

CHILD TRAFFICKING AND THE WORST FORMS OF **CHILD LABOR IN SIERRA LEONE:** A MIXED METHODS STUDY

Establishing Baseline Prevalence, Understanding Stakeholder Perspectives, and Identifying Gaps in Policies and Services to Prevent and Address Child Trafficking

JANUARY 2022

Dr. David Okech, Dr. Jody Clay-Warner, Dr. Alex Balch, Dr. Tamora Callands, Dr. Hui Yi, Dr. Anna Cody, and Dr. Claire Bolton







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TABLE OF CONTENTS

APRIES and CenHTRO Overview	12
Acknowledgments	13
Executive Summary	14
Study Overview and Aims	14
Methods Summary	14
Key Study Findings Summary	14
Prevalence Estimates	16
Community Perspectives about Child Trafficking and Child Labor	16
Types of Child Labor and Child Trafficking Experienced	16
Exploitation that Inolves Force, Fraud, or Coercion	17
Potential Vulnerabilities to Trafficking	17
Perspectives about Leaving a Trafficking Situation and Reintergration Post-traffick	ing 19
Analysis of Policy and Service Gaps	19
Implications and Recommendations	20
Study Overview	24
Research Ethics	24
Study Aims	25
Key Terms	25
Structure of this Report	25
Study Background and Context	26
Crisis Events Impacting Vulnerability to Child Trafficking	27
Menpikin and Child Trafficking in Sierra Leone	27
Awareness of Child Trafficking	27
Current Study	28
Kono, Kenema, and Kailahun in Context	28
Demographics	29
Ethnicity	29
Occupations	29

	School Enrollment Rates	29
	Poverty	30
	Children's Living Arrangements	30
	Anti-Trafficking Law and Policy in Sierra Leone	30
Meth	ods	32
	Qualitative Methods Overview	32
	Sample Size and Sampling Strategy	32
	Data Collection Procedures	32
	Qualitative Data Management and Analysis	33
	Ethical Considerations	33
	Prevalence Estimation Methods	34
	Study Size and Study Population	34
	Sampling Size and Procedures	34
	Data Collection and Tools	35
	Network Scale-up Methodology Overview	36
	Quality Control and Assurance	36
Study	/ Findings	38
	Section 1: Prevalence Estimates of Child Trafficking and Child Labor	39
	Direct Prevalence Estimates Generated from Reported Experiences of Children in the Sampled Households	39
	NUSM Prevalence Estimates Generated from Reports about Children in Respondents' Networks	40
	Comparison of NSUM Estimates and Direct Estimation	41
	Section 2: Community Perspectives about Child Trafficking and Child Labor	42
	Community Perceptions about Child Trafficking, Child Labor, and Child Work	42
	Section 3: Types of Child Labor and Trafficking Experienced	44
	Exploitative Labor Sectors	46
	Domestic Work and Street Vending	48
	Hazardous Work and Portering	49
	Experiences with Criminal Activity and Begging	49

Commerical Sex	50
Key Actors in the Trafficking Situation	51
Hazardous Working Conditions	52
Section 4: Exploitation that Involved Force, Fraud, or Coercion	58
Types of Force, Fraud, or Coercion	58
Regional Prevalence of Force, Fraud, or Coercion	60
Mechanisms of Control	62
Section 5: Vulnerabilities to Child Trafficking	66
Characteristics of Children Who Experience Child Trafficking and Child Labor	66
Additional Vulnerability Factors	70
Summary of Potential Vulnerabilities	71
Section 6: Perspectives About Leaving a Trafficking Situation and Reintegrations Post-trafficking	72
Leaving the Trafficking Situation	72
Education and Employment as a Route Out	73
Post-trafficking Reintergration and Healing	74
Analysis of Policy and Service Gapes	78
Legal Framework	78
The 3 Ps and Implementation Challenges	79
Key Insights, Implications, and Recommendations	84
Implications for Prevalence Research	84
Implications for Policy and Practice	85
Recommendations	86
Informing Implementation Research: Current Projects and Future Goals	90
Future Research	90
Monitoring, Evaluation, and Learning: Real World Research Application	91
APRIES Goals: Looking Forward	91
References	92
Tables	104
Figures	124

