CLARISSA
Child Labour Action Research Innovation in South & South Eastern Asia

WORKING PAPER 7

DESIGNING A PARTICIPATORY PROGRAMME AT SCALE: PHASES 1 AND 2 OF THE CLARISSA PROGRAMME ON WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR

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ABOUT THIS WORKING PAPER

CLARISSA (Child Labour: Action-Research-Innovation in South and South-Eastern Asia) is a large-scale Participatory Action Research programme which aims to identify, evidence, and promote effective multi-stakeholder action to tackle the drivers of the worst forms of child labour in selected supply chains in Bangladesh, Nepal, and Myanmar. CLARISSA places a particular focus on participants' own 'agency'. In other words, participants' ability to understand the situation they face, and to develop and take actions in response to them. Most of CLARISSA's participants are children.

This document shares the design and overarching methodology of the CLARISSA programme, which was co-developed with all consortium partners during and since the co-generation phase of the programme (September 2018–June 2020). The immediate audience is the CLARISSA programme implementation teams, plus the Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO). This design document is also a useful reference point for other programmes trying to build large-scale participatory processes. It provides a clear overview of the CLARISSA programmatic approach, the design, and how it is being operationalised in context.

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements 5

Abbreviations and acronyms 5

1 **Introduction** 6

2 **The CLARISSA programme** 10

2.1 What is the CLARISSA programme? 11
2.1.1 Evidence 11
2.1.2 Safeguarding 13
2.1.3 Intersectionality 13
2.1.4 Gender 13
2.1.5 Age 13
2.1.6 Disability 13
2.1.7 Innovation 14
2.1.8 Programmatic innovation 14
2.1.9 Scale and sustainability 14

2.2 Sequencing the CLARISSA programme 15
2.3 An integrated design to generate evidence and action in context 16
2.3.1 The four CLARISSA workstreams 17

3 **The CLARISSA approach** 22

3.1 Strong participation (operationalised through Action Research) 23
3.2 The Participatory Action Research process 25
3.3 A child-centred programme 27
3.4 Learning and adaptive management 29
3.5 Integrated holistic implementation model 29

4 **The shape and focus of the country programmes** 32

4.1 Where the programme will engage with WFCL 33
4.2 Systems of child labour in supply chains and human chains 34
4.3 Systems of child labour in urban slum neighbourhoods 35

5 **Influencing** 38

6 **Conclusion** 40

Annexe 1 **The human chain** 42

References 44

Figures

Figure 1: Theory scaling 14
Figure 2: Operational theories of change integrated into the Action Research Cycle 25
Figure 3: A typical Action Research process 26
Figure 4: Simplified representation of a leather supply chain 33

Tables

Table 1: Key milestones and deliverables/outputs in the design stage and set-up stage 8
Table 2: Sectors and neighbourhoods 17
Table 3: Summary of the specific shifts in thematic focus for each workstream 20
Table 4: The participatory design for three interconnected levels of intentional learning and decision-making for adaptive management 28

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AAR After Action Review

AES adult entertainment sector

AR Action Research

ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations

CC country coordinator

CLARISSA Child Labour: Action-Research-Innovation in South and South-Eastern Asia

DFID UK Department for International Development

FCDO Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office

IDS Institute of Development Studies

ILO International Labour Organization

LGBT lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender

MEL monitoring, evaluation, and learning

NGO non-governmental organisation

PAR Participatory Action Research

SAR Systemic Action Research

SME small- and medium-sized enterprises

SP social protection

ToC theory of change

UNCRC United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund

WFCL worst forms of child labour

Section 1:

INTRODUCTION

1 INTRODUCTION

CLARISSA (Child Labour: Action-Research-Innovation in South and South-Eastern Asia) is a large-scale Participatory Action Research programme which aims to identify, evidence, and promote effective multi-stakeholder action to tackle the drivers of the worst forms of child labour (WFCL) in selected supply chains in Bangladesh, Nepal, and Myanmar. CLARISSA places a particular focus on participants' own 'agency'. In other words, participants' ability to understand the situation they face, and to develop and take actions in response to them. Most of CLARISSA's participants are children.

This document shares the design and overarching methodology of the CLARISSA programme which has been co-developed with all consortium partners during and since the co-generation, design, and set-up phase of the programme (September 2018–June 2020).

The co-generation process began with a proposal design workshop (September 2017); followed by an inception co-design workshop (September 2018) in Brighton, UK; and then an international partner workshop in Bangkok (November 2018). This was followed by a partner methodology workshop (October 2019). At each stage, the design has been iterated. This in turn was followed by a series of review and programme design workshops in each country (early autumn 2020).

This document sets out programme modalities to be operationalised in the three programme countries and the specific sectors we will work in. It is a 'live' document which will be updated as the programme evolves, aligned with the programme's participatory adaptive management approach (Apgar *et al.* 2020). This paper will be followed by a second design paper which brings together the changes since the full operationalisation of country programmes.

The immediate audience is the CLARISSA programme implementation teams and FCDO, and we offer this design document more broadly as a useful reference point for other programmes trying to build large-scale participatory processes. Readers should gain a clear overview of the CLARISSA programmatic approach, the design, and how it is being operationalised in context. It does not describe in detail the context of WFCL in each country of operation, nor does it include detailed research or evaluation design. All of these can be found in parallel documentation (Apgar *et al*. 2019; Burns and Raw 2019; Shephard 2019; Howard, Roelen and Guluma 2019; Oosterhoff *et al*. 2019; Burns *et al*. 2019; Johnson *et al*. 2019a).

Table 1: Key milestones and deliverables/outputs in the design stage and set-up stage

Phase	Key milestones and deliverables/outputs
Co-generation phase (September 2018 to June 2019)	• An inception workshop which included all core partners and DFID (September 2018). • The setting up of cross-organisational workstream task groups and development of a workstream-specific programme of work. • Development of monitoring, evaluation, and learning (MEL) framework and results framework. • A planning workshop with international and regional partners in Bangkok (November 2018). • Evidence gathering, analysis, and assessment to underpin key operational and partnership decisions. • Development and implementation of due diligence and safeguarding processes. • A workshop for country operational leads – development of a plan for operational, in-country programmes (leading us into the set-up phase). • Bottom-up activity-based budget development followed by strategic rationalisation – signed off by partners. • Development of full programme plan – and sign-off by partners.
Set-up phase (July 2019 to June 2020)	• Three country coordinators (CCs) successfully recruited (all nationals of their respective countries). • Broad programme-level methodological design finalised. • Core country teams in post (integrated country teams that include Participatory Action Research facilitators, documenters, and research officers, MEL leads and social workers. These core team members were recruited for their ability to work in a participatory way with children, families, and others. • Comprehensive programme of online training delivered (country teams received six modules on: Life stories and narrative analysis; Research ethics; Participatory Action Research; Children's participation; Data management; and Safeguarding). • CLARISSA webinar series (nine webinars on topics such as social norms scoping findings, Participatory Action Research process design, supply chains scoping findings, adaptive management, cash transfers and social protection, and money lending in the context of child labour) to enable teams to share and make sense of the evidence base for design. • Further scoping and mapping (sectors, locations, worst forms of child labour, social norms) to inform programme design. • Transitioning from initial workstream-based programme approach to country-based coordination (with associated impact on coordination and cohesion). • Design of the social protection (SP) intervention (although not in its entirety – more design workshops and actions throughout summer and autumn of 2020). • Staff for the SP pilot hired. • Downstream partners contracted and on-boarded in Nepal and Bangladesh. • Programme website launched and communications activities initiated. • Safeguarding processes embedded. Outputs: the programme delivered a wide set of outputs in the first year of implementation (published outputs listed below). We also delivered unpublished outputs such as the 'CLARISSA Approach to Paying Children and Participants', 'CLARISSA Participant Feedback Mechanism', and others. • *Evaluating CLARISSA: Innovation Driven by a Participatory Learning Agenda* (Apgar *et al*. 2020) • *Social Norms, Labour Intermediaries and Trajectories of Minors in Kathmandu's Adult Entertainment Industry* (Oosterhoff and Hacker 2020) • *Towards Ethical Good Practice in Cash Transfer Trials and their Evaluation* (Howard 2020) • *Addressing Informal Labour Intermediaries in the Context of Child Labour: Evidence Review Across Nepal, Bangladesh, and Myanmar* (Yunus 2020) • *Interventions to Combat High-Interest Informal Moneylending* (Idris 2020) • *Social Norms and Supply Chains: A Focus on Child Labour and Waste Recycling in Hlaing Tharyar, Yangon, Myanmar* (Constant *et al*. 2020)

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Section 2:

THE CLARISSA PROGRAMME

2 THE CLARISSA PROGRAMME

2.1 What is the CLARISSA programme?

CLARISSA is an FCDO-funded programme operating in Myanmar, Nepal, and Bangladesh.[1] It is led by IDS in partnership with Terre des hommes, ChildHope (with Voice of Children in Nepal and Grambangla Unnayan Committee in Bangladesh), and the Consortium for Street Children (with CWISH in Bangladesh). The consortium has co-produced all aspects of the programme since inception.

The programme aims to: (1) generate new **evidence** on the dynamics of WFCL in supply chains and in urban neighbourhoods; (2) generate **innovation** in response to WFCL through participatory processes; and (3) explore how to **scale** those innovations. It also seeks self-reflectively to learn about what works in the process of achieving these. The evidence co-produced with working children[2] and other stakeholders[3] will be used to co-generate innovative ideas and practice in response to the drivers of WFCL, and to explore how to take these to scale. As such, CLARISSA is neither a typical research programme, nor a typical NGO implementation programme. The aim, therefore, is not primarily direct beneficiary support, nor to just generate and publish academic evidence alone, but rather to use research to understand the dynamics which drive WFCL and through the process to generate participatory innovations which help towards shifting these underlying dynamics and mitigating their worst effects.

Defining characteristics of the CLARISSA programme:

- **It is participatory – by which we mean that children and other stakeholders generate questions important to them, gather evidence and analyse it themselves, and then generate solutions to the problems they identify;**
- **It is child-centred – by which we mean that we put the perspectives and voices of children at the heart of our programme design, including children who are often ignored, for example children with disabilities, girls and young women, and those in the very poorest households;**
- **It is adaptive – which means that we build effective learning processes into our programme design so that we can make changes that are needed;**
- **It is integrated – which means that we integrate all of the skills and attributes of all of our partners into each country programme – rather than creating silos delivered by individual partners.**

The programme also intends to leave a legacy of strengthened local leadership and sustainability. For example, a local NGO Voice of Children leads CLARISSA in Nepal, and this ensures that the programme delivers genuine, lasting capacity building of a Southern children's rights organisation.

CLARISSA focuses on the worst forms of child labour and NOT on child labour in general. While there is a great deal of cultural debate about child labour in general, there is widespread consensus that the worst forms of child labour (defined by the ILO and governments alike to include hazardous and dangerous work, long hours, forced labour, physical and sexual exploitation) need to be eradicated.

