary practices with overlapping spheres of authority (Manning 2009). This 'rich and diverse associational life' of Sierra Leone was severely disrupted by the civil war (Vincent 2012: 13-15).

Post-war initiatives regarding justice, politics and patterns of local governance, and issues such as reform of the chieftaincy system, reflect the donor-driven trajectory of Sierra Leone's development (Broadbent 2012). These reforms have not solved the issues of an over-centralization of power in the Capital - Freetown, and ineffective local and national governance structures. They have also focused on formal processes, at the expense of sufficient attention to non-state actors and 'informal' systems for dispensing justice.

Of significance here is the role played by the chieftaincy system and 'secret societies' in customary law practices. The chieftaincy system includes 149 Paramount chiefs, representing each district in the country and over 15,000 sub-chiefs. Chiefs have significant powers – to levy fines, control land use and sale, and to compel residents to undertake 'voluntary' labor, for example, as payment for having their cases heard (Vincent 2012). Secret societies play a large role in ordering and regulating community life, and maintaining behavioral norms.

Membership to such societies provides access to political and economic resources. There is a degree of regional variation, but all secret societies involve initiation, for example through rites of passage with women undergoing FGM. They are closely involved in handling domestic disputes, brokering family reconciliation and even addressing and resolving potential cases of trafficking and exploitation, using a wide range of methods which are normally much more quicker than the court system (M'Cormack-Hale 2018).

> *"There are separate societies for men and women and these vary by region: the Poro (male) and the Bondo (female – North, Freetown)), and also Wonde, Gbangbani, Hunting and Ojeh (male), Sande (female – South)*

Women tend to be excluded or marginalized in customary law processes as well as with the formal justice system. Women may be given a minority/ inferior status within communities, or have their cases settled in male secret societies to which they have no access. These inequalities within the formal and informal justice systems may also be pronounced for other groups such as the poor, or those living away from their own communities (Castillejo 2009: 10-11). However, there are opportunities within community-based structures to help those affected by challenges, such as trafficking, to interact with the formal legal system. As M'Cormack-Hale (2018) points out, "the perception that secret societies adjudicate outside western-centric human rights norms need not negate working with them in the interest of securing justice".

4.1 The 3 Ps (Prevention, Prosecution and Protection)

The TIP report (2020) reported improvements in prevention, protection and prosecution. However, it urged the country to intensify efforts in all of these areas. Internal child-trafficking was mentioned in the TIP report, with specific reference to the exploitation of traditional fostering of children through the menpikin practice. While there were no policy recommendations directed towards this practice, or specifically related to children, many of the issues identified were relevant to all forms of trafficking.

Specific recommendations included reform of the legislative framework alongside other changes to increase the quantity and efficiency of prosecutions (and also to meet the minimum standards with regard to sentencing); enhancing protection for victims through increased investment in services and provision of shelters; and increased awareness-raising and training of communities to improve prevention.

The report also recommended specific policy changes, particularly regarding the ongoing ban on recruitment of Sierra Leoneans for overseas work, which was thought to be leading to an increase in irregular migration and vulnerability to exploitation.

Interviews carried out as part of this research included engagement with a range of stakeholders and key informants. A new Action Plan on Trafficking (2021-2023) was launched in October 2020.

4.2 Prevention

Key informants described precisely the kinds of systemic and structural weaknesses undermining prevention efforts and effective implementation of a comprehensive response to trafficking that have been identified by previous research. There were frustrations around a lack of collaboration and partnership that was seen as necessary to generate greater impact:

> *"We have the plans but much cannot be done by us unless the Ministry of Gender and Children's Affairs who is representing the Government directly, working together with the FSU and other stakeholders to see that we combat and we put mechanism in place for system to be operating, because it is the lack of system structure that is causing some of the problem. So those systems if they can be put together and make them available within those communities I believe it will help. We cannot fight it alone we have to work with other agencies and partners." (KII12)*

Several examples of awareness-raising (sensitization) activities were reported, in both urban and rural areas. Indeed, this emerged as the key strategy for prevention, with initiatives periodically taking place and involving multiple partners. There were also descriptions of training and education programs targeting appropriate leadership and community structures, along with general stakeholder engagement. Respondents highlighted the challenges in explaining and communicating to the general public a relatively complex area of law such as child protection, where there are multiple relevant pieces of legislation:

> *"There are so many Acts but how do we popularize that for people to know?" (KII04)*

We found no evidence that prevention activities had been based on systematic research around gaps/needs, or indeed whether there had been any evaluations of the impact of these efforts. Underpinning the approach to prevention was a belief that awareness-raising activities would bear fruit given sufficient time and effort, but equally, a recognition that this potential was weakened due to lack of requisite legal and enforcement structures that are often precarious and prone to breaking down:

"Normally, what we do in most of these marginalized communities, just like what I have said, we get sensitization meetings with the people; we educate them on child trafficking, at the same time child abuse. We get advocacy meetings with stakeholders within the district, within chiefdoms so that this message can be passed onto the people who are living in remote communities… If they are aware, they are able to know differences between bad and good and can take their issues to organization that will treat them with fairness." (KII03)

"Mass sensitization is one [way for] community members raise awareness to their beliefs, understanding will flow, and this type of offence will be minimized because if we are going to eradicate it, it will take a time. It will be minimized… Some time we held meetings, we tell them the do's and the don'ts, but human beings are stubborn. Even we have child welfare committee in this town, when I came here, I met it [was] not functioning, I revived it, after some time it stopped functioning" (KII01)

4.3 Protection

Respondents reported effective partnership with NGOs to ensure protection for victims once they were identified. A number of key child protection NGOs that operate across the country were named, but there were concerns about their capacity to deal with the issues:



"There are other organizations like Street Child, there is one local NGO call "Ndomaki" that is operating here in Kailahun, Save the Children of course is taking the lead in the district… we have GOAL. We last have meeting with GOAL some point in time on child trafficking. There are a lot of humanitarian organizations taking part in combating child trafficking. In term of staffing, looking at the local NGOs, the staff capacity is too much not at the level to take up the responsibility." (KII03)

The existence of a range of child protection structures within communities was also reported, including child welfare committees, and other related secret societies. Some respondents strongly argued that to have an effective child protection system against trafficking, these community structures need to be part of a collaborative approach that protects both survivors and at-risk children and prevents trafficking. However, there were mixed opinions about their effectiveness, or suitability for dealing with the issue of child trafficking:

"We have the Child Welfare Committee or the CWC, in their expertise purposely is for child protection and child labor even though they are looking at child trafficking issues, but is purely for children. We also have the village parent group. They are charged to look at trafficking issues, regardless of age limit. And we also have the Village Development Committee. The reason why these names are coming up, is because we believe in strengthening the community. There are some communities, they have these groups already, so what we do, we make sure we strengthen them and we give them the necessary trainings they need." (KII13)

"By engaging community stakeholders, like the chiefs in the communities, you know, the section chiefs, the paramount chiefs, the Mammy Queens, you know, we have the Mothers Club, we have the Child Welfare Committee." (KII09)

"Child Welfare Committees are not functional in every chiefdom. Where they are functional, they do identify, they do report, refer cases of trafficking and help with the re-integration of victims of trafficking - where they exist." (KII14)

"We have the Child Welfare Committee (CWC), but these Committees are not functioning well to really seek the interest of the children and report and communicate with other organizations or other bodies that are supposed to take up responsibilities. They have been formed several years back but they are not functional, meaning that they are still unable to address the welfare of children or the child trafficking in the district or within in the country." (KII03)

4.4 Prosecution

As mentioned in the introduction to this report, until 2020 there had been no successful conviction(s) under the (2005) anti-trafficking law. The TIP report identified a series of blockages and inefficiencies within the judicial system but noted that the Government is now bypassing magistrates and taking cases straight to the high court. Key informants strongly criticized and identified it as one of the key areas of weakness in anti-trafficking efforts in Sierra Leone:

"Whenever we investigate cases and send them to Kailahun, you see the perpetrators back in the community that was why the people thought it that it was useless endeavor." (KII01)

"You look at the justice system in this country; they are not prosecuting these people, because, if these persons are heavily punished, it will be a good example and deterrent for others. But this is not the case in this country." (KII03)

Several explanations were made for these problems, many of which have been summarized in the TIP report. These ranged from: the slow nature of the process and the possibility of perpetrators only receiving small fines or short sentences; under-funding of key agencies such as the FSU, where 'lack of mobility' (i.e. motorbikes) was repeatedly cited; inconsistent understanding and application of the law between different chiefdoms; lack of collaboration between organizations; corruption and the ability of traffickers to use money to avoid justice, e.g. by bribing victims to keep quiet; non-recognition of child trafficking issues by police; and finally a culture of silence within the community:

"The fines are too meagre. Some of the imprisonment times are too small and so these are some of our targets we are working on." (KII13)

"Like l told you the paramount chiefs have been involved. You go to one chiefdom they do not share the same characteristics so one law that is applicable in Nongowa may not be applicable in another." (KII04)

"This [prosecution] is where we have been having challenges – the PI takes a very long time and it frustrates the victims and by the time you know it the case is dead… As I said before, we have not punished anyone. Conviction is one big form of deterrence. It is like there is impunity." (KII10)

"It is the problem of justice so even when victims of trafficking are identified and brought to book it takes long time, it is expensive and in the end families do not see any benefit in prosecuting. So they are not incentivized to take legal action." (KII14)

"The culture of silence which makes it difficult for people to report child protection issues is a big problem that we face, that our partners face, that Government faces at all levels." (KII14)

4.5 Key Insights

Our findings point to a wide range of challenges facing Sierra Leone in developing and renewing its efforts to address human trafficking. Previous studies have indicated that a significant proportion of the country's children may be vulnerable, and our research provides new information regarding key causes, features and consequences of internal trafficking in Sierra Leone.

The evidence regarding policy and its application shows that, notwithstanding renewed efforts on the part of the Government to prioritize the issue, significant weaknesses remain in the national anti-trafficking system. These weaknesses can partly be traced back to issues relating to existing legislative and policy structures, but are also due to associated problems of implementation and enforcement at local level, all in the context of the considerable socio-economic challenges faced by Sierra Leone and its people.

One of the main objectives of this study was to draw from the main findings to generate insights to inform future programming and policy work alongside the implementation of a household survey. The following insights have been built through our methodological approach, which involved a collective and collaborative analysis of the qualitative data we collected, and included discussions of early findings with our partners in

SIERRA LEONE.

1) Addressing systemic gaps and blockages
Children suffering from different forms of trafficking and exploitation are trapped in their situations with little prospect of help or intervention from the authorities. Extraction is normally due to recognition by friends, family or community members. The system of identification and referral by authorities has gaps and weaknesses, meaning that it is normally only involved in the post-trafficking scenario.

The general lack of prosecutions points to the need for legal and policy reform, but measuring 'success' on the basis of convictions risks overlooking the importance of community-based forms of justice and redress. A more effective approach would incorporate the best from formal and informal systems and enable them to operate more effectively: working together and creating pathways and joint structures to improve the identification of victims and access to justice for them and their families.

2) The challenge of redress and reintegration
There was a strong desire expressed by the trafficked children to enjoy a full education and to enter employment. However, too often, the problems such as poverty and bereavement that led to the trafficking experience usually continue to prevail, meaning that return to the family home is no solution. Such individuals are at risk of re-trafficking or entering into another form of exploitation. Sometimes reunification with and reintegration into family and a return to regular schooling occurs. There is an urgent need for programs that support both redress and reintegration for survivors, which are realistic, appropriate and sustainable.

3) Improving effectiveness and understanding 'what works'
The perception is that formal structures can have little penetration in rural areas, and that while community-based systems offer opportunities for justice, this can be unequal or unfair in terms of outcomes. There is thus an urgent need for evidence on the effectiveness of laws, policies and programs in this area.