Appendix A: Qualitative Data Collection Activities, Sample Characteristics,	
and Sample Size	134
Appendix B: Description of Qualitative Data Collection Tools	136
Appendix C: Qualitative Data Collection Instrument Samples	137
Appendix D: Qualitative Coding Procedures	145
Appendix E: Sample Size Calculation for Prevalence Estimates	147
Appendix F: Household Survey Tool	149
Appendix G: Household Survey Data Collection Procedures	175
Appendix H: Child Trafficking — Statistical Definition	176
Appendix I: Child Labor — Statistical Definition	181
Appendix J: NSUM Model Specification	183
Appendix K: NSUM Biases	184
Appendix L: Overview of the Topcoding Procedure	186



Kainkordu, Soa Chiefdom, Kono District, Sierra Leone, December 2021.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Mean Number and Prevalence Rates of CT and CL Using Direct Estimation	39
Table 2: Mean Number and Prevalence Rates of CT and CL Using NSUM	40
Table 3: Exploitative Labor Sectors Experienced by Children in Sampled Households and in the Social Networks of Respondents Who Were Trafficked	47
Table 4: Household Survey Sampling Distribution	107
Table 5: Welfare of the Sampled Households	108
Table 6: Characteristics of the Sampled Households	109
Table 7: Characteristics of CT Events the Children in the Sampled Households Experienced	109
Table 8: Characteristics of CT Events Experienced by the Children in the Social Network of Respondents	110
Table 9: Age Distributions of Excessive Work Hours Among Children in the Household Classified as Victims of CL	111
Table 10: Age Distributions of Excessive Work Hours Among Children in the Network Classified as Victims of CL	113
Table 11: Characteristics of CT and Non-CT Children in the Sampled Households in Kailahun	114
Table 12: Characteristics of CT and Non-CT Children in the Sampled Households in Kenema	116
Table 13: Characteristics of CT and Non-CT Children in the Sampled Households in Kono	118
Table 14: Characteristics of CL and Non-CL Children in the Sampled Households in Kailahun	120
Table 15: Characteristics of CL and Non-CL Children in the Sampled Households in Kenema	120
Table 16: Characteristics of CL and Non-CL Children in the Sampled Households in Kono	122
Table 17: Number of Types of Work in which CT Victims are Involved	123



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: APRIES Data Map for Baseline Sierra Leone Child Trafficking Study	28
Figure 2: District Map of Sierra Leone as of 2017	40
Figure 3: Percentage of Household CT and Network CT Victims in Kailahun Experiencing Hazardous Working Conditions	53
Figure 4: Percentage of Household CT and Network CT Victims in Kenema Experiencing Hazardous Working Conditions	54
Figure 5: Percentage of household CT and network CT Victims in Kono Experiencing Hazardous Working Conditions	54
Figure 6: Percentage of Household CT and Network CT Victims in Kailahun Experiencing Force, Fraud, or Coercion	60
Figure 7: Percentage of Household CT and Network CT Victims in Kenema Experiencing Force, Fraud, or Coercion	61
Figure 8: Percentage of Household CT and Network CT in Kono Experiencing Force, Fraud, or Coercion	61
Figure 9: Children's Age by CT/Non-CT Victim Status for Each Hotspot	66
Figure 10: Child Labor Hours by Age and Region	67
Figure 11: MEL Example of Evidence-Building for Implementation	91
Figure 12: Validity Check for Reference Subpopulations in Kailahun	124
Figure 13: Validity Check for Reference Subpopulations in Kenema	125
Figure 14: Validity Check for Reference Subpopulations in Kono	126
Figure 15: Percentage of Household CT and Network CT Victims in Kailahun by Labor Sector	127
Figure 16: Percentage of Household CT and Network CT Victims in Kenema by Labor Sector	128
Figure 17: Percentage of Household CT and Network CT Victims in Kono by Labor Sector	129
Figure 18: Comparison of Percentage of Household CL and Network CL by Age Range in Kailahun	130
Figure 19: Comparison of Percent of Household CL and Network CL by Age Range in Kenema	131
Figure 20: Comparison of Percentage of Household CL and Network CL by Age Range in Kono	132
Figure 20: APRIES Theory of Change	133