2.1.1 Evidence

The programme will generate rigorous evidence on the drivers and dynamics of child labour, and on the outcomes of interventions and how and why they work. Through the co-generation period, we reviewed existing evidence from published research (including our own), as well as practice-based evidence, and identified key evidence gaps which the programme design responds to.[4] This has informed the development of theories of change for each of the workstreams which helped us to define the research questions and some early interventions.

1 Countries were selected based on the following criteria: (1) The strength of the consortia 'footprint' on the ground in countries and our knowledge and experience of those countries; (2) The extent of worst forms of child labour; (3) Accessibility of WFCL (for example, we know that while child labour is extensive in mineral mining in Myanmar, it would not be accessible to participatory research teams); (4) Countries where we could identify clear supply chains where there was known to be WFCL; (5) A focus on urban areas (because most work on WFCL was not urban).

2 Most of the children CLARISSA will work with will be under 18 years old, in line with the definition of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). However, we recognise that children develop at different paces and in some cases our engagement will go beyond the age of 18.

3 Children are the primary stakeholders in the CLARISSA programme. Participatory processes will also draw in a wide range of other stakeholders including parents, small business owners, and policymakers who are relevant (and contribute ideas and actions with regard to the issues and problems being explored.)

4 A rapid evidence assessment of the literature on modern slavery, of which WFCL is a subcategory, found only six intervention studies or evaluations on child labour. Almost 80 per cent (n=14/18) of those were published since 2013. Most of the studies (12/18) looked at trafficking.

We have taken a broad approach to evidence, moving away from evidence hierarchies that tend to put 'impact evaluations' that emphasise counterfactuals, and experimental and quasi-experimental design at the top, to a more horizontal approach working with a typology that gives equal weight to practice-based and co-produced forms of evidence.

While we do not claim that participatory methods are the only way to generate high-quality evidence, a core purpose of this particular programme is to demonstrate how participatory methods can generate evidence that would not otherwise be generated through other methods. For this reason, we prioritise this type of evidence in the programme.

Our approach is to drive innovation though field-level participatory knowledge generation (which is not framed by 'expert' knowledge). We can then triangulate these findings through other methods (e.g. surveys) and other knowledge (e.g. academic literature) which local groups can use to contextualise their own sense-making. If groups frame their knowledge by what is already known, then they are less likely to be able to see what is new, conceptualise afresh, and generate innovation.

Furthermore, we propose that evidence which is generated and analysed by protagonists in the issues being explored, particularly girls and boys experiencing first-hand the worst forms of child labour, will lead to ownership for action (see Section 2.1.9).

We work within the tradition of Participatory Action Research (Burns 2007; Reason and Bradbury 2008) which highlights the importance of recognising multiple forms of knowing (and knowledge) in order to understand what is happening and to take action in response to it (Heron and Reason 2008). We would argue that unless we engage with all forms of knowing, it is impossible to generate full systemic understanding of what is happening, and it therefore becomes difficult to create effective change.

Within this tradition, we are also concerned with what is called 'actionable knowledge' (Argyris 2005). This is real-time knowledge that is 'good enough' to generate theories of change and action. It is the action which then provides the contextualised 'proof of concept' not the literature. From here, the actions and interventions can be abandoned, refined, consolidated, or developed.

The overarching research questions of the programme are:

a What are the dynamics that drive supply chains that employ children in WFCL, and how and for what reasons do children get drawn into them?

b How does WFCL intersect with urban neighbourhood dynamics? How are pathways into child labour mediated by neighbourhood, kinship, and local economic and social systems?

and in relation to both of these:

c Where are the leverage points[5] for changing these dynamics and how can the agency of local actors (in particular children) be most effectively mobilised to create these changes?

Responding to them requires that the programme first surfaces the drivers of WFCL in both supply chains and urban neighbourhoods. To do this, we need to take a systemic approach (Burns and Worsley 2015) and to see WFCL as nested within a complex ecology of relationships (Johnson 2017), recognising as pointed out in Apgar *et al*. (2019: 5) that 'families that are most vulnerable are characterised by complex intersectional inequalities which mean that single interventions (such as the provision of primary education) are unlikely to be effective on their own'. Similarly, it is not possible to look at the social norms that impact on choices without looking at the material and institutional factors that shape norms and are impacted by them.

The overarching evaluation and learning question which guides the programme is:

> **How, in what contexts, and for whom can effective innovations to tackle the worst forms of child labour be generated and how can they be scaled to reduce the worst forms of child labour?**

In the co-generation and set-up phases of the work, research was generated through research streams. Once the country offices were up and running, we organised the programme decision-making structure. This helped us to distinguish between: (a) the participatory research built

5 'Leverage points' is a phrase used by systems thinkers (Meadows 1999) to denote points in a complex system where change can be triggered through interventions into system dynamics. By interventions, we mean here actions which break the normal patterning which replicates the problems that we are trying to resolve – in this case related to the worst forms of child labour.

mainly but not exclusively around the Participatory Action Research processes; (b) the monitoring, evaluation, and learning research – which is focusing on the learning from our processes and impact evaluation; and (c) thematic research which now centres on the dynamics of supply chains and urban neighbourhood dynamics as they impact on WFCL.

2.1.2 Safeguarding

CLARISSA is working to build a safeguarding culture into the programme that moves beyond tick-box, policy, and due diligence processes. We are doing this by: building dedicated roles into every partner organisation and also into the main management structure; giving regular opportunities to discuss, within and across countries, specific safeguarding challenges (such as how to avoid, and where necessary respond to, re-traumatisation; how to ensure that children are not penalised as a result of their participation in CLARISSA; how to ensure the safety of participants during the Covid-19 pandemic) and how to address them, at a practitioner level; and ensuring that the core strategy group and process design group keep safeguarding as a high priority by keeping it on the agenda. Through these processes and others, we are putting in place measures not just to respond to issues as they arise but to prioritise prevention and create safer spaces for children in WFCL, where they face multiple hazards and risks, and build children's confidence to challenge unsafe situations when possible.

2.1.3 Intersectionality

Our research so far has highlighted the complexity of the lives of children in WFCL, demonstrating the need for a nuanced understanding of different life circumstances and how they intersect, if our innovations are to be effective. Already living in extreme poverty, children's experiences are also influenced by other factors, in particular gender, age, and disability.

2.1.4 Gender

Our research shows how gendered the world of child labour is. Examples of this range from girls' vulnerability to child marriage to gender-differentiated work – boys being given heavier workloads and more responsibility, and girls allowed only to do work that keeps them out of view, with little variety or scope for growth. Similarly, many of the factors that drive people onto the streets, such as family violence, are gendered. Gender identities which clash with social norms can push people away from their homes and place them at risk of risky and hazardous labour. CLARISSA's social protection work will look at how financial shocks differentially impact on different genders and will take into account who gets support and the different impacts of that support. Our work will also explore: gender relations and family violence; opportunities for different gendered siblings; how work is gendered; and how gender plays into the dynamics which drive children into the worst forms of child labour. We will offer training to children to increase their awareness of gender and power. Our impact evaluations will build in an analysis of differentially gendered outcomes.

2.1.5 Age

Children's age, and their birth order in the family, matters. For example, we have found older girls and boys working to allow younger children to be educated, or the first boy being sent to work to pay off a loan. For many girls, as they get older, their freedom reduces, and they become more hidden. And we have learnt that younger children are sometimes preferred by employers because they can be seen as easier to persuade to do hazardous tasks – e.g. handle dangerous chemicals – because they don't understand the implications.

2.1.6 Disability

The voices of children with disabilities have been largely absent on several past participatory research actions. This has resulted in valid criticism that processes have not been inclusive or truly rights-based because of their lack of provision for supporting participation in the research process. As a programme aiming to reach highly marginalised children in WFCL, CLARISSA aims to actively include the participation of children with disabilities, including: story-telling and analysis; developing innovations as part of Participatory Action Research (PAR) processes; and engaging in other actions and research as they emerge as part of the programme. We are committed to adapting our programming to enable children with different physical, sensory, and cognitive impairments and life experiences to participate.

The programme has developed guidelines designed to enable members of the CLARISSA team to develop and run the programme in a way that is as disability-inclusive as possible, taking into consideration the different contexts we are operating within and the range of experience that team members have. The social model of disability, which frames disability as being caused by society, rather than by a child's impairment or perceived

difference from a supposed 'normal', underpins the CLARISSA approach, and we will avoid imposing roles and identities on children with disabilities based on assumptions. The involvement of children with disabilities in our activities aims to be empowering, challenge power imbalances, appreciate diversity and difference, and treat children with disabilities as experts of their own lives. Methodologies will be selected that will allow children to describe their experiences and express their opinions in ways that suit them.

2.1.7 Innovation

Innovation in the programme has two dimensions. The first relates to innovations generated in response to issues identified by children and other stakeholders (e.g. small business owners). The second relates to the innovative nature of the programme itself. Here we refer to: (a) adapting and trialling effective interventions from other contexts (e.g. the social protection pilot); (b) identification of examples of positive innovation that already exist (positive deviance); and (c) the participatory development of novel innovations.

2.1.8 Programmatic innovation

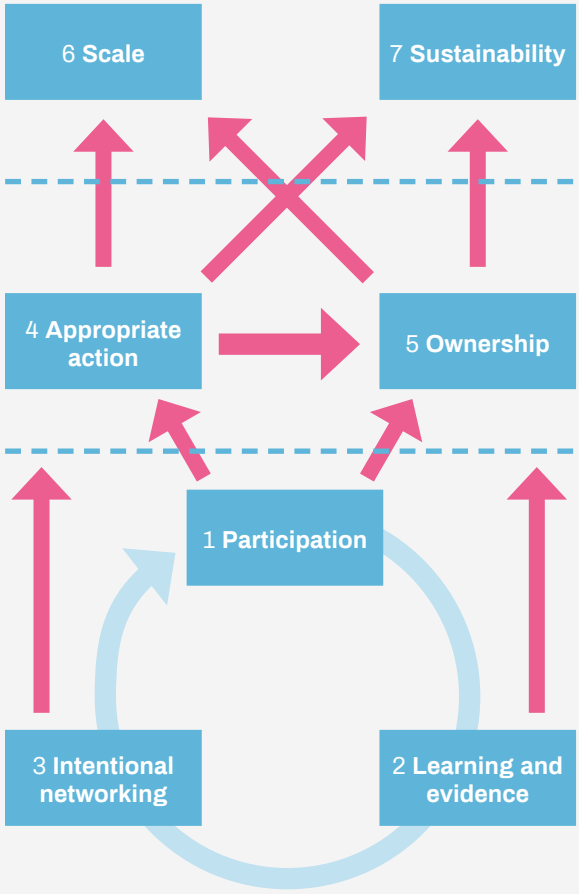
A core aim of the programme is to model a different approach to how innovation can be generated in this field, i.e. through participatory and child-centred programming. So, the results framework for the programme will track the quality of programmatic processes which generate innovation, and evaluate how innovations generate outcomes along the programme's theories of change (see Apgar *et al.* 2020). The programme aims to develop innovative processes for 'doing development differently' (see Section 3: 'The CLARISSA Approach'). In this sense, the delivery model for this whole programme is being conceived as an innovation both for WFCL and modern slavery interventions but also more broadly for large-scale participatory adaptive management.