There is little knowledge about the impact of policy change, and the effects on identification of victims or the short, medium and long-term outcomes for survivors.

The findings summarized here provide the basis for future research which should gather evidence about 'what works' with an emphasis on education and employment outcomes.

Key informants regularly referred to awareness-raising efforts as the main policy intervention for trafficking prevention, but there is no systematic research or evaluation into the effectiveness of these. Considering the complexity of the various cultural, geographic, demographic and socio-economic factors, awareness-raising should be very focused and ideally based upon rigorous research to target key groups and track its benefits and usefulness.

4) Trust, community engagement and collective impact
In light of the challenges documented in this report as obstacles to combating child trafficking in Sierra Leone, partnership and communication with both formal and informal structures, and between survivors, families and communities will be integral to improving outcomes. We highlight a number of challenges regarding navigating issues of trust with the authorities, often underpinned by perceptions of ineffectiveness. There is thus a need to build trust through sustained engagement and inclusive partnership.

Anti-trafficking policy and programming should always be with, and for survivors. Therefore, their involvement in the development of interventions must be a minimum expectation. There are significant potential benefits of including families and formal/community structures in a collaborative, co-designed approach. This also applies to research such as this that aims to bring the voice of survivors, their families and communities into work that can feed into the implementation and reform of law, policy and programming.

5.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

Prevention

 The National Anti-Trafficking Taskforce has a mandate to lead and coordinate the response to the child trafficking phenomenon. As such, the Taskforce's secretariat should be well staffed with skilled and trained personnel, funded and facilitated to effectively carry out their activities and subsequently fulfil their mandate. The Taskforce should also improve its coordination role so that there is minimal duplication of efforts to ensure that available resources are allocated/utilised in priority areas.

 The Government of Sierra Leone through the MSWGCA should allocate sufficient resources for implementation of activities outlined in the National Action Plan on Human Trafficking, especially for investigation and prosecution of cases, as well as reintegration of child trafficking survivors. These activities should also include the formulation of a robust Child Welfare Policy that will effectively guide child protection activities. Additional resources to the MSWCGA could also facilitate recruitment of the requisite number of social workers needed - at least one per chiefdom. The MSWCGA needs to consider adopting a policy for task shifting so that there is continuity in service delivery.

 The Government of Sierra Leone should consider establishing a 'Trust fund' purposely for financing anti-trafficking initiatives. They could also explore options for ring-fencing budgetary funding for TIP activities from national or ministry budgets. Additionally, more financial support should be given to organisations engaged in anti-child trafficking related activities. Furthermore, advocacy efforts should focus on improvement in funding for anti-trafficking initiatives as well as ensuring that the initiatives are high on the agenda for key stakeholders.

 The MSWCGA should address system-level bottlenecks to implementation of anti-trafficking initiatives. For example, they should explore opportunities for easing or moving away from Government bureaucracies to having a semi-autonomous taskforce to improve efficiency of the response to the trafficking phenomenon. In addition, bottlenecks to prosecution of perpetrators (e.g. delays in prosecution) should be candidly addressed where possible, through revision of the child welfare policy.

 Social workers based at community level (who conduct family tracing and reunification) should incorporate anti-trafficking related activities into their routine work so as to boost the anti-trafficking response with a wider coverage of the social welfare workforce. This should be enforced by amending the terms of reference of the social workers at community level to include aspects of child trafficking.

 Under the leadership of the National Anti-Trafficking Taskforce secretariat, there is need for increased collaboration between the MSWCGA, the National Commission for Social Action and other partners, so as to build the livelihoods and resilience of the most vulnerable populations. This would address the push factors that lure vulnerable households and children into trafficking-related activities.

 The Government of Sierra Leone should address inequity and regional imbalances regarding access to social services, especially education. For example, inequitable distribution of schools across the country should be addressed by prioritizing construction of more schools (primary, secondary and vocational) especially in rural settings, to deter the movement of children to the urban settings in the quest for education opportunities. In addition, the quality of education should be improved, so that it's more responsive to the learners needs to ensure that they are equipped with the necessary competencies to thrive in adulthood.

 It is critical that the Government (specifically the MSWCGA, Ministries of Justice and Internal Affairs) prioritises popularization of anti-child trafficking laws, policies, and guidelines, through sensitisation and community policing. This will enable stakeholders and community members to easily identify child trafficking as well as shun it. The Sierra Leone citizenry needs to clearly comprehend what child trafficking is all about, its manifestations, impact and possible implications, in case a perpetrator(s) is caught on the wrong side of the law. Furthermore, these efforts could have a multi-sectoral lens, involving experts and leading public/industry personalities in various sectors to ensure that anti-trafficking messages have a wider reach. The Government should also explore opportunities to incorporate aspects of anti-child trafficking messages and concepts in the curricula of



learners as a way to stimulate their awareness about the phenomenon during the period when they are in school. Health workers could also be trained on concepts of child trafficking so that they can easily identify and report such cases, especially those that end up in health facilities.

 Special attention should be given to sensitisation of parents about good parenting practices, aspects of avoiding GBV and violence against children, and other vices. These elements are pivotal to addressing the core drivers of child trafficking at household level.

 There should be a deliberate effort to involve cultural leaders and elders in the anti-trafficking response, including awareness creation activities. In addition, a strategic decision could be taken to also involve other prominent persons in society as anti-child trafficking champions to address the vice.

 Programs responding to child trafficking should also incorporate aspects of family planning, especially in rural settings and at healthcare facility level, so that couples are able to space and only bear children that they can manage within their means.

PROTECTION

 The Government of Sierra Leone should prioritise establishment of a robust reintegration package for victims. This could include establishment of functional rescue centres where survivors of trafficking can be rehabilitated before they are fully reintegrated in communities. The Government should also prioritise revamping of shelters where rehabilitation of the survivors of child trafficking will be done.

 The Government should establish a functional victim protection and assistance unit in the police force to effectively respond to child trafficking cases, and successfully conduct case investigations to completion, among others.

 The Government and other development partners should support capacity building sessions for MSWCGA staff, at both national and local Government levels, with a focus on child trafficking

concepts related to prevention of child trafficking and victim manifestation, identification, protection, and rehabilitation. Additionally, MSWCGA should have a deliberate strategy to equitably distribute capacity building opportunities/trainings, so as to support response to the problem of child trafficking.

 The MSWCGA and partners should consider rolling out a needs assistance package to families which take care of survivors of child trafficking. This package will be critical in supporting families to meet the cost of providing basic needs for the survivors like food, clothing, healthcare and education that they ardently need during the post-trafficking phase.

PROSECUTION

 The MSWCGA and other development partners should conduct sensitisation/training of law enforcement officers on human trafficking concepts and related by-laws for better enforcement. There is also need for training of the FSU core staff to orient them on aspects of trafficking and child protection in order to improve efficiency. Prosecutors and judicial officers should also be trained on concepts related to child trafficking as well as fast-tracking processing of court cases related to trafficking.

 The Ministry of Justice, which is leading the revision of the anti-trafficking Act, should consider strengthening weak articles and clauses, so that once one is convicted of a child trafficking case, the penalty given is commensurate to the gravity of the crimes committed and is heavy enough to serve as a deterrent to others engaged in the practice or potential traffickers.

 The Ministry of Justice should ensure that child trafficking cases are prioritised in Sierra Leone Courts of Law. This will go a long way in reducing the duration of court cases as well as fast tracking conviction and sentencing of the perpetrators so that justice is administered in a timely manner. Furthermore, there is need to address procedural delays, including allowing regional courts to try child trafficking cases, avoiding long adjournments of cases, and addressing judicial corruption, among others.

 The Government should also explore opportunities for establishment of courts specifically for handling human trafficking matters, similar to the strategy of 'Special Saturday courts' that commenced in 2012 with a mandate of trying sexual violence cases, and secure more privacy for victims and expedite trials.

 The Government of Sierra Leone needs to aggressively fight corruption and associated crimes within its agencies, especially relating to TIP. This will go a long way in ensuring that trafficking offenders are brought to book and that justice is administered. Therefore, the Government of Sierra Leone should increase efforts to investigate, prosecute and convict perpetrators following a due process and sentence convicted traffickers in accordance with the law.

PARTNERSHIPS AND RESEARCH

 Consolidate existing partnerships and collaborations with other Government and Non-Government Agencies so as to improve utilisation of the scarce resources and maximize impact.

 The Government of Sierra Leone could explore establishing new strategic partnerships with critical sectors like the private sector, especially the service industry and informal sector, so that they actively join the fight against trafficking.

 The Government of Sierra Leone should establish monitoring and evaluation systems to support prevention, protection and prosecution activities with regard to child trafficking. The monitoring system should leverage information and communication technology (ICT) infrastructure for timely reporting or notification, follow up and prosecution of perpetrators as well as feedback loops.

 Future research could investigate the motivators of child traffickers as well as concealed chains of transmission used by the perpetrators during the phases/stages of trafficking. This will enhance the level of understanding of how traffickers conduct their activities, provide opportunities to identify or curb trafficking at an early stage.

 The Government and development partners should support research initiatives in the field of human trafficking to generate data to inform policy and decision-making.

REFERENCES

Brewer, M. (2020) 'Sierra Leone progresses to tier 2 in 2020 U.S. Trafficking in Persons Report', https://sl.usembassy.gov/ Op-Ed by U.S. Ambassador to Sierra Leone, Maria E. Brewer

Broadbent, E. (2012) 'Research-based evidence in African policy debates. Case study 4: Chieftaincy reform in Sierra Leone', Evidence-based Policy in Development Network (ebpdn)

CARL (2016) 'Assessing the Resource Gap in the Fight Against Sexual and Gender-based Violence: Is the FSU Hamstrung?' Centre for Accountability and Rule of War, Sierra Leone, http://www.carl-sl.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/FSU%20REPORT%20PDF.pdf

CRC (2016), 'Concluding observations on the combined third to fifth periodic reports of Sierra Leone' United Nations (UN) Committee on the Rights of the Child, (CRC/C/SLE/CO/3-5)

Castillejo, C. 2009. Building Accountable Justice in Sierra Leone. Working Paper 76. Madrid: FRIDE.