LIST OF ACRONYMS

APRIES	African Programming and Research Institute to End Slavery
CenHTRO	Center on Human Trafficking Research and Outreach
CL	Child Labor: Work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential, and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development.
CMDA	Conflict Management and Development Associates: A Sierra Leone research organization based in Freetown.
CRC	UN Committee on the Rights of the Child
CT	Child Trafficking: "The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered 'trafficking in persons" — Palermo Protocol
CWC	Child Welfare Committee: Local community-based committee that aims to address children's well-being, can be involved with cases of child abuse and child trafficking.
EAs	Enumeration Areas: the basic administrative unit used in the collection of census data.
FGDs	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female genital mutilation
FQSE	Free Quality School Education Program: Launched in 2018 by GoSL to increase access to education for children throughout Sierra Leone
FSU	Family Service Unit: Police unit in SL tasked with working with children and families
GOSL	Government of Sierra Leone
IDIs	In-depth Interviews
ILO	International Labor Organization
INGO	International non-governmental organization
IRB	Institutional Review Board: An ethics review board for research oversight
JSS	Junior Secondary School: Enrolls youth aged 12-14 years old.
KIIs	Key informant interviews
MBSSE	Sierra Leone Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education
MSWGCA	Sierra Leone Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs, SL
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NSUM	Network Scale-Up Method: A method for measuring the size of hard-to-reach populations that uses respon- dents' reports of populations of known size to estimate the size of the unknown population.
NTF	National Task Force on Anti-Trafficking in Sierra Leone

ODK	Open Data Kit: An open-source software for collecting, managing, and using data in resource-constrained environments.
ONS	Office of National Security in Sierra Leone
OR	Odds Ratio: Used to compare the relative odds of the occurrence of the outcome of interest (e.g., CT), given exposure to the variable of interest (e.g., double orphan). The OR can also be used to determine whether a particular characteristic is a risk factor for the outcome of CT, and to compare the magnitude of various risk factors for the outcome of CT.
PSU	Primary sampling unit: The primary sampling unit for the household survey is the enumeration area (EA).
RAN	ResilientAfrica Network: A research organization at Makerere University in Uganda.
SGBV	Sexual and gender-based violence
SL	Sierra Leone
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SSS	Senior Secondary School: Enrolls youth aged 15-17 years old)
SSU	Secondary sampling unit: Is the household in the context of this study. We define a household as "a person or a group of persons, related or unrelated, who live together and who share a common source of food" (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2013).
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
TVPA	Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
VF	Visibility Factor: An adjustment factor to correct for transmission bias that reveals how often this type of information is transmitted within the respondent's social network.

APRIES & CenHTRO OVERVIEW

The African Programming & Research Initiative to End Slavery (**APRIES**) is an initiative of the Center on Human Trafficking Research & Outreach (**CenHTRO**). CenHTRO is an international consortium of antislavery researchers and policy advocates from the University of Georgia (UGA), the University of Liverpool (UoL), as well as staff in Guinea, Senegal, and Sierra Leone. CenHTRO's mission is to conduct research, develop programming, and influence policies that drastically and measurably reduce human trafficking and other forms of exploitation. Through funding by the US Department of State Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (TIP Office), the APRIES project goal is to reduce the prevalence of modern slavery in Sub–Saharan Africa (SSA) by transforming the capacity of community–engaged agencies to implement prevention, prosecution, and protection strategies, using rigorous research to identify service and policy gaps that inform our collaborations with local implementation partners.

For more about **APRIES**' Theory of Change, see figure 21, page 166. The objectives of the project are to:

1) Collect, analyze, and establish robust baseline data on the prevalence of modern slavery in a specific sector and population in two sub-Saharan African countries.

2) Enhance the quality and scope of our implementing partners' anti-slavery programs and services resulting in 5-10% reduction in baseline reporting in target communities and 25% increase in number of victims served from baseline.