2.1.9 Scale and sustainability

We will be developing and testing different approaches to scaling innovation – a new field of evaluation research and increasingly of interest in complex programming such as this one. We start with working with two (very different) approaches to scaling impact. We distinguish between scale-up and scale-out. The first involves piloting interventions that then get adopted and rolled out on a larger scale by facilitating organisations. For example, we hope that the social protection intervention that will be piloted in Bangladesh will deliver a successful model that can be adopted elsewhere. Similarly, methods for tracing child labour in the informal domains of supply chains might be adopted and adapted across multiple organisations.

On the other hand, we are looking at processes of scale-out – where successful action from action research groups gets picked up by peers, neighbours, and others that are able to directly witness its success; this is commonly referred to as 'horizontal scaling'. For example, children who have identified solutions to problems will pass that knowledge to other children and, similarly, companies that have developed effective strategies for identifying and eliminating child labour in the informal domains of their supply chains may inspire and incentivise others to follow suit. When considering scaling, it is also important to distinguish between scaling of activities and scaling of impact. The prime aim in this programme is to identify activities and interventions which enable impact (changes in behaviour and practices) to

Figure 1: Theory scaling



Source: Adapted from Burns and Worsley (2015).

be scaled. It may only be in the case of, for example, the government adoption of a social protection scheme that we might get activity levels scaled to a significant level.

Our understanding of how scaling out can be achieved is underpinned by a theory of scaling developed by Burns and Worsley (2015). This highlights the critical inter-relationship between participation, learning, and intentional networking, and posits that unless these are firmly in place as programmatic foundations, it will not be possible to ensure that interventions are appropriate to their context or that they are owned by stakeholders. It is only when these three things are in place, that it is possible to create effective scale-out and sustainability of interventions and actions.

2.2 Sequencing the CLARISSA programme

CLARISSA is a four-year programme with the following phases:

Phase 1 Co-generation: co-generate the programme logic and implementation modalities with partners and the FCDO (formerly DFID) and develop the building blocks for a coherent programme (nine months, September 2018–June 2019).

Phase 2 Set-up: setting up the programme in-country through obtaining governmental country permissions, ensuring research ethics frameworks and guidance, implementing further scoping exercises to inform detailed design, and recruitment and training of country teams (July 2019 to June 2020).

Phase 3 Implementation: initiation of intervention pilots and participatory processes. To include:

- **Collection of 1,200 life stories of children in WFCL and their collective analysis. This will generate a systemic understanding of the causal factors that drive child labour through the lived experience of children themselves.**
- **Action Research and other participatory processes – in each country, up to 18 parallel participatory innovation processes will respond to critical issues identified by scoping exercises and by children themselves.**
- **A social protection pilot and participatory 'social protection plus' activities in Bangladesh carried out by case workers/participatory facilitators/ animators in Hazaribagh slum areas.**
- **Children/youth research groups to lead research on issues which relate to WFCL and that they define as important.**
- **International campaigns generated and led from the ground up (supported by the programme advocacy teams), including the active participation and leadership of children themselves. A holistic approach to advocacy will enable CLARISSA partners to (together) deliver comprehensive, overarching advocacy strategy, based on the principles of the CLARISSA approach and evidence from country level. Integration of the advocacy work across the programme will be key to ensuring that the advocacy is based on the voices of the children participating in the programme, and further evidence that comes out of action research processes, as well as innovations piloted as part of the programme. Our intended impact is that the evidence and solutions will not only serve the communities in which they are gathered/piloted but have the potential to have long-term national impact through policy and practice change.**

Phase 4 Learning and scaling: innovative activities developed into pilots for scaling based on evaluation and learning evidence of what is scalable.

Phase 5 Consolidation of research and programme evaluation and write-up.

This document covers phases 1 and 2. Changes which resulted from country strategy workshops (in July and August 2020), from Covid-19, the Myanmar coup, and the FCDO merger and cuts (2021) will be documented in a second design paper which will cover phase 3.

Drawing on academic research (including formal evidence reviews), our own research, and process evaluation learning, the consortium has highlighted a number of priorities for systemic change. These have evolved over the first year of programme development as our discussions have deepened and new evidence has been built through scoping studies in each of the countries and sectors and through further review of formal evidence. They can now be summarised as follows:

1 Develop and pilot interventions which support children and families to build resilience and withstand financial and other shocks (this imperative is amplified in the context of Covid-19);

2 Understand and disrupt those family dynamics, social norms, and norms of business practice (including those of intermediaries and money lenders) that either directly or indirectly facilitate children into worst forms of child labour;

3 Understand and disrupt city neighbourhood dynamics that either directly or indirectly facilitate children into worst forms of child labour;

4 Surface the domains of extended supply chains which are hidden (not visible) to companies and governments, and engage businesses with children and other stakeholders in generating meaningful action to prevent exploitation;

5 Re-enforce children's agency in co-generating solutions to problems.

We propose that if these core issues are not tackled first, other types of intervention are likely to be much less effective. If, for example, a family faces extreme poverty and there are no alternatives to boost their income level, it is unlikely that they will be able to pay for their child to attend school. Even when people acknowledge that they are being exploited, harmed, and/or enslaved, and they subsequently self-organise, they still lack solutions, beyond borrowing money from a moneylender when experiencing a health crisis. In other words, to maximise effectiveness, some interventions need to come before others (Burns and Raw 2019).

2.3 An integrated design to generate evidence and action in context

At the outset of the programme, four workstreams were identified to provide the necessary foundations around the priority areas of transformative change:

- **Innovations in targeted social protection;**
- **Supporting positive family dynamics and disrupting negative social and business norms;**
- **Revealing and reducing harm in supply chains;**
- **Building children's agency.**

It quickly became apparent that the fourth workstream not only stood alone, but also interacted with and influenced the three other workstreams.

Workstreams provided the intellectual underpinning for work on these issues and a pathway for producing new evidence in connection with the programme's evaluation strategy. They identified critical research questions underpinned by causal theories of change whose assumptions will be tested as the work on the ground progresses. For example, the supply chains workstream built a theory of change which included assumptions that WFCL were mainly to be found in the informal sector and in domestic markets – requiring a focus on the thousands of small sub-contracting businesses that form part of supply chains. This led to research questions such as: What forms do WFCL take in the hidden (invisible) domains of the supply chains? How do we uncover the hidden children working in WFCL within the supply chain (methodology)? What are the key business and supply chain drivers of child labour in its worst forms? What is the business case for child labour in each of these contexts? What are the market drivers? Are there effective alternatives?

In the planning and set-up phases of the programme, evidence gathering was managed through the workstreams. The four CLARISSA workstreams were all quite different in nature.[6]

The social protection (SP) workstream designed and managed a pilot built on existing formal evidence on the potential efficacy of social protection as a response to WFCL. The process of designing the SP pilot began in CLARISSA's co-creation phase and was heavily informed by known gaps in policy and practice around child labour and social protection. An initial feasibility study was conducted in late 2019 in the two slums ear-marked during co-creation as likely target communities. The study aimed to get a clearer understanding of community perceptions of children's work and social assistance, as well as to understand which modalities of cash delivery would most likely be successful and what cultural preferences existed for receipt. As a result of this study and a series of design workshops (in phase 2) bringing together all the key workstream partners (alongside selected external experts), the SP team arrived at agreement on key design principles. Alongside intervention design was a parallel process of research and evaluation design, systematically working through the quantitative and qualitative components of research design.

In addition, during phase 2, the SP team put together and published an Ethics Working Paper, which to our knowledge is currently the most extensive discussion of

6 See Annexe 1 for a summary of workstream rationale and activities.

Table 2: Sectors and neighbourhoods

Country	Myanmar	Bangladesh	Nepal
Sector Focusing on supply chain and human chain	Fishing and/or waste recycling Materials and products	Leather supply chain Materials and products	Adult entertainment sector (AES) Provision of services
Neighbourhoods Focus on neighbourhood dynamics and social and economic norms	Neighbourhood dynamics in Hlaing Tharyar (peri-urban)	Neighbourhood dynamics in Dhaka Hazaribagh area (urban)	Neighbourhood dynamics in work zones of Kathmandu (e.g. Thamel) which support multiple forms of child labour

Source: Authors' own.

the ethical implications of cash transfer pilots and their evaluation, and which not only forms the ethical reference work for our programme but has been made publicly available for fellow scholars and policymakers in this field.

The supply chains and social norms workstreams to some extent mirrored each other:

1 Each identified a **sector** where there are concentrations of children working in WFCL, and each will try to understand the dynamics which perpetuate this by (a) understanding the imperatives for employing child labour at each stage in a supply chain, or (b) understanding the different pathways that children take into and through employment.

2 Each also identified **urban and peri-urban slum neighbourhoods** where there are concentrations of people working in different forms of child labour – with the goal of trying to understand the neighbourhood dynamics and norms which drive people into WFCL.

Their task was to understand the dynamics of supply chains/human chains and neighbourhoods which lead to WFCL and so to identify entry points for programme interventions.

The children's agency workstream was set up specifically to support children to develop and enhance their agency to avoid (and/or mitigate the worst impacts of) WFCL. It did this by: (a) ensuring that the other three workstreams were child-focused; (b) methodologically supporting participatory processes involving children; and (c) supporting the development of national child-led coalitions and campaigns.

During the first year, the detailing of the programme design was driven through the lens of the workstreams while the operational teams were being set up in-country. Following the operationalisation of country teams, the focus has now shifted to integrating the research agenda and further contextualising the design in each country, building on greater understanding of specific opportunities and aligning with CLARISSA's intention to be participatory and child-centred. Fully operational country teams will continue to be supported in the evolving design process by the evaluation work that takes shape through an integrated MEL team, and a strengthened and reconfigured qualitative research team that builds on the workstreams. After the first full year of the programme, following various scoping exercises, the priority themes that emerged for the thematic research agenda of the programme are shown in Table 3 on page 20.

2.3.1 The four CLARISSA workstreams

A short summary of the four CLARISSA workstreams is outlined next (direct text taken from the non-published strategy documents cited at the end of each section).

Social protection

The social protection component of our work will only take place in Bangladesh. The overall objective of the social protection workstream in Bangladesh is to design and test an innovative social protection intervention that works towards freedom from hazardous and worst forms of child labour. The intervention is a so-called 'cash plus'

programme. It is centred around regular cash transfers and will also have a 'plus' component, which provides additional types of support. The 'plus' component consists of two elements: (i) activities focused at child and family level through a case management model; (ii) activities focused on community mobilisation and collective action at community and group level to tackle issues that are identified by the community as most pressing (in relation to reducing WFCL and more broadly). The combination of these types of support, and particularly the integration of community mobilisation, is innovative within both the fields of child labour and social protection interventions.