Euronews (2019). Sierra Leone toughens penalties for sexual violence. Available at: https://www.euronews.com/2019/09/19/sierra-leone-toughens-penalties-for-sexual-violence

GOAL (2019) 'A Baseline Research on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, Trafficking in Persons and Indecent Work in Sierra Leone' EU-funded GOAL Commissioned Study, February 2019

GOAL (2016) 'Impact of EVD on Kinship Care Practices in Sierra Leone' Prepared for GOAL Sierra Leone By Newstone Global Consulting

Hampshire, K.; Porter, G.; Agblorti, S.; Robson, E.; Munthali, A.; Abane, A.. (2015) 'Context matters: Fostering, orphanhood and schooling in sub-Saharan Africa' Journal of Biosocial Science, 12 March 2015, 47(2):141-164

IOM (2019) 'New District Task Forces to Strengthen Counter Human Trafficking in Sierra Leone' 10.04.2019, International Organization for Migration, https://www.iom.int/news/new-district-task-forces-strengthen-counter-human-trafficking-sierra-leone

Manning, R. E. (2009) 'The Landscape of Local Authority in Sierra Leone How "Traditional" and "Modern" Justice Systems Interact', Justice and Development, working paper series, 2009 volume 1 issue 1

MSWGCA (2014) 'Country report, Sierra Leone: Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and the Outcome of the Twenty-Third Special Session of the General Assembly (2000)', Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs, https://www.thecommonwealth.io/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/Sierra_Leone_VNR2016.pdf

M'Cormack-Hale, F. (2018) 'Secret Societies and Women's Access to Justice in Sierra Leone: Bridging the Formal and Informal Divide', Stability: International Journal of Security & Development, 7(1): 13, pp. 1–17

NPR (2019). Sierra Leone's President Declared Rape A National Emergency. What Happens Now? Available at: https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2019/02/15/694846069/sierra-leones-president-declared-rape-a-national-emergency-what-happens-now

Serra, R. (2009) 'Child fostering in Africa: When labor and schooling motives may coexist', Journal of Development Economics, Volume 88, Issue 1, January 2009, Pages 157-170

Street Child (2015) 'The Street Child Ebola Orphan Report Jan–Feb 2015', https://www.street-child.co.uk/ebola-orphan-report/

Surtees, R. (2005) 'Child Trafficking in Sierra Leone' Report for UNICEF

UNICEF (2007) UNICEF Sierra Leone 2007. Annual Report. http://www.unicef.org/wcaro/WCARO_

UNICEF (2016) Sierra Leone Child Poverty Report https://www.statistics.sl/images/StatisticsSL/Documents/Publications/2016/unicef_sierra_leone_child_poverty_report_-2016.pdf



UNICEF & STATS SL (2019) Multidimensional Child Poverty in Sierra Leone https://www.unicef.org/sierraleone/media/306/file/MCP-Report-2019.pdf.pdf

US Dept of State (2018) Trafficking in Persons Report: Sierra Leone

US Dept of State (2020a) Trafficking in Persons Report: Sierra Leone

US Dept of State (2020b) 'Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the UN Trafficking in Persons Protocol' virtual interactive event held 9th October 2020, https://interactive.america.gov/iip_event/commemorating-the-20th-anniversary-of-the-un-trafficking-in-persons-protocol/

World Bank (2020) 'World Bank, Development Partners Sign Agreements to Support Education Sector Development in Sierra Leone' News Release, https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/press_release_-_free_education_project_launch.pdf

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: prevalence survey tool – sierra leone (september 07, 2020)

Section A: Identification

Survey ID (Auto generated):	
Survey date: (DD/MM/YY) (Auto generated)	
Start time of interview: (Auto generated)	
Country: (Auto generated)	
Region: (Auto generated)	
District:	
Chiefdom:	
Enumeration area:	
Name of data collector: (Auto filled from metadata)	
Phone number of data: collector (Auto filled from metadata)	
Name of supervisor: (Auto generated)	
Phone number of supervisor: (Auto generated)	

SECTION B1: HOUSEHOLD ROSTER

A household is made up of people who usually sleep together in the same compound and share meals. Using this definition, list the name of all persons who currently live in the household. Also list the name of each child under the age of 18 who has been a member of the household, according to this definition, in the last five years. This means that the list should include people who have moved away in the last five years but who were under the age of 18 at the time they lived in the household.

Qn 1) How many people currently stay in this Household, including any children under the age of 18 who have been a member in the last five years?

2) List of Household members, beginning with the Household head	3) Gender 1=Male 2=Fema	4) Marital status 1= Single 2= Married 3=Separated/ Divorced 4 = Widowed 5 = Other (specify)	5) What is this person's relationship to the respondent? 1= Respondent 2= Spouse 3= Son/ Daughter 4= Mother/ Father 5= Brother/ Sister 6=Grandpa/ grandma 7=Grandson/ granddaughter 8=Other (specify)	6) What is this person's relationship to the household head? 1= Head 2= Spouse 3= Son/ Daughter 4= Mother/ Father 5= Brother/ Sister 6=Grandpa/ grandma 7=Grandson/ granddaughter 8=Other (specify)	7) Age	8) Does this person have a disability? 0= No 1= Yes	9) Level of education completed by last school year? 0= None 1=Pre-primary 2=Primary 3=JSS 4=SSS 5=University 6= Other (Please Specify)
1							
2							
3							

10) (ask if age 17 or younger) Currently enrolled in a formal school? 0= no 1= yes	11) Is child enrolled in a Koranic school/ madrassa	12) (ask if age 17 or younger) Orphan? 0= No 1= Single orphan 2= Double orphan	13) Does this person contribute to the expenses of the household? 0= no 1= yes	14) What is this person's religion	15) Does the person currently live in the home? 0= no (go Q15) 1= yes (go to Section B2)	16) How long ago did the person leave the home?	17) Why did the person leave the home? (check all that apply) a. marriage b. death c. migration d. work e. school f. other (specify) 0= no 1= yes	18) (ask if age 17 or younger when left home) Who did the child go to live with? 1= biological parent(s) 2= relative or extended family member 3= someone who is not a relative but who is known to the family (family friend/acquaintance) 4= someone who at the time was a complete stranger to the family 5= Other (specify)

19) (ask if age 17 or younger when left home) Did the child leave here in order to work as a domestic servant (e.g., Menpikin) for another family/household? 0= no 1= yes	20) (ask if age 17 or younger when left home) Was the child sent away from home to learn some trade or skill? 0= no 1= yes	21) (ask if age 17 or younger when left home) During the time away from home, was the child not allowed to contact his or her family or otherwise cut off from family contact by his or her employer? 0= no 1= yes	22) (ask if age 17 or younger when left home) During the time away from home, is/was the child staying in very bad living conditions, such as having little access to food, clean water, or sanitation? 0= no 1= yes

SECTION B2:

Complete this section for each person aged 5-17 in the household roster (as recorded in Section B1- Q6)

1	(ask if B1-Q10 = no) You said earlier that [name of child] is not attending a formal school. Why is ……. [name of the child] not attending a formal school? (record response for each item) a. No money to pay for his/her education b. Needs to be working for household/family c. Needs to be working to earn money for family/household d. Married/Pregnancy e. Abuse/Violence/Bullying f. No school nearby/No Admission/No Teacher g. Attending vocational school h. Sickness i. Refused to go to school j. Other (specify)_____	0. No 1. Yes
2	Has……. [name of the child] worked as a Menpikin in the last year?	0. No 1. Yes
3	Has……. [name of the child] been involved in any of the following type of work in the last year? (record response for each item) a. domestic work b. mining/quarrying c. agricultural work d. trading/vending activities e. fishing f. pottering (doing casual labor) g. sex work (selling or giving any type of sexual service) h. begging i. motorcycle taxi driving j. manufacturing k. working in workshops (e.g., crafts, mechanics) l. construction m. worked as a Menpikin n. Other (specify)	0. No 1. Yes 99. Do not know
4	Has [name of the child]) performed work away from the home in the last year that involved any of the following: (record response for each item) a. carrying heavy loads b. using dangerous tools or operating heavy machinery c. exposure to dust/fumes/gas d. exposure to extreme cold/heat/humidity e. exposure to loud noise or vibration	0. No 1. Yes

5	Who has [name of child] been working for in the last year? (record response for each item) a. Own/Self b. Family/Household c. Extended Family/Relative d. Working for a company e. Stranger f. No one g. Other (Specify)_____ h. Do not know	0. No 1. Yes
6	Approximately how many hours of work did [name of child] perform outside the home in the last 7 days? Record '99' for Do not know/refused to answer	# Hours _____
7	Was the number of hours worked outside the home in the last 7 days typical for [name of child]?	1. yes 2. no, usually works more hours 3. no, usually works fewer hours 99. Do not know
8	On a scale of 1 to 10, how certain are you about the number of hours you've reported? Where 1 represents being not certain at all and 10 being completely certain.	_____

B3: Assessing Trafficking Victimization and Vulnerability

Complete this section for child aged 5-17 listed in the household roster. Questions refer to activities in the past year.

Next, we are going to ask you some further questions about each child listed on the household roster. Please check all that apply. At any time in the past year:

0. No
1. Yes
2. Do not know

1.	[name of the child] was forced to work for someone who is not a member of this household
2.	[name of the child] was forced to work to repay a debt with an em ployer or recruiter
3.	[name of the child] worked outside the home for little or no wages
4.	[name of the child] performed work that was not agreed upon (e.g., hired for one type of work, but ended up doing another)
5.	[name of the child] was forced or made to beg for alms
6.	[name of the child] performed work that was illegal or immoral (such as stealing, prostitution)
7.	[name of the child] was forced or made to work to pay for their school fees
8.	(ask if living away from the household) [name of the child] was not allowed to leave or contact their parents

Section C: Household Characteristics

Instructions for Interviewer: Please note that this section requires you to record observational data where indicated. You will not ask the respondents these questions unless necessary or otherwise indicated.

1	How many dwelling rooms does this household have? [MAY NEED TO ASK RESPONDENT]	Write in answer: _____
2	What is the main flooring material of the dwelling house?	1. Earth, sand 2. Dung 3. Wood/Planks 4. Palm/Bamboo 5. Parquet or Polished Wood 6. Vinyl or Asphalt Strips 7. Ceramic Tiles 8. Cement 9. Carpet 10. Other (Specify):_____

3	What is the main construction material of the exterior walls of the dwelling house?	1. No Walls 2. Cane/Palm/Trunks 3. Dirt 4. Bamboo with Mud 5. Stone with Mud 6. Uncovered Adobe 7. Metallic Sheets 8. Plywood 9. Cardboard 10. Reused Wood 11. Cement 12. Stone with Lime/Cement 13. Bricks 14. Cement Blocks 15. Covered Adobe 16. Wood Planks/Shingles 17. Other (Specify):_____
4	What is the main construction material of the roof of the dwelling house?	1. No Roof 2. Cane/Palm/Trunks 3. Dirt 4. Bamboo with Mud 5. Stone with Mud 6. Uncovered Adobe 7. Metallic Sheets 8. Plywood 9. Cardboard 10. Reused Wood 11. Cement 12. Stone with Lime/Cement 13. Bricks 14. Cement Blocks 15. Covered Adobe 16. Wood Planks/Shingles 17. Other (Specify):_____
5a	What type of toilet is used by the household?	1. Flush/pour flush to piped sewer system 2. Flush/pour flush to septic tank 3. Flush/pour to pit latrine 4. Ventilated improved pit (VIP) latrine 5. Pit Latrine with slab 6. Composting Toilet 7. Bush
5b	Do you share this toilet with at least one other household?	1. Shared Facility (These are facilities that would be considered improved if they were not shared by two or more households) 2. Not shared

6	What is the main source of lighting for the dwelling?	1. Electric lights 2. Kerosene or gas lamps 3. Candles or torch light 4. Generator 5. Other (Specify):_____
7	Where is the place for cooking located?	1. In the house 2. In a separate building apart from the house 3. Outdoors 4. No food cooked in the household 5. Other (Specify):_____
8	What is the main source of drinking water for the household?	1. Public tap 2. Dug well 3. Natural Spring 4. Rainwater 5. Bottled Water 6. River/Stream 7. Other (Specify): _____
9	What is the main fuel used by the household for cooking?	1. Electricity 2. LPG/natural gas/biogas 3. Kerosene 4. Coal/lignite 5. Charcoal 6. Wood 7. Straw/Shrub/grass 8. Agricultural crop 9. No food cooked in household 10. Other (Specify):_____
10	For Interviewer: Be sure to ask for each household amenity separately Does your household have the following. Indicate yes, if your household has the item and it is functional: a. Electricity b. Radio c. Television d. Mobile Telephone e. Non-Mobile Telephone f. Refrigerator g. Electric Iron h. Computer i. Power Generator j. Wardrobe	0 = No 1 = Yes

SECTION D: Perceptions of Family Welfare

The following questions ask about your perceptions of how well your family is doing.

Instructions for Interviewer: Please be sure to read out all of the possible answer choices to the respondent for the following questions.