APRIES employs a Collective Impact theoretical framework that privileges a commitment to the common agenda of reducing trafficking by meeting the above-stated objectives collaboratively, sustainably, and at scale. **CenHTRO's** counter-trafficking work operates from the following key assumptions:

1) no single agency can significantly reduce the prevalence of trafficking;

2) large-scale social change and transformation is achieved through cross-sectoral coordination;

3) survivors voices are essential in all countertrafficking efforts;

4) child trafficking is a complex issue that is affected by factors at the child's immediate and surrounding environments,

5) international actors need to work closely with local actors in order to integrate rigorous research with the local nuances and contexts, and

6) understanding the prevalence of child trafficking is essential in counter-trafficking efforts.





Top: CenHTRO Director Dr. David Okech, right, meets with Baindu Dassama, Sierra Leone Minister of Social Welfare, and Dehunge Shiaka, Acting Deputy Chief Social Services Officer and Coordinator, December 2021.

Bottom: CenHTRO Associate Director Dr. Claire Bolton, right, meets with Melrose Kargbo Kerminty, Sierra Leone Deputy Minister of Local Government, December 2021.

Right: Kainkordu village, Soa Chiefdom, Kono District, December 2021.

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Specifically, we thank Mr. Dehunge Shiaka, Acting Deputy Chief Social Services Officer and Coordinator, National Task Force on Human Trafficking Secretariat, Ministry of Social Welfare in Sierra Leone. We also extend our gratitude to our funders, the US Department of State, which provided the means to implement this study, as well as contributed support and guidance as we navigated the difficulties of Covid-19.

From study development through implementation, University of Georgia administration, faculty, and staff offered continual support and encouragement from study development through implementation.

David Okech (UGA) is the Principal Investigator for this study and is assisted by co-investigators Jody Clay-Warner (UGA), Alex Balch (UoL), Nathan Hansen (UGA), and Tamora Callands (UGA). Hui Yi (quantitative) and Anna Cody (qualitative), both of UGA, assisted with data analysis with the help of UGA pre-doctoral fellows Tenshi Kawashima and Jiacheng Li. André Gallant (CenHTRO) designed the report.

Critical administrative support for the completion of the research was provided by Claire Bolton (UGA) and Umaru Fofanah (APRIES- Sierra Leone).

Kyle Vincent provided critical reviews of the initial quantitative results, specifically the network scale up prevalence estimate findings.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Study Overview

A baseline mixed-methods, community-based research study was conducted in Sierra Leone by APRIES in partnership with continent-based research partners—ResilientAfrica Network and Conflict Management and Development Associates—between 2019-2020. This executive summary provides a brief overview of study methods, findings and implications. Recommendations for policy and practice grounded in study findings are also presented. For more details and an in-depth discussion in each of these areas, please refer to the body of the paper.

Methods Summary

The study aimed to:

- Describe the nature of the child trafficking problem as well as the service and policy gaps in addressing child trafficking in Sierra Leone.
- Estimate baseline prevalence of child trafficking in Eastern Province hotspots—Kailahun, Kenema, and Kono—using both direct estimation and the Network Scale-up Method (NSUM).

Data was collected in Kailahun, Kenema and Kono using:

- Household surveys of 3070 randomly sampled households.
- Qualitative interviews with 23 young people (18-to-25-year-olds) who had experienced child trafficking, 17 parents/guardians of young people who had experienced child trafficking, and 15 key informants (including governmental officials, NGO staff, Child Protection Officers, and community leaders, such as paramount chiefs).
- 23 focus group discussions with community members and 1 focus group discussion with the National Anti-Trafficking Taskforce.

Key Study Findings Summary

The study's overall findings are organized into seven sections: 1) Prevalence Estimates of Child Trafficking and Child Labor; 2) Community Perspectives about Child Trafficking and Child Labor;3) Types of Child Labor and Child Trafficking Experienced; 4) Exploitation that Involves Force, Fraud, or Coercion; 5) Vulnerabilities to Child Labor and Child Trafficking; 6) Perspectives about Leaving a Trafficking Situation and Reintegration Post-trafficking; 7) Analysis of Policy and Service Gaps. This final section summarizes a key findings from each section and describes the study's overall implications.