The provision of regular income through the **cash transfer** will lessen the need for children to provide income for their families and may offer freedom from WFCL. The increase in economic resources, coupled with appropriate advice, also facilitates the ability to invest in income-generating activities (e.g. buying a rickshaw) and may allow families to establish alternative livelihoods, and for children to move away from WFCL (and possibly into education). **Case management** will endeavour to direct programme participants to necessary services (e.g. micro-credit providers, health services), to provide tailored advice (e.g. with setting up businesses, or on how to bring families together in organising joint transport for children to school), and to resolve intra- or inter-household conflicts (e.g. on how to spend the money). **Community mobilisation** will centre on activities that improve communities' and families' resilience against shocks (e.g. the establishment of revolving funds or savings and lending associations). Collective action is geared towards tackling more structural issues, either with a clear focus on reducing WFCL (e.g. negotiations with employers to improve working conditions) or on wider pressing concerns in the community (e.g. how to improve sewerage systems or reduce open defecation) (Howard, Roelen and Guluma 2019).

Social norms

Social norms, also called societal or cultural norms, are essentially unwritten rules shared by people in a given society or group that define appropriate actions for the members of that group. Social norms shape what are known as social scripts and social discourses. Scripts are prescriptive sequences of actions that people automatically engage in, in particular situations. Norms are rooted into scripts because scripts contain empirical and normative expectations, and violations of scripts typically elicit negative emotions and remedial actions. Child labour can be part of a script in which it is the normal thing to do from all actors and these norms (both descriptive and normative) are fuelling the 'family scripts'. Some scripts or discourses are more powerful than others. In a dominant script or discourse in which children are expected to work, children may therefore have very limited alternatives to make choices and can report to 'willingly' engage in work. To understand the drivers and causes of child labour, and the relevance and acceptability of interventions to protect children from exploitative work (and how they might fail), an understanding of social norms is essential.

In order to engage with social norms effectively, practitioners need to take other factors that influence behaviour into account. These include structural factors, laws, governance structures (political representation), economic policies (tax structure, social protection, job markets), criminal justice systems, the availability of services such as infrastructure, land and other assets, profits and losses to be made from trafficking and employment, and inequalities in access to credit resulting in high-interest and informal moneylending. Material and institutional factors (re-)enforce social norms in ways that can either be protective of child labour or expose children to it. The normative equilibrium is embedded within the constraints of the material context. Both reinforce each other and both need to be addressed in order for change to take place.

The social norms workstream will focus on the social norms and power dynamics driving children into the worst forms of labour and the material benefits to both children, intermediaries, and businesses, of maintaining norms which sustain WFCL. The workstream explores the social and economic costs and benefits of child labour present for each person along the human chain – the social networks, made up of children, their families, employers, labour intermediaries, and others, that enable and facilitate children's pathways into, within, and out of the worst forms of child labour. Human chain analysis, focusing on people, will complement CLARISSA's work on supply chains, with its stronger focus on material resources (Oosterhoff *et al.* 2019).

Supply chains

Making visible hidden and overlooked children who are working in the margins associated with extended supply chains and identifying solutions in these informal spaces is a priority. Child labour elimination must focus on children in the informal economy. Identifying hidden and overlooked children as well as children found in the

more typical places, such as sub-contracting factories, small workshops making components, or home works, is essential to tackling child labour.

While a certain amount of work has taken place to 'clean up' global supply chains, children remain within the informal and unregulated domains of supply chains. Established levers of regulation, audits, and inspection don't necessarily reach the informal parts of supply chains. Furthermore, many of the children appear to be working in parts of sectors which have strong domestic markets – which attract much lower prices for finished products and where consequently the mark-up at each stage in the production is much less. There are few, if any, models of good business practice in these domains. Supporting businesses to adopt good working practices, and governments enforcing standards will reduce the space available for informal, unregulated work.

The workstream began its work by identifying key sectors which are characterised by WFCL. Sector experts have been employed to build on this with more extensive scopings and supply chain mapping. This work will support the identification of sites for the action research and will help us to understand the drivers of WFCL in supply chains. The workstream objective is to generate evidences on the cause of WFCL, its dynamics, and nature and magnitude of the harm it causes. It will also generate evidence on the dynamics of identified extended supply chains; for example, relationships between formal and informal sectors. This will enable the programme to bring multiple stakeholders (including global businesses) together to generate systemic and holistic solutions to the problems identified, and to explore and assess the implications of WFCL in the hidden domains of their supply chains. Another important output is to engage with country governments and large-scale children's agencies on mainstreaming successful innovations in participative research-action (Burns *et al.* 2019).

Children's agency and child-led coalitions

Well-meaning adult-created solutions which are not seen to be relevant to children will simply be ignored by children. The best answer to this is to engage children directly in their construction. This should not mean that children are made responsible for solutions to systemic problems that are well beyond their reach, but that their views and experiences inform all stages of the analysis and the intervention. The focus of this workstream is on supporting children's agency to generate practical and innovative responses to pressing needs.

The workstream is informed by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (1989), specifically Article 3 on the best interest of the child, Article 12 on children's right to express their opinions on issues affecting their lives, and Article 15 on their freedom of association. It also follows the 3Ps of the UNCRC: Participation, Protection, and Provision of services. The consortium hopes to include in its work all three of these cross-cutting strands in order to carry out child-centred participatory research and child-focused or -led initiatives.

Children's agency needs to be understood as relational and systemic. It exists within a complex system of power dynamics with peers, families, adults in communities, and in working settings (including domestic settings), local labour environments in rural areas, and on the streets in towns and cities, and at different points of global supply chains. Solutions will only be sustainable and contribute to improving children's wellbeing if there is an understanding of their complex lives and how they interact with all of these levels. It is important to understand that these domains are not separate. The fact, for example, that most children are working in family businesses shows that work and family relationships are often intertwined. Families that are most vulnerable are characterised by complex intersectional inequalities which mean that single interventions (such as provision of primary education) are unlikely to be effective on their own. Intersectionality can have different impacts in different cultural contexts. So to ensure meaningful participation of children in WFCL, careful attention will be given to those axes of difference which have significant influence on how children are perceived and treated by others, and how they perceive themselves and their role within family and community, especially their role in making decisions about matters impacting their lives and choices.

Children's ideas and creativity are central to our theory of action and theory of change. So the children's agency workstream will: support the gathering of children's life stories; build an extensive network of facilitated action research process which support children's agency; support child-led research teams in each country; and explore how to support national-level children's initiatives which can engage directly with WFCL.

Children will be involved in: agenda setting; evidence gathering; solution identification; testing interventions; and adaptive learning.

Unlike the other workstreams which have more of a thematic agenda, the children's agency workstream is designed to support issues which are important to young

Table 3: Summary of the specific shifts in thematic focus for each workstream

Workstream	Current thematic research agenda
Social norms	Key priority areas for the next stages of the work are: (1) community and family social norms; (2) norms of money lending and money lenders; (3) norms of small business owners.
Supply chains and human chains	Building on scoping work in Myanmar and Bangladesh, with a focus now on the leather supply chain and fishing supply chains respectively to explore the nature of WFCL. The concept of human chains has also been developed as a framework for looking at how children are moved as commodities from one workplace to another. This is being applied to the AES sector in Nepal.*
Children's agency	Focus remains on: (a) supporting the design of CLARISSA activities to be fully child-centred; (b) integrating child safeguarding into CLARISSA work; (c) building a research agenda around children's agency.
Social protection	As originally envisaged, the social protection pilot will test an unconditional cash transfer focusing on a geographically defined community in the heart of the informal leather production zone of Dhaka. This cash transfer pilot is accompanied by close casework and facilitated by local community action.

* See Annexe 1.
Source: Authors' own.

people, to emerge through participatory processes; to support children to analyse them; and develop workable and innovative responses to the issues that they prioritise.

More generally, the workstream takes a technical support role to the programme as a whole to ensure that it is child-centred, that safeguarding standards are high, and that meaningful children's participation lies at the heart of the programme (Johnson *et al.* 2019a).

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Section 3:

THE CLARISSA APPROACH

3 THE CLARISSA APPROACH

The CLARISSA programme is defined by four principles/values which underpin and frame our work. Each is described in turn and critical process learning questions are surfaced that form part of the programme's intention to learn from our ambitious and radically participatory approach.

3.1 Strong participation (operationalised through Action Research)

There are thousands of examples of projects that describe themselves as participatory but actually support very little participant agency. In these projects, analysis may be drawn from the experience of local children and other stakeholders but is actually done by technical or subject experts The best of these 'consultation' processes and 'voices' projects are very valuable in their own right (IMRAP 2015) and have been used effectively to influence policy and practise change. The worst paint a participatory gloss onto an otherwise un-participatory process to provide legitimacy to what are ostensibly top-down initiatives.

The CLARISSA programme takes as its starting point that:

- **Marginalised people, including children, are capable of deep analysis and problem solving;**
- **It is critical to be open, reflexive, and responsive when faced with views and perspectives which challenge our own framing;**

and offers methods for operationalising strong participation at scale. Our approach is centred on participants' own 'agency'. In other words, their ability to understand the situation they face, and to develop and take actions in response to them. We identify key stages in the project development and implementing process where participation needs to happen. Not all of these will involve the full participation of all participants. We explain below how we approach each of these:

- **Framing and governance of the programme: the broad framing of the programme 'tackling the drivers of the worst forms of child labour' was developed by consortium members and refined in consultation with the FCDO (formerly DFID), the donor (Burns and Raw 2019).**
- **Methodological development: this is the key domain where we see the added value of the international consortium expertise and knowledge. We will introduce methods which have been developed to enable large-scale participatory processes to work as well as a knowledge of what works in child-centred development.**
- **Capacity development: embedded in the CLARISSA approach is a commitment to embedding capacity development and training. Given the innovative nature of the implementation modality of the programme – using a participatory, adaptive, child-centred approach – we assume that all involved will be stretched beyond their 'business as usual' ways of working. Keeping an eye on the capacity required and ensuring systems and processes are in place to develop it to support quality implementation and impact, is, therefore, central to the success of the programme.**

  The programme has been designed to build on the strengths of all partners to work towards the desired end impact. Each partner and person involved brings some strength, and everybody will need to learn something new. In a child-led approach, many of us will need to be able and willing to learn from children as well as from other disciplines, working cultures, and contexts.