1	By [Kailahun/Kenema/Kono] standards, your household is really well off.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.	Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree
2	Your household finds it difficult to live on its current income.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.	Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree
3	Generally, there is enough food for all the people in this household.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.	Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree
4	Generally, there is enough money for school fees to send every child in the household to school.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.	Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree
5	Generally, there is enough money to supply clothing for everyone in the household.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.	Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree
6	Generally, there is enough money to buy medicine for everyone in the household.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.	Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

Section E: NSUM and Transmission Bias—Known Population Estimates

Note for Interviewer: Please read the following to the respondent to inform them how to think about "knowing" someone.

We are now going to ask you some general questions about people you know. In this context, "people you know" are:

People of all ages living in [DISTRICT –Kailahun/Kenema/Kono], (this can be family members, friends, children in the community, co-workers, neighbors, etc.), who…..
…. you know by sight and by name,
….. who also know you by sight and by name,
…. and with whom you have communicated in the past 2 years. This could be in-person, by text, email, phone call, or through social media.

In thinking about a child under the age of 18, you would "know" the child if you know either the child or at least one of the parents/guardians by this definition.

We want to give you some examples to help you in answering this question. Let's say we ask you how many primary school teachers you currently know who live in this [DISTRICT], and 3 primary school teachers come to your mind – Mr. Kargbo, Mrs. Sesay and Mr. Koroma

- Mr. Kargbo

He is your sister-in-law's father, and you met him through your sister-in-law.
□ You know him by face and name

If he saw you today, he would recognize you
□ He knows you by face and name

You talked to him at a wedding six months ago
□ You have communicated with him in the last 2 years.

You have three checks, so for the purposes of this survey, you DO currently know Mr. Kargbo

- Mrs. Sesay

She is your cousin's friend, and your cousin introduced you to her.
□ You know her by face and name

If she saw you today, she would recognize you.
□ She knows you by face and name

A friend of yours told you that had a child a couple of years.
X You have not communicated with her in the last 2 years (for example, in-person, by phone call, text, or social media)

You only have 2 checks, so for the purposes of this survey, you DO NOT currently know her.

- Mr. Koroma

He's your son's friend from school. Your son introduced him to you years ago, but you don't remember him very well.
X You do not know him by face and name

But if he saw you today, he would recognize you because your son has shared your photo on social media.
□ He knows you by face and name

You haven't seen or communicated with him since he moved away 3 years ago
X You have not communicated with him in the last 2 years (for example, in-person, by phone call, text, or social media)

You only have 1 check, so for the purposes of this survey, you DO NOT currently know him.

You would report currently knowing one primary school teacher who lives in this [DISTRICT]:
Mr. Kargbo

REMEMBER: WE ARE ONLY ASKING YOU ABOUT PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN [KAILAHUN/ KENEMA/KONO] DISTRICT.

Use this definition in answering the following questions:

1	How many people do you know who moved into [Kailahun/Kenema/Kono] from 2010-2015?	Write in response:_____
2	How many men do you know who are widows?	Write in response:_____
3	How many people with a disability do you know whose main disability was caused by a transportation accident?	Write in response:_____
4	How many people with a disability do you know whose main disability was caused by an injury at work?	Write in response:_____
5	How many people with a disability do you know whose main disability was caused by polio?	Write in response:_____
6	How many people do you know who are completely deaf?	Write in response:_____
7	How many women do you know who smoke cigarettes?	Write in response:_____
8	How many women do you know who graduated from high school?	Write in response:_____
9	How many children do you know under the age of 18 who are orphans (both parents are dead)?	Write in response:_____
10	How many children do you know under the age of 18 who have at least one parent living abroad?	Write in response:_____
11	How many children do you know between the ages of 5 and 17 who have difficulty walking?	Write in response:_____
12	How many children do you know between the ages of 5 and 17 who are covered by any type of health insurance?	Write in response:_____
13	How many children do you know between the ages of 7 and 14 who use the same language at home that is also used by their teachers at school?	Write in response:_____
14	How many children do you know aged 2-17 who use a hearing aid?	Write in response:_____
15	How many children do you know aged 2-17 who wear glasses for vision correction?	Write in response:_____
16	How many children do you know aged 2-17 who use equipment or receive assistance for walking?	Write in response:_____

We are also interested in how well people that you know also know you.
To answer the questions below, please keep in mind the same definition of "knowing" from the last set of questions: People of all ages in living in [DISTRICT – Kailahun/Kenema/Kono], (this can be family members, friends, co-workers, neighbors, etc.), who…..
….you know by sight and by name,
… who also know you by sight and by name,
… and with whom you have communicated in the past 2 years. This could be in-person, by text, email, phone call, or through social media.

17	ut of every 10 people that you know, how many people would you estimate know your level of education?	1)	1		
		2)	2		
		3)	3		
		4)	4		
		5)	5		
		6)	6		
		7)	7		
		8)	8		
		9)	9		
		10)	10		
18	Out of every 10 people that you know, what percentage of these people know your tribe?	1)	1		
		2)	2		
		3)	3		
		4)	4		
		5)	5		
		6)	6		
		7)	7		
		8)	8		
		9)	9		
		10)	10		
19	Out of every 10 people that you know, what percentage of these people know your occupation?	1)	1		
		2)	2		
		3)	3		
		4)	4		
		5)	5		
		6)	6		
		7)	7		
		8)	8		
		9)	9		
		10)	10		
20	Out of every 10 people that you know, what percentage of these people know whether or not you smoke cigarettes?	1)	1		
		2)	2		
		3)	3		
		4)	4		
		5)	5		
		6)	6		
		7)	7		
		8)	8		
		9)	9		
		10)	10		
21	Out of every 10 people that you know, what percentage of these people know whether or not you smoke cigarettes? Out of every 10 people that you know, what percentage of these people know your religion?	1)	1		
		2)	2		
		3)	3		
		4)	4		
		5)	5	8)	8
		6)	6	9)	9
		7)	7	10)	10

Section F: Assessment of Victimization and Vulnerability in the Network

For this set of questions we want to ask you about children aged 5-17 that you know in [DISTRICT– Kailahun/Kenema/Kono]. For these questions, use the same definition of "knowing" as before, but also include the parents. You "know" a child if you

…. know the child or at least one of the child's parents by sight and by name,
… either the parent or the child also knows you by sight and by name,
… and you have communicated with either the parent or the child in the past 2 years. This could be in-person, by text, email, phone call, or through social media.

1	How many children in [DISTRICT– Kailahun/Kenema/Kono] do you know of that worked outside the home within the last year OR were living away from their parents, with or without the facilitation of an intermediary? **Ask respondent for the name of each child. Children's names will be listed on a form similar to the household roster in Section B1, and the questions below will be asked about each child listed in this section ***	Number of children _____
Interviewer: Ask the questions in this section for all children identified in the above roster. Be sure to limit to only children aged 5-17.		
2	Is the child currently working outside the home?	. No (go to Q2) 1. Yes (go to Q3) 2. Do not know
3	Has the child worked outside the home in the last year?	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know
4	How old is this child?	Record age in complete years
5	Gender of child	1. Male 2. Female 3. Non-binary
6	Ethnicity of child (or language group, as appropriate)	_____
7	Religion of the child	1. Christian 2. Muslim 3. Tribal religion 4. Other: _____ 5. Do not know
8	Is the child a Sierra Leonean national?	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know
9	Does the child have a history of going missing or is frequently away from home?	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know

10	Was the child adopted under suspicious circumstances?	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know
11	Does the child regularly attend school?	1. Never 2. Sometimes 3. Always 4. Don't know
12	Does the child have a disability?	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know
13	Are the child's biological parents alive?	1. Both parents alive (go to Q13) 2. Lost one parent (go to Q13) 3. Lost both parents (go to Q14) 4. Do not know
14	Has the child lived apart from their biological parent(s) anytime in the last year?	0. No (go to Q19) 1. Yes (go to Q15) 2. Do not know
15	Has the child lived apart from their official guardian anytime in the last year?	0. No (go to Q19) 1. Yes (go to Q16) 2. Do not know
16	During the time away from home, is/was the child staying in very bad living conditions (e.g. little access to food, clean water, sanitation)?	1. Never 2. Sometimes 3. Always
17	During the time away from home, was the child not allowed to contact his or her family or was otherwise cut off from family contact by his or her employer?	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know
18	Was the child sent away from home to learn some trade or skill?	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know
19	Highest level of education of the child at the time they begin working outside the home or began living away from parents/guardians. Note to interviewer: if the level of education was different at the time in which the child began working outside the home than it was when they were living away from home, enter the LOWER of the two levels of education.	0. None 1. Pre-primary 2. Lower Primary (Class 1 – Class 3) 3. Upper Primary (Class 4 – Class 6) 4. JSS 5. SSS 6. Tertiary 7. Other (Please Specify) 8. Do not know

20	In the last year, as the child worked as a menpikin?	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know
21	In the last year, has the child been involved in any of the following types of work? (check all that apply) a. domestic work for another household b. mining/quarrying c. agricultural work d. trading/vending activities e. fishing f. pottering (doing casual labor) g. sex work (selling or giving any type of sexual service) h. begging i. motorcycle taxi driving j. manufacturing k. working in workshops (e.g., crafts, mechanics) l. construction m. Other (specify)	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know

22. In answering the following questions, please think about things that have happened to the child in the last year.

In the last year, has the child:

a	…performed work that involves carrying heavy loads?	0. No 1. Yes	2. Do not know
b	… operated heavy machinery or worked with dangerous tools?	0. No 1. Yes	2. Do not know
c	….performed work that exposes him/her to dust, fumes, or gases?	0. No 1. Yes	2. Do not know
d	…..performed work that exposes him/her to extreme cold, heat, or humidity?	0. No 1. Yes	2. Do not know
e	….performed work that exposes him/her to loud noise or vibration?	0. No 1. Yes	2. Do not know
f	…. been forced or induced to commit illicit/criminal activities/petty crime?	0. No 1. Yes	2. Do not know
g	….. been forced or induced to work to work for someone?	0. No 1. Yes	2. Do not know
h	….. been forced or induced to work to repay a debt owed by someone else?	0. No 1. Yes	2. Do not know

Section G: Impact of Covid-19

In the following questions, rate (on a scale of 1 to 5) the impact of COVID-19 related restrictions on:

1	The welfare of families in your community	1. Very positive impact 2. Positive impact 3. Neutral 4. Negative impact 5. Very negative impact
2	The welfare of children in your community	1. Very positive impact 2. Positive impact 3. Neutral 4. Negative impact 5. Very negative impact
3	Exploitation of children	1. Very positive impact 2. Positive impact 3. Neutral 4. Negative impact 5. Very negative impact
4	Access to essential social services (healthcare, child protection, litigation, etc.)	1. Very positive impact 2. Positive impact 3. Neutral 4. Negative impact 5. Very negative impact
	END TIME OF INTERVIEW (Auto generated)	_____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULT

Record the result of the questionnaire/interview
1) Complete interview
2) Incomplete interview
3) Eligible Respondent Not at Home
3) Partly completed
4) This questionnaire was for Household replacement
5) Respondent got traumatized/distressed during the interview.
6 Refused

Interview data quality check list
When conducting this interview, was there any:

a. Environmental interference
   i. Weather
   ii. Household environment
   iii. Other (specify)
   iv. None
   v. Not applicable

b. Unanticipated household event
   i. A person lurking
   ii. Angered household member
   iii. Other (specify)
   iv. None
   v. Not applicable

c. Political activity/interference during the process of administering the interview
   i. Yes
   ii. No
   iii. Not applicable

d. Interviewer Observation throughout the process of administering the interview
   i. Appearance/mental status
   ii. Difficult question
   iii. Other (specify)
   iv. None
   v. Not applicable



APPENDIX II: – VIGNETTES

Vignette 1:
Sadi is a 9-year-old girl staying with her single mother and her uncle Bondi. One morning, two men come to their home and they engage in an intense conversation with her mother for about 30 minutes. The men then gave her mother something that looked like money. Sadi has never seen these men but her uncle knows what they do and he believes many locals know this too. After their conversation, Sadi was asked to pack her bag immediately. Her mother told her she had no money to pay for her school fees and that they were taking her to study from the city. The men took Sadi to the bus park where she was handed over to another man who accompanied her. Upon arrival in the city, Sadi never joined any school but was taken to work for a well-to-do family in the suburbs. She works every day from 5.00am to mid-night without any rest. She cleans the house and compound, washes clothes, cooks, and looks after four children, two of whom are older than her. Since coming to the city, Sadi has never communicated with her mother. She is forbidden from making phone calls. She tried to escape one day but her employers beat her severely and warned her never to go more than 100 metres away from the house. Despite working for close to a year now, she has never received any pay. Her employers scold her every day for being lazy, yet she feels she works her heart out. Sometimes she is denied the food she has prepared herself.