The key findings can provide guidance for producing targeted and impactful policy, programs, and services for children most at-risk of trafficking. The key findings also highlight survivors' and parents' experiences of services, revealing potential service or policy gaps. In addition, this section includes insights on said policy gaps, as well as recommendations from key study informants. Note that these key findings are brief summaries; complete findings are available in the findings section of this report.



Koidu Town, Kono District, Sierra Leone, December 2021.

Prevalence Estimates

The overall rate of child trafficking in 2019-2020, based on direct prevalence, was estimated to be 33.0% in the Eastern Province.

One-year direct prevalence estimates¹ for child trafficking in the three hotspot areas calculated from household survey data indicated that among the household sample of children aged 5–17 years old are estimated to have experienced trafficking:

- 76,823 children in Kono (45.7%),
- 60,866 children in Kailahun (32.9%), and
- 51,948 children in Kenema (26.6%).

The overall rate of child labor in 2019-2020, based on direct prevalence, was estimated to be 36.2% in the Eastern Province.

One-year direct prevalence estimates for child labor indicated that among the household sample of children aged 5-17 years old in the three hotspot areas are estimated to have performed work that is classified as child labor:

- 88,095 children in Kono (52.3%),
- 64,265 children in Kailahun (34.7%), and
- 56,197 children in Kenema (28.8%).

The NSUM was found to be unreliable for producing accurate prevalence estimates of child trafficking and child labor.

• NSUM grossly underestimated the number and prevalence rate of child trafficking and child labor compared to the direct estimation based on the reported activities of the children in the sampled households. More research is needed to assess the utility of NSUM in estimating this hard-to-reach population in developing or under-developing countries².

Community Perspectives About Child Trafficking and Child Labor

Focus group discussions indicated that child trafficking was strongly condemned by community members in the study. However, child labor was generally viewed less negatively, as children are expected to perform many domestic duties which aligned with gendered and age-specific expectations.

• Community members indicated a belief that parents are the best judges of what is a reasonable amount of work for a child to engage in, as long as the work is scheduled around school hours.

Types of Child Labor and Child Trafficking Experienced

Survivors and parents who were interviewed for this study described the relocation away from a child's biological family with the promise to send the child to school as a common circumstance of child trafficking.

- Child trafficking for domestic work and street vending was reported by a majority of survivors and parents who were interviewed.
- Some interviewees also reported experiences with hazardous work, forced begging and criminality, commercial sex, and sexual exploitation.

¹Here we report direct prevalence estimates only because direct prevalence estimates were found to be more reliable than NSUM estimates. For an in-depth reporting of NSUM and direct estimation results as well as analysis of the differences in methodologies, please see the full findings.

²For more detail on factors likely to have impacted the NSUM results, please see the methods section and Appendix K.

Portering, Fishing, Mining, and Construction were found to be the most prevalent labor sectors for child trafficking in sampled households for all three hotspot areas. Commercial sex and Manufacturing were found to be the least prevalent labor sectors for child trafficking among the households surveyed. The estimated percent of trafficked children involved in each sector, according to the household survey, is presented below.

- Portering: Kailahun (12%), Kenema (20%), Kono (20%)
- Fishing: Kailahun (4%), Kenema (9%), Kono (12%)
- Mining: Kailahun (4%), Kenema (7%), Kono (7%)
- Construction: Kailahun (4%), Kenema (7%), Kono (7%)
- Manufacturing: Kailahun (2%), Kenema (1%), Kono (1%)
- Commercial Sex: Kailahun (1%), Kenema (2%), Kono (1%)

Exploitation That Involves Force, Fraud, or Coercion

Across the Eastern Province, according to the household survey, 19.26% of child trafficking victims were reported as experiencing force, fraud, or coercion while being trafficked. Being forced to work for someone, being forced to work to pay for school and being forced to work outside of the home were the three most commonly reported experiences of force, fraud, or coercion among children in the household sample.

- Forced to work for someone: Kailahun (39%), Kenema (24%), Kono (33%)
- Forced to work outside the home: Kailahun (26%), Kenema (24%), Kono (32%)
- Forced to work to pay for school: Kailahun (31%), Kenema (20%), Kono (15%)

Survivors and parents who were interviewed reported they were subjected to a number of methods used by traffickers to keep them in the situation of exploitation including: violence, abusive relationships, isolation, denial of basic needs, and psychological manipulation.