  During phase 2 ('set-up'), capacity development as an area of work in the programme began to take shape, in particular through a new capacity development coordinator role created at IDS at 20 per cent full-time equivalent (FTE). Training that was originally planned to be delivered during this period in person to all country teams was adapted during Covid-19 to a virtual training programme including a series of modules covering core CLARISSA areas. Between April and June 2020, the following six training modules were delivered by consortium partners: Research ethics, 14–15 April (Nepal) and 5–6 May (Bangladesh and Myanmar); Safeguarding, 13 May (Bangladesh), 14 May (Nepal) and 15 May (Myanmar); Child participation, 18–19 May (Bangladesh), 21–22 May (Nepal) and 27–28 May (Myanmar); Data management, 3 June (all countries combined); Life story collection, 8–11 June (all countries combined); Participatory Action Research, 15–18 June (all countries combined).

  Local staff and participants are supported to build on this knowledge so that methods work for their context. Formal training is just one component of capacity development as it is conceived in the CLARISSA programme. Future plans suggested

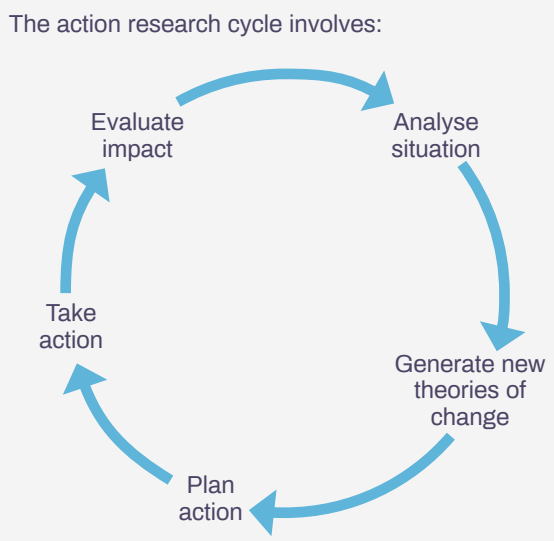
by the teams in-country include sharing additional case studies and good practices; preparing video guidance on some specific tasks (e.g. data management); on the job training and coaching, or a helpline to solve issues as they come up; encouraging self-study, and providing continuous discussion opportunities within and between country teams; and setting up channels for peer support across country teams. These suggestions will now be further developed, and prioritised into a capacity development workplan which will be contextualised to each country through a team and an individual capacity needs assessment process.

- **Identifying key issues, problems, and questions: we have created a process whereby approximately a third of the key issues will be identified by workstreams based on gaps identified in the literature, scoping studies and formal evidence, etc. Participants will be invited into and will co-shape the direction of these processes. The remaining two thirds will be generated and evolved through facilitated processes that enable meaningful participation of people who are directly affected and/or implicated in worst forms of child labour.**
- **Collecting data: there are often much higher levels of trust when peers collect data from each other (in other words, children often talk more openly to other children). This is topically and culturally sensitive, however, and we will also need to consider age, gender, and disability when planning these processes. People may not, for example, talk openly about sexual harassment to their peers and we need to be prepared for the impact upon participants if they do disclose sensitive experiences, and provide appropriate support. In CLARISSA, data will be collected from a variety of sources including participatory group facilitators and programme staff.**
- **Collective analysis and sense-making: collective analysis processes lie at the heart of our methodology. Collective analysis is a process by which children and other stakeholders work together to draw meaning out of the data they have gathered. Collective analysis builds participants' ownership of the meaning of data; it allows real-time data to be analysed quickly; it allows data to be probed and contested from multiple perspectives, making analysis more robust in context. Analysis in the CLARISSA programme will be carried out in real time by group participants.**
- **Propositions for innovations and action: innovations and problem solutions should be generated by group participants, ensuring that methods used to generate the innovations allow quieter voices to be heard and the ideas of different ages, gender, and disabilities to be included.**
- **Actions and interventions should be carried out by members of the action groups. For the most part, CLARISSA will move in a phased way from actions generated in participatory processes to programmatic interventions that can be scaled. There will be some workstream-led exceptions to this, including the social protection programme in Bangladesh.**
- **Monitoring and evaluating success: children will be supported to input into assessing the success or otherwise of programme activities.**

As indicated above, the core implementation modality will be Participatory Action Research. The IDS team has pioneered large-scale and systemic approaches to Participatory Action Research.[7] This has been developed in Myanmar and Mali on peace-building (Gray and Burns 2021); in India and Nepal on modern-day slavery (Oosterhoff and Burns 2020); in Ethiopia and Nepal on children's agency (Johnson *et al*. 2019b); in Vietnam on HIV interventions and LGBT rights (Oosterhoff, Hoang and Quach 2014); and across the activities of the CGIAR programme on aquatic agricultural systems in Bangladesh, the Philippines, Cambodia, the Solomon Islands, and Zambia (Apgar and Douthwaite 2013; Apgar *et al*. 2017). Action Research is a programming modality which combines evidence gathering and learning from action. It is designed to enable diverse groups to meet over a period of time to: consider evidence and generate theories of change about interventions; plan and programme innovative solutions; test the solutions in real time, and then evaluate them. In this way, action research groups act as engines of new innovation. These cycles of action and reflection continue until a robust model of action is developed, trialled, evaluated, and is then ready to be scaled.

7 Systemic Action Research is a form of Participatory Action Research which is designed to shift the dynamics that perpetuate inequalities in complex systems. See Burns (2007) and Burns and Worsley (2015).

Figure 2: Operational theories of change integrated into the Action Research Cycle



Source: Burns (2014).

We will link multiple and parallel action research groups to form a sophisticated architecture for adaptive learning and management and will ensure that children are central to this process (see Apgar *et al.* 2020). Following Burns (2007) we have adopted a systemic approach to action research which builds on PAR in two important ways. Firstly, it sees all change as systemic so builds in processes for identifying system dynamics, collectively analysing them and then making systemic interventions (Midgley 2000). For example, it is important not to see the impacts of Covid-19 solely as a health crisis. It has also resulted in a collapse in supply chains which has led to an economic crisis in the slums. Because people have little or no food on a day-to-day basis, they have to take any work going. Children and adult's exposure to exploitation and abuse is also heightened in a crisis. This means that they are more likely to be exposed and the health crisis is likely to deepen. This is what we call a feedback loop. Secondly, it builds a learning architecture across a larger area than is typical of PAR processes to ensure that learning and action can engage with causal chains. These might run across multiple levels within a slum neighbourhood; for example, including individuals, families, kinship groups, government, businesses, and so on; or up and down a supply chain.

Activities of action research groups will typically be oriented towards self-help and mutual aid activities but will also contribute to the development of local institutional solutions (including those of local NGOs/employers, etc.). Other work will focus on advocacy and representation to policymakers. Interventions will range from small-scale solutions to local problems, behaviour change initiatives, and large-scale pilots.

As articulated in the programme MEL framework, the PAR learning architecture will contribute to answer **critical programmatic process learning questions about our own approach – as a model of how large-scale participatory processes can be designed, operationalised, and delivered effectively without diluting the depth of participation, and in what ways they can generate innovation which can impact on WFCL.**

3.2 The Participatory Action Research process

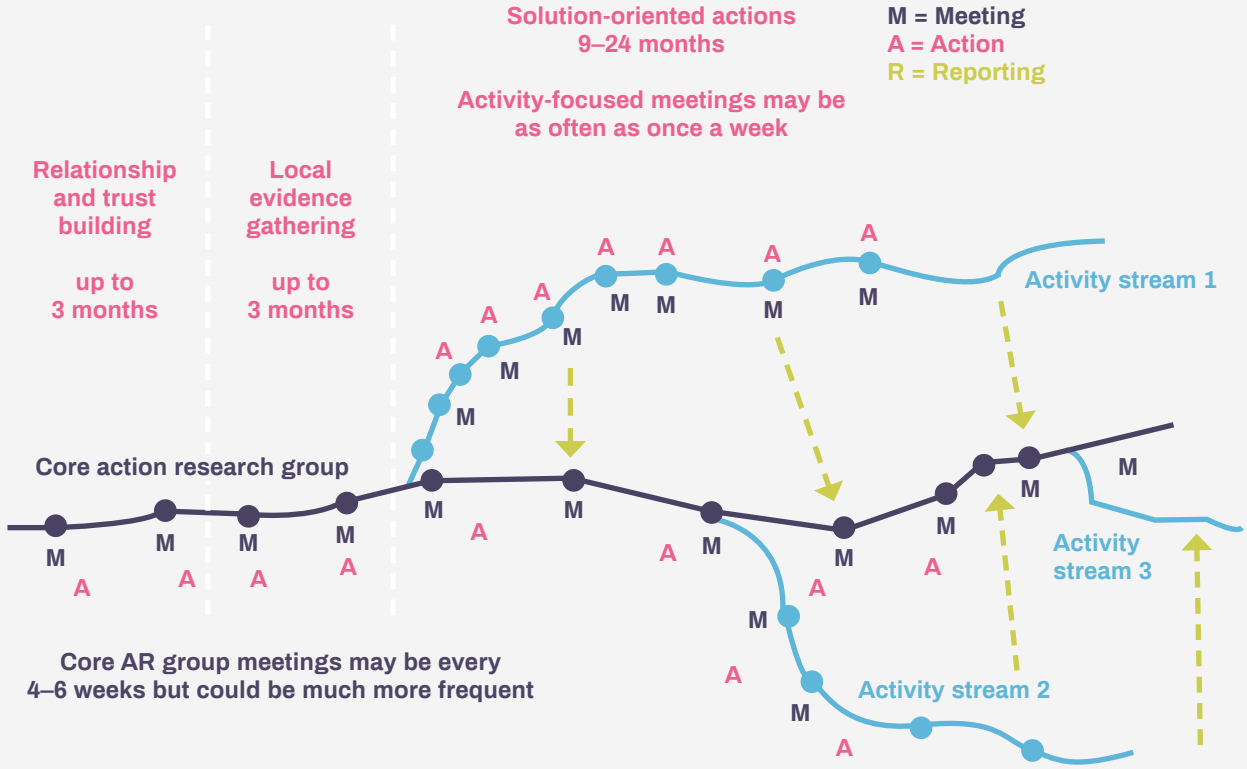
While we will use a variety of different participatory methods and our core modality will be Participatory Action Research (PAR) (Burns 2007; Reason and Bradbury 2008; Burns and Worsley 2015), in CLARISSA these PAR processes will not be short-term engagements but rather will be medium- to long-term processes (6–18 months) which should allow the groups to gain enough traction to create sustainable change.

A typical PAR process[8] involves multiple meetings over a period of between a year and 18 months. Our learning from past experience suggests that it is necessary to go through the following phases in building action research groups:

- **Contextual research to identify the drivers of child labour and consequently the different foci of action research groups;**
- **A series of meetings to build relationships and trust and to establish the core purpose of the groups (which can be accompanied by visits to households, street sites, and/or work sites);**
- **Local evidence gathering around the specific issues being explored;**
- **Generating ideas for action and accompanying theories of change;**

8 This sequence has been substantively built on learning from an action research programme on slavery and bonded labour carried out for the Freedom Fund and co-directed by Danny Burns and Pauline Oosterhoff.