Vignette 2:
Modo is a 14-year-old boy while Meme, his sister is 10. Their father is a farmer. One morning as the two children prepare to go to school, their father tells them they were not going anywhere. He says that they have to work to eat and that it has become impossible for him to meet his agricultural production goals and business goals without them working. He tells the children that they are a useless lazy lot, yet they are the ones 'eating' all his money and therefore they have to work for it. From that day on, the children work from 6am to 6pm. The girl works in the field, preparing the ground for planting, sowing seed, weeding, harvesting the crop and manually threshing and winnowing the maize. The boy works in a local stone quarry hitting rocks to make gravel which his father sells. They go to school only once or twice a week, mainly in the off-season, and even then, they often arrive very late after doing some work. Every day, they are very exhausted yet their living conditions do not seem to improve. To their father, working to make money is more important than going to school – the difference is he never participates in the work himself.

Vignette 3:
Dula and Pato are sister and brother aged 15 and 8 respectively. They regularly go to a public day Secondary school and Primary School respectively under a free government education scheme. Before leaving for school every morning, their parents require them to clean up the house together with the rest of the family members, to make their beds and to tidy their sleeping room. In the evening after returning from school, they first do their 'school take-home assignments' then rest for an hour. After the rest, they are required to participate in preparing the dinner and other chores – either by tending to the food on the fire, washing the dishes, fetching fire wood/water or bathing their infant siblings. The children feel that the work is too much for them and are always protesting to their parents. But other members of the family regularly do their share and the work is apportioned based on age/ability. Their mother always tells them that there is no well-groomed child who does not help out on house chores as long as the chores do not affect their studies.

Appendix III: Background characteristics of household members

Characteristic	Category	Kenema n=7,182		Kono n=4,518		Kailahun n=4,708		Overall n=16,408	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Gender	Male	3,295	45.9	2,229	49.3	2,198	46.7	7,722	47.1
	Female	3,887	54.1	2,289	50.7	2,510	53.3	8,686	52.9
Relationship to the respondent	Respondent	1,143	15.9	944	20.9	903	19.2	2,990	18.2
	Spouse	763	10.6	612	13.5	689	14.6	2,064	12.6
	Son/Daughter	2,253	31.4	710	15.7	1,382	29.4	4,345	26.5
	Mother/Father	1,227	17.1	1,483	32.8	1,002	21.3	3,712	22.6
	Brother/Sister	393	5.5	262	5.8	199	4.2	854	5.2
	Other	1,403	19.5	507	11.2	533	11.3	2,443	14.9
Relationship to head of household	Head	1,143	15.9	944	20.9	903	19.2	2,990	18.2
	Spouse	805	11.2	622	13.8	703	14.9	2,130	13
	Son/Daughter	1,853	25.8	843	18.7	886	18.8	3,582	21.8
	Mother/Father	1,653	23	1,371	30.3	1,516	32.2	4,540	27.7
	Brother/Sister	224	3.1	220	4.9	154	3.3	598	3.6
	Other	1,504	20.9	518	11.5	546	11.6	2,568	15.7
Mean household size	Mean (SD)	7.3(3.0)		5.7(2.3)		5.9(2.1)		6.5(2.7)	
Total number of people in household	0-4	270	23.6	453	48	355	39.3	1,078	36.1
	5-9	758	66.3	469	49.7	525	58.1	1,752	58.6
	10+	115	10.1	22	2.3	23	2.5	160	5.4
Mean number of children in the household	Mean:	4.3(2.0)		3.4(1.7)		3.6(1.7)		3.9(1.9)	
Age of all members in the household	0-4	823	11.5	460	10.2	340	7.2	1,623	9.9
	5-17	4,302	59.9	2,623	58.1	2,783	59.1	9,708	59.2
	18-29	802	11.2	612	13.5	541	11.5	1,955	11.9
	30-39	593	8.3	415	9.2	479	10.2	1,487	9.1
	40-49	328	4.6	224	5	324	6.9	876	5.3
	50-59	183	2.5	112	2.5	148	3.1	443	2.7
	60-69	151	2.1	72	1.6	93	2	316	1.9
	70+	823	11.5	460	10.2	340	7.2	1,623	9.9

Appendix IV: Perceptions of the household's welfare status

Characteristic	Category	Kenema		Kono		Kailahun		Overall	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
		n=1,143		n=1,143		n=903		n=2,990	
Perception of family's economic status	Strongly Agree/	116	10.1	50	5.3	63	7	229	7.7
	Agree	119	10.4	294	31.1	220	24.4	633	21.2
	Neutral	908	79.4	600	63.6	620	68.7	2,128	71.2
Overall, my household is able to live on its present income.	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree	545	47.7	361	38.2	278	30.8	1,184	39.6
	Strongly Agree/	87	7.6	263	27.9	194	21.5	544	18.2
	Agree	511	44.7	320	33.9	431	47.7	1,262	42.2
Generally, there is enough food or money for food to feed all the people in this household.	Neutral	121	10.6	122	12.9	55	6.1	298	10
	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree	138	12.1	337	35.7	302	33.4	777	26
	Strongly Agree/	884	77.3	485	51.4	546	60.5	1,915	64
Generally, there is enough money for school fees to send every child in the household to school.	Agree	82	7.2	84	8.9	33	3.7	199	6.7
	Neutral	114	10	336	35.6	260	28.8	710	23.7
	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree	947	82.9	524	55.5	610	67.6	2,081	69.6
Generally, there is enough money to supply clothing for everyone in the household.	Strongly Agree/	75	6.6	70	7.4	29	3.2	174	5.8
	Agree	107	9.4	302	32	259	28.7	668	22.3
	Neutral	961	84.1	572	60.6	615	68.1	2,148	71.8
Generally, there is enough money to supply medicine for everyone in the household.	Disagree/ Strongly Disagree	68	5.9	93	9.9	21	2.3	182	6.1
	Strongly Agree/	145	12.7	286	30.3	225	24.9	656	21.9
	Agree	930	81.4	565	59.9	657	72.8	2,152	72

Appendix V: Child labour among children aged 5 to 17 years

		Kenema		Kono		Kailahun		Overall	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
		n=261		n=231		n=217		n=709	
Among those not in school, reasons for not being in a formal school (n=709)	No money to pay for his/her education	150	57.5	138	59.7	99	45.6	387	54.6
	Needs to be working for household/family	5	1.9	14	6.1	11	5.1	30	4.2
	Needs to be working to earn money for family/household	7	2.7	17	7.4	7	3.2	31	4.4
	Married/Pregnancy	4	1.5	6	2.6	3	1.4	13	1.8
	Abuse/Violence/Bullying	1	0.4	1	0.4	0	0	2	0.3
	No school nearby/No Admission/No Teacher	5	1.9	13	5.6	21	9.7	39	5.5
	Attending vocational school	12	4.6	3	1.3	4	1.8	19	2.7
	Sickness	15	5.7	15	6.5	25	11.5	55	7.8
	Refused to go to school	37	14.2	25	10.8	33	15.2	95	13.4
	Other (specify)_____	31	11.9	31	13.4	29	13.4	91	12.8
	Subtotals		n=2,731		n=1,528		n=1,741		n=6,000
The child has worked as a menpikin in the last year (n=6,000)	0= No/Don't know	2,520	92.3	1,366	89.4	1,530	87.9	5,416	90.3
	1=Yes	211	7.7	162	10.6	211	12.1	584	9.7
The child has ever worked (n=6,000)	0=No	512	18.7	95	6.2	281	16.1	888	14.8
	1=Yes	2,219	81.3	1,433	93.8	1,460	83.9	5,112	85.2
Child is involved in any of the following type of work in the last year. (n=6,000)	Domestic work	2,170	79.5	1,400	91.6	1,419	81.5	4,989	83.2
	Mining/quarrying	52	1.9	48	3.1	21	1.2	121	2
	Agricultural work	784	28.7	783	51.2	720	41.4	2,287	38.1
	trading/vending activities	451	16.5	378	24.7	301	17.3	1,130	18.8
	Fishing	74	2.7	81	5.3	24	1.4	179	3
	Pottering (carrying heavy objects)	162	5.9	147	9.6	67	3.8	376	6.3
	Sex work (selling or giving any type of sexual service)	12	0.4	10	0.7	5	0.3	27	0.4
	Begging	33	1.2	16	1	11	0.6	60	1
	Motorcycle taxi driving	20	0.7	20	1.3	7	0.4	47	0.8
	Manufacturing	11	0.4	10	0.7	9	0.5	30	0.5
	Working in workshops (e.g., crafts, mechanics)	36	1.3	37	2.4	24	1.4	97	1.6
	Construction	30	1.1	127	8.3	19	1.1	176	2.9
	Other	18	0.7	16	1	7	0.4	41	0.7
	Subtotals		2,219		1,433		1,460		5,112

		Kenema		Kono		Kailahun		Overall	
Child has performed work away from the home in the last year that involved	carrying heavy loads using dangerous tools or operating heavy machinery	85	3.8	85	5.6	15	1	185	3.6
	exposure to dust/ fumes/gas	12	0.5	133	9.3	11	0.8	156	3.1
any of the following: (Among those who are working (n=5,112)	exposure to extreme cold/ heat/humidity	88	4	220	15.4	176	12.1	484	9.5
	exposure to loud noise or vibration	7	0.3	51	3.6	13	0.9	71	1.4
	None of the above	1,720	77.5	985	68.7	1,077	73.8	3,782	74
Among those working away from the home: who are they working for? (n=5,112)	Own/Self	698	31.5	284	19.8	171	11.7	1,153	
	Family/Household	1,848	83.3	1,198	83.6	1,360	93.2	4,406	
	Extended Family/Relative	327	14.7	462	32.2	248	17	1,037	
	Working for a company	4	0.2	9	0.6	3	0.2	16	
	Stranger	69	3.1	37	2.6	59	4	165	
	No one	200	9	149	10.4	20	1.4	369	
	Other	8	0.4	10	0.7	4	0.3	22	
	Don't know	54	2.4	14	1	5	0.3	73	
Among those working away from the home: How many hours of work did this child perform outside the home in the last 7 days?	0=no child labor	43	1.9	95	6.6	37	2.5	175	3.4
	1=child labor;	2,176	98.1	1,338	93.4	1,423	97.5	4,937	96.6