Potential Vulnerabilities to Trafficking

According to the household survey, **children aged 12–17**, **who have lost one or both parents**, **and those who are not enrolled in school experienced trafficking at higher rates**, and thus represent particularly vulnerable populations.

Although both male and female children may be at a relatively equal risk of experiencing trafficking, the circumstances which result in trafficking or increase trafficking vulnerability may differ depending on a child's gender and their communities' beliefs and practices regarding gender.

Results from the household survey indicate that male and female children are likely to experience trafficking at relatively the same rate. Overall, there were slightly more male children who experienced trafficking than female children, with an overall odds ratio of 1.14 across the three regions.

- Male children: Kailahun (51%), Kenema (52%), Kono (48%)
- Female children: Kailahun (49%), Kenema (48%), Kono (52%)

However, some survivors who participated in the qualitative interviews perceived gender-based violence and experienced gender norms expectations as key factors that led to their trafficking experience.

Groups of interviewees and focus group members had some overlapping views about the causes of trafficking including poverty and lack of access to education. However, there was some divergence. In addition to poverty and lack of access to education:

- Key informants, including government stakeholders, reported poor parenting, demand for cheap labor, corruption, and criminality as key causes for child trafficking.
- Whereas, key factors reported by survivors, parents of survivors and community members included bereavement, gender norms expectations, and gender-based violence.



Top: Village in Bombali Disctrict, Sierra Leone, December 2021. Bottom: Woman in field in Bombali District, Sierra Leone, December 2021.



Perspectives About Leaving a Trafficking Situation and Reintegration Post-trafficking

Leaving or escaping the trafficking situation by getting help from family was most commonly reported among survivors interviewed for this study.

- In interviews, some survivors also reported getting help from strangers, neighbors and friends or leaving on their own.
- Very few survivors and parents indicated in their interviews that they received help to escape from authorities (such as law enforcement). Our qualitative data indicates that survivors are often not able to get help or redress from formal or informal systems of justice (state level authorities or

local customary authorities) until after the trafficking experience has ended.

Survivors reported during their interview that they had unaddressed needs post-trafficking which could increase their vulnerability to re-trafficking or exploitation.

- During the interviews, survivors and parents described several needs and challenges posttrafficking, such as medical needs, psychological distress and trauma experiences, and access to education and vocational training.
- Interviewees who had engaged in criminal activity, commercial sex, or experienced sexual abuse reported facing stigmatization from family members and the community during reintegration.

Analysis of Policy and Service Gaps

Prevention Implementation Challenges: Key informants who were interviewed reported heavy emphasis on awareness raising campaigns, which they revealed to be less effective due to a lack of sustainable and coordinated enforcement structures.

• Interviewees also reported a lack of collaboration and partnership, especially between local customary authorities and state level authorities.

Protection Implementation Challenges: Key informant interviewees indicated that NGOs may not have the capacity to comprehensively and sustainably address child trafficking.

- Interviewees reported that although there are some community-based structures in place, such as child welfare committees, there were concerns raised about their effectiveness.
- Despite this, key informants overwhelmingly suggested that community structures, including secret societies and committees, needed to be part of a collaborative approach that both protects survivors and at-risk children and prevents trafficking in the first place.

Prosecution Implementation Challenges: Prosecution was identified by qualitative research interviewees and focus group members as one of the key weaknesses in anti-trafficking efforts in Sierra Leone.

- Reports from key informants and community members who participated in focus groups indicate a lack of sustainable collaboration and trust between local authorities (such as paramount chiefs) and governmental authorities, resulting in an uncoordinated response to child trafficking, difficulty in reporting child trafficking incidents, and disruptions and delays (due to low capacity in the judicial system) to effective prosecutions of traffickers.
- Key informants described four areas which they viewed as impacting effectiveness of prosecutions including: minimal punishments enforced for perpetrators, inconsistent enforcement of the law between local communities, families seeing no benefit from engaging in the prosecution process, and a culture of silence which impacts reporting of child trafficking.