Figure 3: A typical Action Research process



Source: Figure developed for CLARISSA workshops and documents by Danny Burns, CLARISSA Programme Director, Institute of Development Studies.

- **Generating potential indicators of success;**
- **Implementation of actions and monitoring and assessment of intervention outcomes;**
- **Refining actions and developing new actions based on the assessment of the early phase actions;**
- **Bringing significant successes into cross-action-research learning groups with a view to scaling.**

A gender, age, and disability assessment should be embedded in all of these processes.

We will run up to 18 PAR innovation-generating processes to be supported in each country. During the methodology workshop with all partners in October 2019, we agreed that there will be three modalities for initiating Participatory Action Research. The three are distinguished by the type of analysis that leads to the set-up of an action research group or participatory process.

1 Built on a participatory and collective analysis of children's life stories

These processes will be bottom-up participatory processes focused on children. There will be an average of four analysis processes in each country comprising roughly 100 narratives/children in each process. This could vary. We may, for example, decrease the number of stories then increase the number of locations.

Life stories are told and documented by children, and children themselves analyse them. This leads to causal mapping and identification of leverage points for intervention in the 'system'. This in turn leads to the identification of core issues for action research groups in particular locations to work on. Groups might identify issues like 'safety' as subjects for action research groups. Groups which emerge from this process will start out with a membership of children, and may later engage other critical stakeholders.

The narrative analysis process was originally budgeted in two phases with different processes starting in the first and second years of implementation. What flows from the

decision to see these as one of the three modalities for initiating action research is that they need to be sequenced before the action research. So, while the process will be more extended than the originally planned Year 1 activity, it will all need to be delivered in the first year.

2 Built on workstream analysis

These PAR groups will be initiated by the workstreams – based on questions that have been identified by the scopings, and through evidence gaps identified in literature reviews.

This more top-down framing will account for up to two per workstream of the 18 per country participatory processes (a maximum of six of the 18 processes in each country). Workstreams might identify issues such as 'how to incentivise local SMEs to break from their norms of using child labour'.

3 Open inquiry built on location

The third type of inquiry (8 to 10 groups) will emerge from dialogues with children and other stakeholders in particular locations within supply chains where there are high levels of WFCL. These groups will comprise multiple stakeholders who have an interest in or influence in relation to critical issues. Some of these may be focused on neighbourhoods for that part of our work which is focusing on pathways into multiple forms of child labour for different groups.

We anticipate that between four and six of the action research groups will start with life stories, between four and six will be workstream-initiated and the remainder will be built from dialogues in key supply chain and human chain locations.

At the end of 18 months, we will use outcome evidence generated through the participation evaluation processes as well as programmatic evaluation on how PAR works. This will enable us to assess the effectiveness of the innovations generated by the action research and explore as a programme which ones to support as scaled pilots and the best way to do this. This will enable scaling evaluation research.

3.3 A child-centred programme

Children's agency lies at the centre of our work. The programme is designed to support children to collect child-focused evidence and we will generate child-focused and child-identified solutions. We will undertake a child-rights approach with a strong emphasis on safeguarding. We have developed a safeguarding approach with a shared safeguarding protocol which is underpinned by key components of the FCDO framework and ethical protocol and a minimum standard which all agencies will be expected to meet. Central to these processes is the Do No Harm principles and the understanding that all activities will be driven and guided by the Best Interests of the Child and Vulnerable Adult. CLARISSA has a dedicated Programme Safeguarding lead for the whole consortium and safeguarding focal points built into each country team. Throughout the early spring period (2020), these team members undertook safeguarding self-assessments and identified areas that need strengthening in each country programme – based on the kind of safeguarding risks the programme will potentially see. Findings shaped the design and content of a safeguarding approach used to train in-country staff. We have also put in place a referral system in each country to ensure that anyone faced with trauma in the course of their engagement with CLARISSA is given access to the support that they need. All consortium actions will take into account and respect the rights of the child, as set out in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989).

Participatory approaches have included children, especially since the late 1980s and have been encouraged at national and international levels since the UNCRC during the 1990s and 2000s. This includes innovative participatory work carried out in the countries where the consortium is working (see Johnson and West 2018; see also Johnson, Hill and Ivan-Smith 1995; White and Choudhury 2007). Having agency means 'being able to make choices and decisions to influence events and to have an impact on one's world' (Australian Government 2009: 48). As children develop a sense of agency, they realise that they have the ability to make their own decisions and to control their own lives. 'A child's agency is contingent on a high level of participation' (Shaik and Ebrahim 2015: 2). The countries vary in approaches to child rights and participation in national government and civil society. Both Nepal and Bangladesh have developed local to national governance systems that engage with children and recognise their right to have a say about their lives. Nepal has child clubs and Bangladesh has child parliaments or forums that are now supported by government across the country. Myanmar does not have this type of child-focused governance system.

CLARISSA partners have also stressed the importance of disability inclusivity – and the programme will be working

to ensure disability inclusion in as many aspects of the programme as possible.

All of our activities will draw on the experiences of children in WFCL, most will involve their extensive participation, and some will be child-led. Key ways in which we will be engaging children include the following:

- **Collective analysis by children of 400 life stories of children working in WFCL in each country;**
- **Multiple child-focused participatory processes (mostly action research) in each country;**
- **Children's evaluation of programme activities within the programme's participant feedback mechanism;**
- **A children's research team in each country – within the broader boundaries of WFCL, children will be able to determine the inquiries they wish to follow;**
- **Outputs created and designed by children;**
- **National and/or international campaigns led by children and young people. These will be built out of children's research groups and children's advocacy groups that we will set up in each country. The children involved in these groups will in turn be drawn from other participatory processes – including life story collection and analysis, and the PAR groups.**

Critical programmatic process learning questions which flow from this are: (1) how to develop a meaningful safeguarding process when working with children who are all extremely vulnerable; (2) how to embed children's voices and agency across a programme of this scale; (3) how to demonstrate the value of children's agency to policymakers and other key stakeholders; (4) the ways in which children's participation in programme activities leads to their empowerment.

3.4 Learning and adaptive management

While WFCL have declined over time, its persistence, despite widespread political consensus that it needs to be eradicated, is a clear indication of a 'complex' or 'wicked' problem that resists simplistic linear solutions. A world that continuously generates new vulnerabilities (such as through Covid-19) means that even longstanding gains can quickly be lost. Effective solutions are likely to be: (a) highly context-specific; (b) involve many interacting factors; (c) require iterative development with reassessments of progress at very regular intervals.

This iterative programme design is embedded in the action-research-innovation-generating process and in our strategy design process. The CLARISSA programme is developing and testing an innovative approach to participatory adaptive management (see Apgar *et al*. 2020 for more detail). This is operationalised through processes that enable three interconnected levels of intentional learning and decision-making for adaptive management: (i) adaptive delivery; (ii) adaptive programming; and (iii) adaptive governance.

CLARISSA's six-monthly After Action Reviews are nested across the country and programme levels, and link to the programme evaluation approach that is 'complexity-aware'. This means that we do not predefine all indicators to monitor and evaluate our progress. Rather, we emphasise learning as we go. This way, we are able to evaluate the innovation-generating processes as well as the outcomes of the innovations themselves. Combined with a Contribution Analysis approach (see Apgar *et al.* 2020 for more details) to evaluation, the use of nested theories of change is central to a programme design that is based around adapting through learning. We will work with theories of change at the following levels:

- **A programme-level theory of change (ToC) was developed for the programme during co-generation. The CLARISSA blog 'Our Best-Evidenced Guess of How we Will Achieve Change' provides an outline.**
- **Workstream-level ToCs are being elaborated as detailed mappings and scopings bring new knowledge to bear on our assumptions.**
- **Context-specific country-level causal ToCs will be developed alongside the development of the integrated country programmes.**
- **Activity-level theories of change are also being built into each intervention/Participatory Action Research process.**

Supporting the approach to adaptive management is a need for a reflexive programme culture which is permissive and encouraging of taking calculated risks, learning from mistakes, and making course-corrections when needed using evidence – this in turn is supported by a flexible programme structure and budgets to allow adaptation. Team leaders must ensure that this outlook, and the skills that flow from it, is seen to be a core competency for the programme.

While we want to have flexibility to shift the content of the programme as it evolves, we are also conscious of the

Table 4: The participatory design for three interconnected levels of intentional learning and decision-making for adaptive management

Aspect of adaptive management	CLARISSA participatory design
Adaptive delivery	Learning from PAR groups (children and other stakeholders) is captured through programme-supported documentation of the PAR process, including monitoring qualitative and quantitative indicators to assess how the groups are working (performance and facilitation) and what they are achieving (innovations and outcomes). Local implementation teams (facilitators and documenters) periodically review the learning to adapt implementation in consultation with the country-level team. Beyond this programme production of evidence and learning, a participant feedback mechanism will also include opportunity for broader independent feedback to be captured and fed in to programme sense-making.
Adaptive programming	Facilitated After Action Reviews (AARs) are implemented on a six-monthly and annual basis within each country and across all countries. Monitoring data and learning from programme activities are the main inputs for the AARs – this includes learning from PAR groups and synthesis of findings from the programme's participant feedback mechanism. A core element of the AARs is the use of a partnerships self-evaluation process (see Section 3.5). Learning reports are produced as outputs of the AARs to make the learning actionable. The sequencing of AARs is critical to ensure that learning can be 'fed up' the programme from country to consortium level. The FCDO has attended design and learning workshops to enable a collective approach to adaptive design. The programme plans are adapted in response to the actionable learning and in turn fed up to the donor through the annual reporting process.
Adaptive governance	Annual reporting feeds up to the donor through the Accountable Grant mechanism. A close relationship with the FCDO (formerly DFID) was developed through the co-generation phase and continues through implementation. For example, in response to the impact of Covid-19 on the children with whom the programme aims to engage, major programme adaptations were agreed at the adaptive programming level and approved by the FCDO at this level. These will be detailed in a second CLARISSA design paper, covering the period in which Covid and FCDO cuts and the coup in Myanmar led to various programme adaptations.

Source: Authors' own.

need to maintain stable and high-quality staff teams. For this reason, our working model has been to recruit core teams who have the skills to carry out different activity types that we have identified, and to build flexibility into what they work on. For example, it might be that we shift a focus of action research groups from small businesses to intermediaries because we are struggling to get them to engage. This represents a major adaptation to the programme focus but not to the programme team, because the same people can do the work. Teams can use the budget flexibility that we have to engage technical experts as needed.

The critical process question which flows from this is how to keep a programme open enough to genuinely respond to issues which emerge from the ground and contextual issues which reframe what is going on while ensuring we can still deliver the programme as agreed with the donor?

3.5 Integrated holistic implementation model

In the international development sector, there has been a longstanding critique of siloed approaches to addressing development challenges (Masset 2018; Honig and Gulrajani 2018; Fox 2006). In a hybrid action research programme that emphasises both evidence generation and action, integration across research and implementation partners is essential for success.

This requires moving beyond the common practice of parcelling up packages of pre-constructed work for each of the partners and each of the countries.