		Kenema		Kono		Kailahun		Overall	
Among those working away from the home: Mean hours worked outside home in last 7 days	Mean:	5.8		15.5		4.0		8.1	
	SD:	12.9		20.2		6.0		15.1	
Among those working away from the home: Was the number of hours worked outside the home in the last 7 days typical for this person?	1. yes	138	40.1	111	23.5	111	46.6	360	34.1
	2. no, usually works more hours	60	17.4	131	27.7	12	5	203	19.2
	3. no, usually works fewer hours	128	37.2	222	46.9	105	44.1	455	43.1
	4. Don't know	18	5.2	9	1.9	10	4.2	37	3.5
	5. does not apply								
On a scale of 1 to 10, how certain are you about the number of hours you've reported?	Mean:	8.4		8.4		6.2		7.8	
	SD:	2.2		2.3		2.9		2.6	

		Kenema		Kono		Kailahun		Overall	
All: How many hours of work	0=no child labor	350	12.8	194	12.7	244	14	788	13.1
	1=child labor	2,381	87.2	1,334	87.3	1,497	86	5,212	86.9
Mean hours worked outside home in last 7 days	Mean:	13.4		16.6		7.6			12.5
	SD:	11.1		10.9		9.5			11.2
Was the number of hours worked inside the home in the last 7 days typical for this person?	1. yes	1,547	56.6	428	28	851	48.9	2,826	47.1
	2. no, usually works more hours	360	13.2	389	25.5	155	8.9	904	15.1
	3. no, usually works less hours	824	30.2	711	46.5	735	42.2	2,270	37.8
	4. Don't know								
	5. does not apply								
On a scale of 1 to 10, how certain are you about the number of hours you've reported?	Mean:	6.6		8.0		7.5		7.5	
	SD:	3.7		2.9		3.3		3.5	

Appendix VI: Tabulation of child Labor against Demographic characteristics

Characteristic	Option	Children that experienced child labor				
		Not involved in Child Labor		Involved in Child Labor		Total
		No.	row %	No.	row %	No.
		n=2,878		n=3,122		n=6,000
District	Kenema	1,445	52.9	1,286	47.1	2,731
	Kono	591	38.7	937	61.3	1,528
	Kailahun	842	48.4	899	51.6	1,741
Gender of HH member	Male	1,343	46.5	1,545	53.5	2,888
	Female	1,535	49.3	1,577	50.7	3,112
Residence	Urban	1,262	49.5	1,290	50.5	2,552
	Rural	1,616	46.9	1,832	53.1	3,448
Age	5-9 years	1,257	50.3	1,244	49.7	2,501
	10-14 years	826	37.5	1,374	62.5	2,200
	15-17 years	795	61.2	504	38.8	1,299
HH member currently live in the home	No	329	51.1	315	48.9	644
	Yes	2,549	47.6	2,807	52.4	5,356
HH member's Level of education completed by last	None	293	46.5	337	53.5	630
	Pre-primary	207	71.4	83	28.6	290
	Primary	1,451	42.8	1,936	57.2	3,387
	JSS	724	53.1	640	46.9	1,364
	SSS	184	66.2	94	33.8	278
	University	1	50	1	50	2
	Other (Specify)	18	36.7	31	63.3	49
Orphan hood status of the HH member	None	2,436	48.2	2,623	51.8	5,059
	Single Orphan	399	47.3	445	52.7	844
	Double Orphan	43	44.3	54	55.7	97
Child has been involved in any of the following types of work in the last year.	Domestic work	2,049	41.1	2,940	58.9	4,989
	Mining/ quarrying	32	26.4	89	73.6	121
	Agricultural work	784	34.3	1,503	65.7	2,287
	trading/ vending activities	335	29.6	795	70.4	1,130
	Fishing	47	26.3	132	73.7	179
	Pottering (carrying heavy objects)	42	11.2	334	88.8	376

Appendix VII: Correlates of child labor

Item	Options	Not involved in child labor		Involved in child labor		CPR	95% CI	p-value	APR (95% CI)	p-value
		No	%	No	%					
Demographic Characteristics of household members (n=16,408)										
Gender	Male	1,343	46.7	1,545	49.5					
	Female	1,535	53.3	1,577	50.5	0.95	0.80-0.93	0.03		
Total number of people in household	0-4	160	30.8	138	28					
	5-9	318	61.3	334	67.7	1.11	0.69-1.00	0.17		
	10+	41	7.9	21	4.3	0.73	0.39-1.00	0.1		
Age categories of children in the household	5-9	1,257	43.7	1,244	39.8				1	
	10-14	826	28.7	1,374	44	1.26	1.81-2.19	<0.001	1.21 (1.15-1.28)	<0.001
	15-17	795	27.6	504	16.1	0.78	2.32-2.82	<0.001	0.71 (0.66-0.77)	<0.001
Person contributes to the expenses of the household	No	2,630	91.4	2,506	80.3				1	
	Yes	248	8.6	616	19.7	1.46	2.17-2.48	<0.001	1.55 (1.47-1.64)	<0.001
Person currently lives in the home	No	329	11.4	315	10.1					
	Yes	2,549	88.6	2,807	89.9	1.07	0.60-0.71	0.10		
Residence type:	Urban	1,262	43.8	1,290	41.3				1	
	Rural	1,616	56.2	1,832	58.7	1.05	1.00-1.10	0.05	1.07 (1.02-1.12)	0.01
									For only Household Head (n=2,990)	
Gender	Male	2,067	71.8	2,423	77.6					
	Female	811	28.2	699	22.4	0.86	0.97-1.14	<0.001		
Marital status	Single/ others	79	2.7	75	2.4					
	Married	2241	77.9	2504	80.2	1.08	0.92-1.28	0.34		
	Separated/ Divorced	99	3.44	113	3.62	1.09	0.89-1.34	0.39		
	Widowed	459	16.0	430	13.8	0.99	0.83-1.18	0.94		
Age category	18-29	218	7.6	189	6.1					
	30-39	758	26.3	738	23.6	1.06	0.95-1.19	0.31		
	40-49	806	28	1,012	32.4	1.20	1.07-1.34	<0.001		
	50-59	653	22.7	704	22.5	1.12	0.99-1.25	0.06		
	60-69	291	10.1	311	10	1.11	0.98-1.27	0.11		
	70+	152	5.3	168	5.4	1.13	0.98-1.31	0.10		

Level of education completed by last school year	None	1,575	54.7	1,815	58.1					
	Pre-primary	24	0.8	6	0.2	0.37	0.18-0.76	0.01		
	Primary	293	10.2	375	12	1.05	0.97-1.13	0.21		
	JSS	355	12.3	346	11.1	0.92	0.85-1.00	0.05		
	SSS	346	12	273	8.7	0.82	0.75-0.91	<0.001		
	Tertiary	199	6.9	190	6.1	0.91	0.82-1.01	0.09		
	Other	86	3	117	3.7	1.08	0.95-1.22	0.24		
Religion	Christian	727	25.3	836	26.8	1		1	1	
	Muslim	2,149	74.7	2,273	72.8	0.96	0.91-1.01	0.15	0.95 (0.90-1.01)	0.09
	Tribal religion/others/Don't know	2	0.1	13	0.4	1.62	1.32-1.99	<0.001	1.55 (1.26-1.92)	<0.001
Correlates of child labor (Among children in the household only)										
Level of education completed by last school year	None	1,575	54.7	1,815	58.1					
	Pre-primary	24	0.8	6	0.2	0.37	0.18-0.76	0.01		
	Primary	293	10.2	375	12	1.05	0.97-1.13	0.21		
	JSS	355	12.3	346	11.1	0.92	0.85-1.00	0.05		
	SSS	346	12	273	8.7	0.82	0.75-0.91	<0.001		
	Tertiary	199	6.9	190	6.1	0.91	0.82-1.01	0.09		
	Other	86	3	117	3.7	1.08	0.95-1.22	0.24		
Religion	Christian	727	25.3	836	26.8	1		1	1	
	Muslim	2,149	74.7	2,273	72.8	0.96	0.91-1.01	0.15	0.95 (0.90-1.01)	0.09
	Tribal religion/others/Don't know	2	0.1	13	0.4	1.62	1.32-1.99	<0.001	1.55 (1.26-1.92)	<0.001
Correlates of child labor (Among children in the household only)										
Child currently enrolled in a formal school	No	355	12.3	354	11.3					
	Yes	2,523	87.7	2,768	88.7	1.05	0.97-1.13	0.24		
Child currently enrolled in a koranic school/madrassa	No	2,305	80.1	2,374	76				1	
	Yes	573	19.9	748	24	1.12	1.06-1.18	<0.001	1.17 (1.10-1.23)	<0.001

Item	Options	Not involved in child labor		Involved in child labor		CPR	95% CI	p-value	APR (95% CI)	p-value
		No	%	No	%					
Orphan hood status	No	2,436	84.6	2,623	84					
	Single Orphan	399	13.9	445	14.3	1.02	0.95-1.09	0.63		
	Double Orphan	43	1.5	54	1.7	1.07	0.90-1.28	0.44		
Household SES Quintile	Lowest	559	19.4	661	21.2					
	Second	421	14.6	618	19.8	1.1	1.02-1.18	0.01		
	Middle	484	16.8	618	19.8	1.04	0.96-1.11	0.36		
	Fourth	730	25.4	618	19.8	0.85	0.78-0.91	<0.001		
	Highest	684	23.8	607	19.4	0.87	0.80-0.94	<0.001		
Household Welfare score quintile	Lowest	1,008	35	932	29.9				1	
	Second	580	20.2	682	21.8	1.12	1.05-1.2	<0.001	1.14 (1.07-1.22)	<0.001
	Middle	161	5.6	322	10.3	1.39	1.28-1.50	<0.001	1.43 (1.32-1.54)	<0.001
	Fourth	573	19.9	684	21.9	1.13	1.06-1.21	<0.001	1.17 (1.09-1.25)	<0.001
	Highest	556	19.3	502	16.1	0.99	0.91-1.07	0.76	1.03 (0.95-1.11)	0.52

Appendix VIII: Correlates of child labor (among children in the household only)

Factor	Options	Not involved in child labour		Involved in child labour		Crude PR	95%CI	p-Value
		No	%	No	%			
Child currently enrolled in a formal school	No	355	12.3	354	11.3			
	Yes	2,523	87.7	2,768	88.7	1.05	[0.97,1.13]	0.24
Child currently enrolled in a koranic school/ madrassa	No	2,305	80.1	2,374	76			
	Yes	573	19.9	748	24	1.12	[1.06, 1.18]	<0.001
Orphan hood status	No	2,436	84.6	2,623	84			
	Single Orphan	399	13.9	445	14.3	1.02	[0.95,1.09]	0.63
	Double Orphan	43	1.5	54	1.7	1.07	[0.90, 1.28]	0.44
Household SES Quintile	Lowest	559	19.4	661	21.2			
	Second	421	14.6	618	19.8	1.1	[1.02, 1.18]	0.01
	Middle	484	16.8	618	19.8	1.04	[0.96, 1.11]	0.36
	Fourth	730	25.4	618	19.8	0.85	[0.78, 0.91]	<0.001
	Highest	684	23.8	607	19.4	0.87	[0.80, 0.94]	<0.001
Household Welfare score quintile	Lowest	1,008	35	932	29.9			
	Second	580	20.2	682	21.8	1.12	[1.05, 1.2]	<0.001
	Middle	161	5.6	322	10.3	1.39	[1.28, 1.5]	<0.001
	Fourth	573	19.9	684	21.9	1.13	[1.06, 1.21]	<0.001
	Highest	556	19.3	502	16.1	0.99	[0.91, 1.07]	0.76

Appendix IX: Child trafficking against demographic characteristics

Characteristics	Options	Not involved in Child trafficking (n=3999)		Involved in Child trafficking (n=2001)		Total (n=6000)
		No.	row%	No.	row%	No.
District	Kenema	1,995	73.1	736	26.9	2,731
	Kono	834	54.6	694	45.4	1,528
	Kailahun	1,170	67.2	571	32.8	1,741
Gender of HH member	Male	1,852	64.1	1,036	35.9	2,888
	Female	2,147	69	965	31	3,112
Residence	Urban	1,817	71.2	735	28.8	2,552
	Rural	2,182	63.3	1,266	36.7	3,448
Age category	5-9 years	2,011	80.4	490	19.6	2,501
	10-14 years	1,340	60.9	860	39.1	2,200
	15-17 years	648	49.9	651	50.1	1,299
Child currently lives in the home	No	332	51.6	312	48.4	644
	Yes	3,667	68.5	1,689	31.5	5,356
Level of education	None	398	63.2	232	36.8	630
	Pre-primary	262	90.3	28	9.7	290
	Primary	2,361	69.7	1,026	30.3	3,387
	JSS	779	57.1	585	42.9	1,364
	SSS	166	59.7	112	40.3	278
	University	1	50	1	50	2
	Other (Specify)	32	65.3	17	34.7	49
Orphanhood status	None	3,455	68.3	1,604	31.7	5,059
	Single Orphan	495	58.6	349	41.4	844
	Double Orphan	49	50.5	48	49.5	97
Child is involved in any of the following type of work in the last year.	Domestic work	3,112	62.4	1,877	37.6	4,989
	Mining/quarrying	0	0	121	100	121
	Agricultural work	1,041	45.5	1,246	54.5	2,287
	trading/vending activities	379	33.5	751	66.5	1,130
	Fishing	0	0	179	100	179
	Pottering (carrying heavy objects)	0	0	376	100	376
	Sex work (selling or giving any type of sexual service)	0	0	27	100	27
	Begging	3	5	57	95	60
	Motorcycle taxi driving	8	17	39	83	47
	Manufacturing	0	0	30	100	30
	Working in workshops (e.g., crafts, mechanics)	18	18.6	79	81.4	97
	Construction	0	0	176	100	176
	Other	27	65.9	14	34.1	41

Appendix X: Correlates of child trafficking

Item	Options	Not Involved in child trafficking		Involved in child trafficking		CPR	95% CI	p-value	APR (95% CI)	p-value
		No	%	No	%					
Demographic Characteristics of household members (n=16,408)										
Gender	Male	1,852	46.3	1,036	51.8				1	
	Female	2,147	53.7	965	48.2	0.86	0.80-0.93	<0.001	0.87 (0.81-0.93)	<0.001
Total number of people in household	0-4	183	27.2	115	33.9					
	5-9	443	65.8	209	61.7	0.83	0.69-1.00	0.05		
	10+	47	7	15	4.4	0.63	0.39-1.00	0.05		
Age categories of children in the household (According to WHO age categorization)	5-9	2,011	50.3	490	24.5				1	
	10-14	1,340	33.5	860	43	2.00	1.81-2.19	<0.001	1.94 (1.77-2.13)	<0.001
	15-17	648	16.2	651	32.5	2.54	2.32-2.82	<0.001	2.25 (2.04-2.48)	<0.001
Person contributes to the expenses of the household	No	3,697	92.4	1,439	71.9				1	
	Yes	302	7.6	562	28.1	2.32	2.17-2.48	<0.001	1.85 (1.73-1.99)	<0.001
Person currently lives in the home	No	332	8.3	312	15.6					
	Yes	3,667	91.7	1,689	84.4	0.65	0.60-0.71	<0.001	0.78 (0.71,0.85)	<0.001
Residence type:	Urban	1,817	45.4	735	36.7				1	
	Rural	2,182	54.6	1,266	63.3	1.27	1.18-1.37	<0.001	1.09 (1.02- 1.18)	0.02
For only Household Head (n=2990)										
Gender	Male	3,010	75.3	1,480	74					
	Female	989	24.7	521	26	1.05	0.97-1.14	0.27		
Marital status	Single/others	105	2.6	49	2.5					
	Married	3191	79.8	1554	77.7	1.03	0.81-1.30	0.81		
	Separated/ Divorced	131	3.3	81	4.1	1.20	0.90-1.60	0.21		
	Widowed	572	14.3	317	15.8	1.12	0.87-1.44	0.37		

Age category	18-29	282	7.1	125	6.2					
	30-39	1,048	26.2	448	22.4	0.98	0.83-1.15	0.76		
	40-49	1,188	29.7	630	31.5	1.13	0.96-1.32	0.14		
	50-59	878	22	479	23.9	1.15	0.98-1.35	0.09		
	60-69	405	10.1	197	9.8	1.07	0.89-1.28	0.50		
	70+	198	5	122	6.1	1.24	1.01-1.52	0.04		
Level of education completed by last school year	None	2,156	53.9	1,234	61.7					
	Pre-primary	19	0.5	11	0.5	1.01	0.63-1.62	0.98		
	Primary	409	10.2	259	12.9	1.07	0.96-1.18	0.24		
	JSS	514	12.9	187	9.3	0.73	0.64-0.84	<0.001		
	SSS	460	11.5	159	7.9	0.71	0.61-0.81	<0.001		
	Tertiary	296	7.4	93	4.6	0.66	0.55-0.79	<0.001		
	Other	145	3.6	58	2.9	0.78	0.63-0.98	0.03		
Religion	Christian	1,048	26.2	515	25.7			1		
	Muslim	2,941	73.5	1,481	74	1.02	0.94-1.10	0.70		
	Tribal/others/ Don't know	10	0.3	5	0.2	1.01	0.49-2.08	0.97		
Correlates of child labor (Among children in the household only)										
Child currently enrolled in a formal school	No	382	9.6	327	16.3				1	
	Yes	3,617	90.4	1,674	83.7	0.69	0.63-0.75	<0.001	0.87 (0.80,0.94)	<0.001
Child currently enrolled in a koranic school/madrassa	No	3,154	78.9	1,525	76.2					
	Yes	845	21.1	476	23.8	1.11	1.02-1.20	0.02		
Orphan hood status	No	3,455	86.4	1,604	80.2					
	Single Orphan	495	12.4	349	17.4	1.30	1.19-1.43	<0.001		
	Double Orphan	49	1.2	48	2.4	1.56	1.27-1.92	<0.001		
Household SES Quintile	Lowest	710	17.8	510	25.5				1	
	Second	603	15.1	436	21.8	1.00	0.91-1.11	0.94	1.05 (0.96-1.15)	0.31
	Middle	720	18	382	19.1	0.83	0.75-0.92	<0.001	0.88 (0.80- .97)	0.01
	Fourth	1,016	25.4	332	16.6	0.59	0.53-0.66	<0.001	0.66 (0.59- .73)	<0.001
	Highest	950	23.8	341	17	0.63	0.56-0.71	<0.001	0.72 0.64-0.80)	<0.001
Household Welfare score quintile	Lowest	1,268	31.7	672	33.6					
	Second	879	22	383	19.1	0.88	0.79-0.97	0.01		
	Middle	267	6.7	216	10.8	1.29	1.15-1.45	<0.001		
	Fourth	825	20.6	432	21.6	0.99	0.9-1.09	0.87		
	Highest	760	19	298	14.9	0.81	0.73-0.91	<0.001		

Appendix XI: Descriptive statistics for the victimhood assessment within the network of the respondent

Characteristic	Option	Kenema (n=310)		Kono (n=448)		Kailahun (n=786)		Overall (n=1544)	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Age of the child	<6	19	6.1	22	4.9	39	5	80	5.2
	6-9	61	19.7	91	20.3	140	17.8	292	18.9
	10-13	91	29.4	129	28.8	180	22.9	400	25.9
	14-17	139	44.8	206	46	427	54.3	772	50
Gender of child	Male	132	42.7	213	47.5	362	46.1	707	45.8
	Female	176	57	231	51.6	424	53.9	831	53.9
	Non-binary	1	0.3	4	0.9	0	0	5	0.3
Ethnicity of Child	Kono	2	0.6	309	69	2	0.3	313	20.3
	Kissi	0	0	22	4.9	182	23.2	204	13.2
	Mende	291	93.9	17	3.8	571	72.6	879	56.9
	Temeni	4	1.3	35	7.8	6	0.8	45	2.9
	Others	13	4.2	65	14.5	25	3.2	103	6.7
Religion of the child	Christian	43	13.9	218	48.7	231	29.4	492	31.9
	Muslim	262	84.5	225	50.2	529	67.3	1,016	65.8
	Tribal/Atheist/Other	3	1	0	0	0	0	3	0.2
	Don't Know	2	0.6	5	1.1	26	3.3	33	2.1
Child is a Sierra Leone citizen	No/Don't know	7	2.3	11	2.5	7	0.9	25	1.6
	Yes	303	97.7	437	97.5	779	99.1	1,519	98.4
Orphan hood status	Both parents alive	149	48.1	220	49.1	354	45	723	46.8
	Single orphan	110	35.5	131	29.2	307	39.1	548	35.5
	Double orphan	42	13.5	86	19.2	94	12	222	14.4
	Don't know	9	2.9	11	2.5	31	3.9	51	3.3
Highest level of education of the child at the time of victimhood	None	58	19.2	152	34.3	168	21.5	378	24.8
	Primary	185	61.3	193	43.6	322	41.2	700	45.9
	Secondary	58	19.2	95	21.4	282	36.1	435	28.5
	Other	1	0.3	3	0.7	9	1.2	13	0.9

Appendix XII: Vulnerability characteristics

Characteristic	Response options	Kenema		Kono		Kailahun		Overall	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
		n=310		n=448		n=786		n=1,544	
Child has a history of going missing or is frequently away from home(n=1544)	No/Don't know	223	71.9	333	74.3	444	56.5	1,000	64.8
	Yes	87	28.1	115	25.7	342	43.5	544	35.2
Child staying in very bad living conditions when living away from home	Never	27	23.9	24	13.6	22	7.7	73	12.7
	Sometimes	26	23	104	59.1	132	46.5	262	45.7
	Always	49	43.4	38	21.6	79	27.8	166	29
	Don't know	11	9.7	10	5.7	51	18	72	12.6
Child lived apart from their biological parent(s) anytime in the last year	No/Don't know	44	17	78	22.2	170	25.7	292	23
	Yes	215	83	273	77.8	491	74.3	979	77
Child lived apart from their official guardian anytime in the last year	No/Don't know	197	63.5	272	60.7	502	63.9	971	62.9
	Yes	113	36.5	176	39.3	284	36.1	573	37.1
Child regularly attends school	Never	63	20.3	128	28.6	147	18.7	338	21.9
	Sometimes	60	19.4	92	20.5	245	31.2	397	25.7
	Always	170	54.8	208	46.4	363	46.2	741	48
	Don't know	17	5.5	20	4.5	31	3.9	68	4.4
Presence of a disability	No/ Don't know	300	96.8	422	94.2	747	95	1,469	95.1
	Yes	10	3.2	26	5.8	39	5	75	4.9
Kind of work the child was involved in (if working outside the home) (n=1541)	Domestic work for another household	181	58.4	337	75.2	558	71.3	1,076	69.8
	Mining work	25	8.1	30	6.7	56	7.2	111	7.2
	Agricultural work	99	31.9	227	50.7	432	55.2	758	49.2
	Trading/vending activities	94	30.3	180	40.2	292	37.3	566	36.7
	Fishing	12	3.9	45	10	70	8.9	127	8.2
	Pottering	37	11.9	114	25.4	93	11.9	244	15.8
	Sex work	6	1.9	18	4	38	4.9	62	4
	Begging	12	3.9	17	3.8	79	10.1	108	7
	Motorcycle/taxi driving	7	2.3	10	2.2	55	7	72	4.7
	manufacturing	14	4.5	1	0.2	34	4.3	49	3.2
	working in workshops (e.g., crafts, mechanics)	11	3.5	25	5.6	65	8.3	101	6.6
	construction	8	2.6	46	10.3	90	11.5	144	9.3
	Other kinds of work not listed	11	3.5	17	3.8	45	5.7	73	4.7
Child worked as a menpikin in the last year	No/Don't know	214	69	382	85.3	449	57.1	1,045	67.7
	Yes	96	31	66	14.7	337	42.9	499	32.3