Our aim has been to pursue a fully integrated programming approach which brings together the strengths of all of the partners, and embodies the value of working in equal partnership with local organisations and the expertise, local contextual understanding, and enhanced sustainability they contribute. As was discussed in Section 2.3, integration happens across thematic areas of work (such as social norms and supply chains), as well as across evidence generation (research) and action through integrated country teams working on specific issues in specific supply chain locations and urban neighbourhoods.

While we have identified one partner organisation to be the host organisation for each country team, their task is to build an integrated team across several organisations. This means that any contributions to successful innovation should be seen as the result of the collective endeavours of country teams and not individual partner organisations. This approach involves ensuring that trust-building processes are given time and properly resourced, and demand a high intensity of relational engagement.

We recognised from the outset that working in such an integrated way is not easy. We are testing our assumption that working in this way has the potential to model a more effective way of creating transformative change. A critical process question that we respond to through the programme's monitoring, evaluation, and learning infrastructure is **how to foster a local and global team culture which transcends the organisation where people are employed and which builds mutual respect that challenges traditional assumptions and hierarchies that put the donor at the top, followed by the lead agency or European partner, followed by the 'downstream partner', and then the 'beneficiary'?**

We use a combination of methods to monitor how we are working in partnership and if equity supports delivery of an integrated programme. We defined what quality meant in our partnership at the outset, through the co-generation phase, and formalised our agreed ways of working in an evaluative rubric with seven elements: fluid communications; team identity; openness, honesty and mutual trust; agreed impact orientation; inclusivity and equitability; adaptability and flexibility; and having an entrepreneurial culture (Apgar *et al.* 2020). The rubric is employed as a self-assessment tool during the biannual AARs (as described in Section 3.4) to provide real-time feedback and generate actionable learning. We supplement the self-evaluation through an anonymous survey (annually) and combine the results to harness learning and focus where improvements are needed. Through the first year of implementation, we have learnt that effective integration requires the following:

- **In the more complex spaces of the programme (where there are more partners involved across more activities), lines and modes of communication need to be agreed and clear.**
- **Informal engagements and trust built through them are critical to building a team spirit to break through traditional hierarchies.**
- **Sufficient clarity of individuals' roles should be balanced with working across roles as an integrated team.**
- **Recognition of what all partners bring – and in particular partners with more limited engagement (small number of staff and budget) – helps to build trust and ownership.**
- **Taking the time needed to build relationships must be balanced with enabling teams within the broader team to use their limited time to focus on delivering specific activities.**

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Section 4:

THE SHAPE AND FOCUS OF THE COUNTRY PROGRAMMES

4 THE SHAPE AND FOCUS OF THE COUNTRY PROGRAMMES

4.1 Where the programme will engage with WFCL

The geographical starting point for our work will be urban slums in each country where there is a concentration of child labour and children working in WFCL. We have identified inner city and peri-urban slum locations which intersect with high numbers of children working in our selected sector. These are locations which are subject to recent and more longstanding waves of migration from villages (Banks, Lombard and Mitlin 2020; Goodfellow 2020; Roy 2005). This means that we can work up and down a supply chain or 'human chain' (see Section 4.2) but our engagement will be anchored in locations where there is some evidence that suggests high prevalence of WFCL. From there, we can follow chains back to source villages and informal SMEs which feed into them as well as the product destination sites.

In Bangladesh, this will be four slum neighbourhoods in Dhaka. In Myanmar, it will be a number of neighbourhoods within Hlaing Tharyar, a large township on the Western Edge of Yangon. In Nepal, we will work in neighbourhoods in central Kathmandu and Kathmandu Valley.[9]

This design allows us to explore both WFCL in sectors and in specific neighbourhood localities in line with our key research questions:

a How do supply chains that are underpinned by extensive WFCL work (what are the dynamics that drive them?), and how and for what reasons do children get drawn into them?

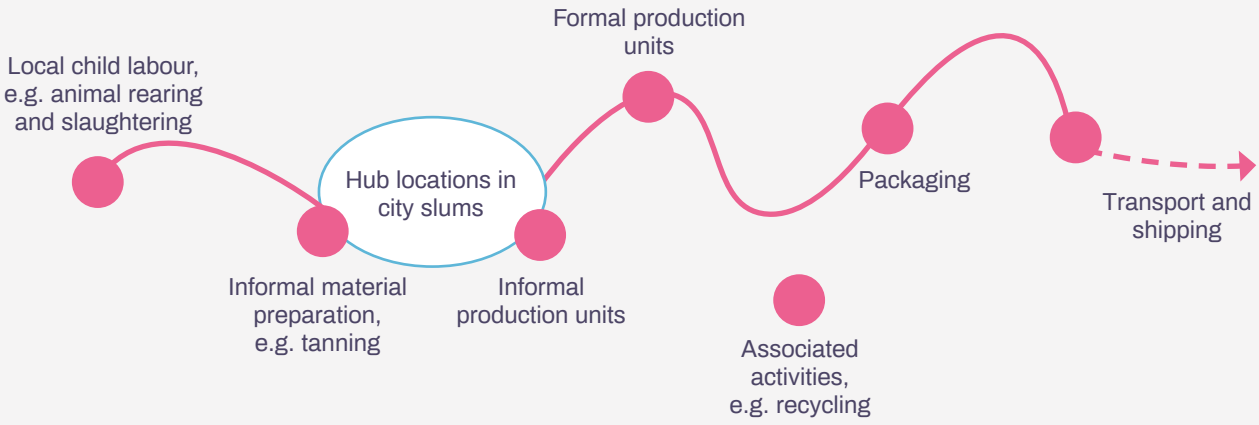
b How does WFCL intersect with urban and peri-urban neighbourhood dynamics? How are pathways into child labour mediated by neighbourhood, familial, and local economic and social systems?

and in relation to both of these:

c Where are the leverage points[10] for changing these dynamics, and how can the agency of local actors (in particular children) be most effectively mobilised to create these changes?

Understanding the dynamics of these social and economic systems will provide entry points to create innovations for transformative change. These entry points may be very local (e.g. changing the employment practices of local business owners) or situated further from the locations of child labour (e.g. providing evidence that can be used to support campaigns and/or policy

Figure 4: Simplified representation of a leather supply chain



Source: Figure developed for CLARISSA workshops and documents by Danny Burns, CLARISSA Programme Director, Institute of Development Studies.

9 A post-Covid review of these locations, to ensure they remain relevant, and to explore any changes in emphasis that may have occurred, will be needed as part of AAR/planning processes.

10 See footnote 5.

change). We will achieve this by looking at production processes characterised by child labour which intersect with particular neighbourhoods. In the diagrammatic representation in Figure 4, which is based on the example of the leather supply chain in Bangladesh, the blue circle represents the city slum hub location of Hazaribagh and the pink dots represent examples of production processes which run into and out of that hub location.

4.2 Systems of child labour in supply chains and human chains

The selection of sectors for the focus of CLARISSA work in Bangladesh and Myanmar was based on discussions between partners following collective identification of key criteria, as well as follow-up scoping exercises that have taken place in the set-up phase. Criteria included:

- **Products where there was either a national or international market and a clearly identifiable supply chain where either high numbers of children are in WFCL or a high proportion of those servicing the industry are children;**
- **Complex supply chains with multiple components in their chains;**
- **Identifiable WFCL;**
- **Locations where partners have a presence;**
- **Accessibility (geographical, security);**
- **Sectors where the form of labour is governed by some sort of contract or agreement (i.e. not within the family).**

In Bangladesh, we have decided to focus on one sector only – leather goods – because it is so complex and extensive. In Myanmar, we initially scoped ready-made garments, but after initial scoping found that this sector was highly regulated and is not where most of the children are working in WFCL. Consultation has directed us towards the fisheries, and the waste and recycling sectors. In Nepal, we will focus on the 'adult entertainment' and associated 'sex work' sectors. Connected to these core production units and services along the supply chain are other subsidiary and connected trades, for example children working in packaging or shipping. There are also a wide range of street-connected children who exist in the margins of all these work units (for example, in recycling and waste picking, and street selling).

In Myanmar and Bangladesh, we will be focusing on **product or commodity** (i.e. fish, leather products) supply chains. A key programme assumption is that worst forms of child labour are to be found in the hidden and informal domains of supply chains. Our starting point is to track hidden child labour in those parts of supply chains that are invisible to officialdom, to connect them to the formal domains, and to work with actors across the supply and value chain to generate solutions. This model is designed to adapt to market contexts in which particular products feed either national, regional, or international markets. Here, the central innovation is our focus on the informal domains of the supply chains and on small- to medium-sized enterprises where the majority of WFCL will be found.

In Nepal, we will be taking a different approach which we will refer to as the '**human chain**' approach. This term signifies our commitment to put humans, their feelings, aspirations, and lived realities at the core of our thinking and our ways of working. A (durable or perishable goods) value chain approach can inadvertently objectify or reduce the human, emotional aspects of the various production processes along a value chain. We also felt that a term was needed to describe the service sector, and the values that human beings bring to others through their labour and services.

By human chain, we mean the social networks that enable and facilitate children's pathways into, within, and out of the worst forms of child labour (see Annexe 1).

What we are interested in here is the different pathways and choices that open up on children's journeys to 'end destinations' which will typically be WFCL in unregulated small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) and street-related work (and/or unsafe migration). In both scenarios, we will also be working with intermediaries, brokers, and middlemen who often mediate the choices that are available to children.

Our work on supply/human chains will involve:

1. Mapping the material and product supply chains and human chains that run into and out of these centres. This means identifying all of the stages in the production of, for example, a leather bag, which will include slaughtering the animals, tanning, drying skins, cutting, sewing, etc. Mapping will be done from two directions: (a) through key informant interviews; and (b) a snowballing approach where we follow materials and products based on field-level intelligence.

2. Identifying where the children are working in WFCL.

3 Identifying points of intervention where they think there is a need for change in relationship to key issues, and where there might be a realistic possibility of generating solutions to identified issues and problems.

4 Setting up action research groups and participatory processes across the supply chain in those locations.

5 Linking these processes in order to generate knowledge of the dynamics of child labour across the supply chain.

4.3 Systems of child labour in urban slum neighbourhoods

At the same time as working on supply chains, we also want to understand the dynamics of WFCL within urban and peri-urban slum neighbourhoods. We have started with a set of programmatic assumptions which will be tested through our work:

- **While child labour in general may be more prominent in rural areas (Fafchamps and Wahba 2006), some of the worst forms of child labour are likely to be highly prevalent in urban slum environments.**
- **Worst forms of child labour are more likely to be hidden and informal (Fafchamps and Wahba 2006: 375) and a high proportion of slum dwellers will be working in these unregulated sectors.**

Taking a neighbourhood approach allows us to explore the dynamics of place – including the significance of kinship networks, intermediaries, connections between different business owners, and so on.