Characteristic	Response options	Kenema		Kono		Kailahun		Overall	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
		n=310		n=448		n=786		n=1,544	
Child worked as a menpikin in the last year	No/Don't know	214	69	382	85.3	85.3	57.1	1,045	67.7
	Yes	96	31	66	14.7	14.7	42.9	499	32.3
Hazardous Work in the network. (n=1,544)	0=No	190	61.3	215	48	48	40.8	726	47
	Yes	120	38.7	233	52	52	59.2	818	53
Things that have happened to the child in the last year. (n=1,544)		49	30.2	184	41.1	41.1	42.9	570	40.8
		54	17.4	74	16.5	16.5	17.6	266	17.2
		16	5.2	116	25.9	25.9	15	250	16.2
		36	11.6	173	38.6	38.6	34.5	480	31.1
		42	13.5	88	19.6	19.6	14.1	241	15.6
		11	3.5	21	4.7	4.7	12	126	8.2
		21	6.8	91	20.3	20.3	27.1	325	21
		43	13.9	17	3.8	3.8	19.1	210	13.6
Adopted under suspicious circumstances.	No	197	91.6	203	74.4	274	55.8	674	68.8
	Yes	8	3.7	46	16.8	141	28.7	195	19.9
	Don't know	10	4.7	24	8.8	76	15.5	110	11.2
(If living away from parents) Child is not allowed to contact his or her family or is otherwise cut off from family contact by his or her employer. (n=393)	No	25	28.4	29	25.7	82	42.7	136	34.6
	Yes	57	64.8	71	62.8	89	46.4	217	55.2
	Don't know	6	6.8	13	11.5	21	10.9	40	10.2
(If living away from parents) Child was sent away from home to learn some trade or skill. (n=979)	No	185	86	197	72.2	281	57.2	663	67.7
	Yes	24	11.2	64	23.4	182	37.1	270	27.6
	Don't know	6	2.8	12	4.4	28	5.7	46	4.7
Sub-group analysis (Among children aged less than 12 years)									
Spends at least 1 hour in economic activity in a given week (n=533)	No	108	89.3	84	49.1	92	38.2	284	108
	Yes	4	3.3	69	40.4	101	41.9	174	4
	Don't know	9	7.4	18	10.5	48	19.9	75	9
Spends at least 28 hours in domestic activity in a given week (n=533)	No	88	72.7	63	36.8	70	29	221	41.5
	Yes	26	21.5	92	53.8	118	49	236	44.3
	Don't know	7	5.8	16	9.4	53	22	76	14.3

Characteristic	Response options	Kenema		Kono		Kailahun		Overall	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
		n=310		n=448		n=786		n=1,544	
If child is aged 12 to 14: Spends at least 14 hours in economic activity in a given week (n=320)	No	35	85.4	36	34.6	57	32.6	128	40
	Yes	4	9.8	55	52.9	85	48.6	144	45
	Don't know	2	4.9	13	12.5	33	18.9	48	15
If child is aged 12 to 14: Spends at least 42 hours combined in domestic activity and/or economic activity in a given week	No	45	59.2	32	30.8	42	24	119	33.5
	Yes	25	32.9	59	56.7	87	49.7	171	48.2
	Don't know	6	7.9	13	12.5	46	26.3	65	18.3
If child is aged 15-17: Spends at least 43 hours in domestic activity and/or economic activity in a given week	No	12	34.3	0	0	0	0	12	34.3
	Yes	17	48.6	0	0	0	0	17	48.6
	Don't know	6	17.1	0	0	0	0	6	17.1
Child Labor for Children in the network	No	176	56.8	166	37.1	256	32.6	598	38.7
	Yes	134	43.2	282	62.9	530	67.4	946	61.3

Appendix XIII: Correlates of vulnerability to child trafficking

Factor	Options	Low vulnerability (n=3952)		Intermediate vulnerability (n=1091)		trong vulnerability (n=975)		Crude OR	95% CI	p-Value	AOR (95% CI)	p-Value
		No	%	No	%	No	%					
Demographic Characteristics of household members (n=16,408)												
Gender	Male	1,831	46.3	578	53	479	50.1					
	Female	2,121	53.7	513	47	478	49.9	0.83	0.75-0.92	<0.001		
Total number of people in household	0-4	183	27.4	59	32.6	56	34.6					
	5-9	439	65.6	114	63	99	61.1	0.77	0.59-1.03	0.07		
	10+	47	7	8	4.4	7	4.3	0.51	0.28-0.95	0.03		
Age categories of children in the household	5-9	1,995	50.5	257	23.6	249	26				1	
	10-14	1,322	33.5	485	44.5	393	41.1	2.52	2.22-2.87	<0.001	1.95 (1.63-2.33)	<0.001
	15-17	635	16.1	349	32	315	32.9	3.86	3.35-4.45	<0.001	2.48 (2.04-3.01)	<0.001
Person contributes to the expenses of the household	No	3,649	92.3	845	77.5	642	67.1					
	Yes	303	7.7	246	22.5	315	32.9	4.31	3.75-4.94	<0.001	3.67 (3.13-4.20)	<0.001
Person currently lives in the home	No	277	7	154	14.1	213	22.3					
	Yes	3,675	93	937	85.9	744	77.7	0.34	0.29-0.39	<0.001	0.38 (0.32-0.45)	<0.001
Residence type:	Urban	1,800	45.5	400	36.7	352	36.8					
	Rural	2,152	54.5	691	63.3	605	63.2	1.42	1.28-1.58	<0.001		
For only Household Head (n=2990)												
Gender	Male	2,973	75.2	815	74.7	702	73.4					
	Female	979	24.8	276	25.3	255	26.6	1.07	0.95-1.21	0.27		
Marital status	Single/ others	104	2.6	29	2.7	21	2.2					
	Married	3,152	79.8	868	79.6	725	75.8	1.07	0.76-1.49	0.71		
	Separated/Divorced	131	3.3	48	4.4	33	3.4	1.25	0.82-1.92	0.30		
	Widowed	565	14.3	146	13.4	178	18.6	1.27	0.89-1.81	0.20		

Factor	Options	Low vulnerability (n=3952)		Intermediate vulnerability (n=1091)		trong vulnerability (n=975)		Crude OR	95% CI	p-Value	AOR (95% CI)	p-Value
		No	%	No	%	No	%					
Age category	18-29	279	7.1	74	6.8	54	5.6					
	30-39	1,037	26.2	259	23.7	200	20.9	0.97	0.77-1.23	0.81		
	40-49	1,175	29.7	322	29.5	321	33.5	1.23	0.98-1.54	0.07		
	50-59	867	21.9	268	24.6	222	23.2	1.24	0.98-1.56	0.07		
	60-69	400	10.1	104	9.5	98	10.2	1.13	0.87-1.47	0.37		
	70+	194	4.9	64	5.9	62	6.5	1.44	1.07-1.94	0.02		
Level of education completed by last school year	None	2,128	53.8	648	59.4	614	64.2					
	Pre-primary	19	0.5	8	0.7	3	0.3	0.87	0.43-1.79	0.71		
	Primary	407	10.3	143	13.1	118	12.3	1.05	0.89-1.24	0.52		
	JSS	506	12.8	105	9.6	90	9.4	0.65	0.55-0.78	<0.001		
	SSS	456	11.5	95	8.7	68	7.1	0.60	0.49-0.72	<0.001		
	Tertiary	294	7.4	62	5.7	33	3.4	0.53	0.42-0.67	<0.001		
	Other	142	3.6	30	2.7	31	3.2	0.74	0.54-1.00	0.05		
Religion	Christian	1,045	26.4	255	23.4	263	27.5					
	Muslim	2,897	73.3	833	76.4	692	72.3	1.03	0.92-1.16	0.61		
	Tribal religion/ others/ Don't know	10	0.3	3	0.3	2	0.2	0.96	0.33-2.75	0.94		
Correlates of child labor (Among children in the household only)												
Child currently enrolled in a formal school	No	376	9.5	177	16.2	156	16.3					
	Yes	3,576	90.5	914	83.8	801	83.7	0.57	0.49-0.66	<0.001		
Child enrolled in a koranic school/ madrassa	No	3,108	78.6	852	78.1	719	75.1				1	
	Yes	844	21.4	239	21.9	238	24.9	1.14	1.00-1.29	0.04	1.34 (1.17-1.53)	<0.001

Factor	Options	Low vulnerability (n=3952)		Intermediate vulnerability (n=1091)		trong vulnerability (n=975)		Crude OR	95% CI	p-Value	AOR (95% CI)	p-Value
		No	%	No	%	No	%					
Orphanhood status	No	3,419	86.5	901	82.6	739	77.2					
	Single Orphan	484	12.2	171	15.7	189	19.7	1.58	1.37-1.83	<0.001		
	Double Orphan	49	1.2	19	1.7	29	3	2.19	1.49-3.22	<0.001		
Household SES Quintile	Lowest	700	17.7	217	19.9	303	31.7				1	
	Second	595	15.1	199	18.2	245	25.6	0.97	0.83-1.15	0.76	0.98 (0.83-1.17)	0.85
	Middle	708	17.9	233	21.4	161	16.8	0.69	0.58-0.81	<0.001	0.54 (0.43-0.67)	<0.001
	Fourth	1,004	25.4	220	20.2	124	13	0.43	0.36-0.50	<0.001	0.34 (0.27-0.43)	<0.001
	Highest	945	23.9	222	20.3	124	13	0.45	0.38-0.52	<0.001	0.36 (0.28-0.45)	<0.001
Household Welfare score quintile	Lowest	1,243	31.5	368	33.7	329	34.4					
	Second	870	22	240	22	152	15.9	0.78	0.67-0.91	<0.001		
	Middle	263	6.7	86	7.9	134	14	1.61	1.32-1.96	<0.001		
	Fourth	822	20.8	216	19.8	219	22.9	0.96	0.83-1.11	0.60		
	Highest	754	19.1	181	16.6	123	12.9	0.71	0.60-0.83	<0.001		

Appendix XIV: Impact of COVID-19

Characteristic	Options	Kenema		Kono		Kailahun		Overall	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
		n=1,143		n=944		n=903		n=2,990	
Welfare of families in your community(n=2990)	Very positive impact/positive impact	116	10.1	119	12.6	238	26.4	473	15.8
	Neutral	90	7.9	290	30.7	103	11.4	483	16.2
	Very negative impact/Negative impact	937	82	535	56.7	562	62.2	2,034	68
welfare of children in your community	Very positive impact/positive impact	103	9	109	11.5	142	15.7	354	11.8
	Neutral	97	8.5	277	29.3	160	17.7	534	17.9
	Very negative impact/Negative impact	943	82.5	558	59.1	601	66.6	2,102	70.3
Exploitation of children	Very positive impact/positive impact	83	7.3	100	10.6	110	12.2	293	9.8
	Neutral	201	17.6	285	30.2	226	25	712	23.8
	Very negative impact/Negative impact	859	75.2	559	59.2	567	62.8	1,985	66.4
Access to essential social services (healthcare, child protection, litigation, etc.)	Very positive impact/positive impact	131	11.5	138	14.6	101	11.2	370	12.4
	Neutral	212	18.5	314	33.3	193	21.4	719	24
	Very negative impact/Negative impact	800	70	492	52.1	609	67.4	1,901	63.6


SALE