- **Early scoping (Macleod 2020; Khaing May Oo and Naw Esther Lay 2020) shows that many of the neighbourhoods in the locations that we have identified have a wide variety of types of child labour. For example, there are children as young as five or six risking their lives daily as street hawkers on busy main roads, some working 18 hours a day in tea shops, and others working with dangerous materials sorting and recycling materials on the waste tips. Others still are in domestic labour. Often these forms of child labour are very age-specific (children graduate into different forms of WFCL) and gendered (girls will often be working in domestic labour). By setting up participatory processes with families, child labourers, and others connected to child labour in neighbourhoods, we intend to identify the relationships between different types of WFCL and how these intersect with family and neighbourhood dynamics and their underpinning social norms. Taking this sort of 'cut' from a family perspective will make it easier to engage with certain types of child labour such as domestic labour which would be more or less impossible to access if we focused on workplaces. Where possible, we will choose neighbourhoods that intersect with our supply chains, but we will also choose some locations where there are high numbers of children in WFCL with no clearly dominant production sites relating to a particular supply chain. Neighbourhoods will be defined geographical areas within slums with a population of no more than 10,000 households.**

As indicated above, the programme will work in the following types of neighbourhoods:

1 Neighbourhoods where the children who are resident work in a wide variety of WFCL

Examples would include: Bangladesh slums where boys are working in leather but also in other forms of child labour, and many girls are working in domestic service and other forms of WFCL (not all of this work is located in the neighbourhood); and wards in Hlaing Tharyar, where different children are working in recycling, tea shops, hawking on the streets and to cars,; markets, small production units, and so on.

Many of these urban and peri-urban slums are not regulated and WFCL also happens in unregulated spaces – so there is an overlap between those wanting to employ children and those that come to live there. Slums are often seen as temporary places but in fact they are often fairly stable and well-established places that offer many opportunities for work. In many parts of Asia, some people, like sex workers, are not able to rent a house – so even if they have the money to live elsewhere, they are forced to live in these places.

2 Work zones where there are a wide variety of different types of WFCL

An example would be an area like Thamel in Kathmandu which has sex work running alongside all sorts of other work, ranging from serving in tea shops and restaurants to working on building sites, etc.

We will therefore choose locations which intersect with our primary sector focus, and then build from there to look at the neighbourhood dynamics which govern the choices that children have and agency that children are able to exercise.

Our work on child labour within slum neighbourhoods will include:

1. Identifying city slum neighbourhoods where there are many different forms of child labour and children working in WFCL (either overlapping with the supply chain or not).
2. Production of social maps of the hot spots of WFCL. In some cases, we may employ the child-led research groups to do this.
3. Production of actor and network maps which identify who are the key actors that are facilitating WFCL.
4. Setting up action research and other participatory processes to engage with issues that have emerged within the neighbourhood.
5. Cross-neighbourhood learning forums so that AR groups can understand the wider dynamics and share their ideas on solutions and learning from action.

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Section 5:

INFLUENCING

5 INFLUENCING

In the same way that our programme development process is generated through interaction in workshops, so our influencing strategy will be based on building relationships in countries. This will be achieved in part through groups that the programme will convene – which we are defining as '**Strategic Action Groups**'. These multi-stakeholder groups will be formed in each country with a view to opening doors into other domains and sectors, contributing to innovation (scaling up ideas and innovations into their own organisations) and advising the programme, as well as directly engaging in some of our specific programmes. They will comprise people who we hope will generate action based on our research beyond the formal boundaries of the programme. Key stakeholders who might comprise these groups will be decision makers (businesses, government agencies, law and policymakers), those who can influence these decision makers, and allies and coalitions that we can work alongside. (There is overlap with national-level stakeholders and regional and international stakeholders who include UN human rights bodies, UN agencies, and bodies such as UNICEF and ILO, donors such as FCDO, regional bodies such as ASEAN, international NGOs such as Save the Children and Plan International, etc.)

Therefore, while we have brought in both methodological and technical expertise where necessary, we resist the idea of 'experts' driving the programme. The learning and activities of the programme will be driven by participants on the ground through participatory processes.

Thus, our model, is NOT to have a steering group which advises or tells the country programme what to do.

The role of the Strategic Action Groups will be to:

- **Improve coordination and information sharing on issues related to worst forms of child labour;**
- **Enable the views and experience of children and other stakeholders to be shared and to be considered by the consortium during the design and implementation of the CLARISSA programme;**
- **Identify trends and emerging issues and to coordinate interventions with other domains and sectors;**
- **Contribute to and support innovation (scaling up innovations of CLARISSA into their own and other organisations);**
- **Advise the programme and engage upon request in some specific programme activities;**
- **Forge alliances by facilitating and coordinating contacts with key government officials/ representatives and other stakeholders who are in the position to contribute to programming and/or policymaking;**
- **Mobilise to enable, embed, and scale the work of CLARISSA.**

The point of this group is that it doesn't only deliberate on the programme but that it is able to 'do' things at a strategic level which maximise the impact of the programme.

We will also draw on these relationships to support an influencing strategy which will include a rolling dissemination of blogs, policy briefs, and creative media productions. These will feed into two global campaigns (Shephard 2019).

Section 6:

CONCLUSION

6 CONCLUSION

The CLARISSA programme design described in this paper outlines Action Research as an overarching programming modality to understand, evidence, and consequently to reduce the worst forms of child labour. It is based on the principles that children need to be involved if we are to meaningfully shift the (often hidden) patterns that drive child labour, and that integration across evidence, action, and learning will support transformative change for children, their parents and guardians, and the child-labour programming system as a whole. This design framework document has outlined where the programme has reached in what is, necessarily, an emergent and ongoing process of refining design, as children themselves and other stakeholders become involved in shaping the programme on the ground.

During the early design stages, we built upon formal evidence on WFCL in localities and in supply chains, which has guided the thematic and geographical focus. We are now moving into the implementation of the next level of design in-country for the programme's participatory processes. The first stage of these processes is also evidence gathering – focusing in on the specific concerns of children and other stakeholders and around the programme's evaluation and research questions. This will lead to innovation and action, which will in turn lead to learning which will then feed into new ongoing iterations of design and operationalisation.

The overarching evidencing and learning architecture of CLARISSA can therefore be conceptualised as a series of interlocking participatory processes which generate evidence, action, and learning across nested scales of intervention and their associated theories of change. This is an action research modality of programme implementation, and the CLARISSA programme is providing an opportunity to test this at a large scale. This is quite different to a standard development intervention programme planning modality accompanied by rigid and predefined indicator-based evaluation. As we move to full implementation and we evaluate and learn about both what we achieve and how it is achieved, we expect that this real-life experience of building an emergent and participatory implementation logic will provide useful learning far beyond the boundaries of our programme.

This document refers to the early development of the programme (September 2018–June 2020). Since then, the programme has built country teams and shifted its organisational focus to them. Country planning workshops were held in July/August 2020 to decide the detailed shape of country-level programmes. At the same time, as the programme is adaptive, it is being re-designed in response to our learning processes as we go along. Meanwhile, the Covid-19 crisis, the Myanmar coup, and the FCDO 21/22 cuts also substantively shifted the focus of this adaptive programme. These changes are documented in a follow-up design paper, which documents the implementation phase.

Annexe 1:

THE HUMAN CHAIN

ANNEXE 1 THE HUMAN CHAIN

Human value chain or human chain: a brief etymology in CLARISSA

Social Norms Working Group, CLARISSA (2020)

The origin of the concept of a 'human value chain' or a 'human chain' in the CLARISSA programme dates to the Bangkok conference. The term signified our commitment to put humans, their feelings, aspirations, and lived realities at the core of our thinking and our ways of working. Both the terms human chain and human value chain are already in use in various unrelated disciplines, ranging from marketing and human resources, to engineering, genetics, and peace-building. It was coined in a group of various people to describe the importance of human beings, human connections, and human values, norms and practices in the CLARISSA programme. A (durable or perishable goods) value chain approach can inadvertently objectify or reduce the human, emotional aspects of the various production processes along a value chain. Others argued that a term was needed to describe the service sector, and the values that human beings bring to others through their labour and services.

The work in the social norms and positive family values group may help to get a common understanding of how this concept could be defined and operationalised for CLARISSA.

We propose to use the term **human chain** – rather than human value chain. With a **human chain**, we mean **the social networks that enable and facilitate children's pathways into, within, and out of the worst forms of child labour. Our understanding of the literature and our scoping findings show us that**:

- **Child labour trajectories are not necessarily linear or in a logical sequence as one might expect when working with models of a product value chain.**
- **Different sectors employing children in WFCL are likely to have different social networks and trajectories in different contexts. They also change, for example, through mobile phone technology. Social networks can be mapped and visualised using methodologies and tools such as Kumu.[11]**
- **In each setting and along each trajectory, there are people who facilitate children into this work. These formal or informal labour intermediaries may or may not be aware of the situations in which some children end up. Understanding who the labour intermediaries are – their motives, aspirations – and the laws is central in disrupting these pathways.**
- **The lines between victims and perpetrators are not always clear and people's roles, practices, and norms change across a lifetime which is legally, psychologically, and morally challenging. People can also simultaneously play multiple roles or adhere to different norms in multiple social reference groups and social settings. Those who are externally (or legally) constructed as perpetrators/victims (and their communities) do not necessarily perceive themselves or their alleged perpetrator/victim as such.**
- **These intermediaries and the children share some social norms which enable these trajectories to exist.**
- **To understand the drivers and causes of child labour, an understanding of social norms and the other factors that work to sustain a given behaviour need to be taken into account. Exploitative and positive social norms (re)inforce and (re)produce material and structural realities.**
- **The social and economic costs for each human involved along this human chain into WFCL vary widely. Employing children in WFCL has both social and financial benefits – as well as costs – for each of these humans. This means that understanding social norms is vital. Yet poverty and financial constraints, including lack of access to credit and capital, are key in understanding the causes that lead to WFCL.**
- **Some social norms and discourses are more powerful in these human chains than others. Children's voices, interpretations, and choices, and their agency in the re-creation of some social norms which mean they end up in WFCL has to be taken into account.**
- **Learnings from some of our action research and outcomes on social norms can be communicated to other stakeholders in this human chain, which might support children. Including children and putting children at the centre of our work can be justified by moral, or rights-based, and practical reasons.**
- **To mobilise for social change, the norms of perpetrators should also be taken into account.**
- **A qualitative diagnosis of norms which looks at power dynamics is crucial for designing success.**

11 Kumu is a software application which enables system mapping.

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CLARISSA works by co-developing with stakeholders practical options for children to avoid engagement in the worst forms of child labour in Bangladesh, Myanmar, and Nepal.

The participatory processes which underpin the programme are designed to generate innovation from the ground which can sustainably improve the lives of children and their families.

The programme's outputs are similarly co-designed and collaboratively produced to enhance local ownership of the knowledge, and to ensure that our research uptake and engagement strategy is rooted in the direct experience of the people most affected on the ground.