Implications and Recommendations

Overall, our study indicates that a high proportion of children in the Eastern Province of Sierra Leone are likely to experience child trafficking or be engaged in child labor prior to their 18th birthday. Our research suggests that, in the past 10 years, the Government of Sierra Leone (GoSL), NGOs, community members and advocacy groups have taken critical steps towards addressing trafficking. Notable and significant legislation has been passed, such as the 2005 Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act. Programs like the Free Quality School Education Program (FQSE) have improved children's access to schooling. Initiatives such as the Hand's Off Our Girls Campaign have begun the difficult work of breaking the culture of silence around gender-based violence and sparking community conversation and initiatives to end sexual violence against children and women.

Our research suggests that much more needs to be done to improve the effectiveness of prevention and wider responses to child trafficking. The research presented here has the potential to contribute to these efforts and reshape children's experiences so that they have the support needed to embrace their childhood. Our research can support service providers by equipping them with the necessary tools and resources to ensure that children who have been trafficked will have a brighter future.

Building from our study findings, we recommend that policy makers, GoSL actors, community leaders, justice sector actors, religious leaders, community members, survivors, and parents collaboratively consider implementing policies and services in the following priority areas:

Include children at risk of trafficking in relevant education policy initiatives. Those who have lost one or more parents or are living away from biological parents should be included in the Sierra Leone Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education's (MBSSE) National Policy of Radical Inclusion in Schools (2021)³

This policy sets out provisions to increase justice and equity in peoples' lives by creating an educational environment inclusive of marginalized groups. But the policy does not currently cover children whose access to education is jeopardized by having lost one or more parent or children who are living away from biological parents. Our findings indicate that children at risk of experiencing trafficking may be disconnected from their families. The results of our research also overwhelmingly points to increased risks of child trafficking driven in part by a lack of accessible, local schooling, as well as a lack of financial resources for families to purchase basic school supplies. Including these groups of at-risk children into this policy would help prevent trafficking.

Expand adult education and vocational training through Community Education Centers in rural areas for young adults who may have been denied an education due to trafficking and have since aged out of school eligibility

Survivors in our study indicate they were unable to continue or access education post-trafficking, leaving them potentially at increased vulnerability to re-trafficking. We recommend MBSSE consider increasing development and access to educational opportunities for survivors of trafficking, especially those who have aged out of eligibility for traditional schooling.

Survivors interviewed for our study indicate they would welcome increased vocational programs and opportunities, especially in their home communities. Survivors report continuing to struggle post-trafficking and indicate that vocational programs may support them in building independence and decrease their risk for re-trafficking. Community members echo survivors' perspectives and indicate they believe

more vocational programs in their local communities would reduce trafficking. Programs would benefit from co-development with survivors in local areas to assess education and skills gaps and ensure uptake. NGOs and local child welfare committees could hire survivors and parents as peer supporters. This could strengthen services by making survivors perspectives central to programming, as well as provide survivors with a vocational opportunity. It could also allow local communities to develop a sustainable network of support which could reduce retrafficking or further exploitation of children.

Improve safeguards for children in informal fostering care

We recommend community leaders, government officials from the Sierra Leone Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs (MSWGCA), and agency staff work collaboratively to build a system to record those children who are living in menpikin arrangements, to support efforts to ensure their safety and well-being. We also recommend that parents who feel they must send their child to live in a menpikin placement be encouraged to maintain direct contact with their children while they are living away, to check on them regularly, and to seek help if their child is not being properly treated. In addition, appropriate and targeted awareness-raising for community members could seek to encourage the reporting of child abuse and child trafficking to authorities.

Encourage and foster a culture of and support for reintegration of survivors post-trafficking

Interviews with key informants and community members reveal many child services, especially those directly serving child trafficking victims and survivors, are under resourced and understaffed. While survivors and parents report receiving very little to no support post-trafficking to help with reintegration. We recommend service providers, such as Family Support Units and Child Welfare Committees collaborate with service users to develop and provide comprehensive post-integration services for survivors and their families to ensure successful reintegration and decrease risk for re-trafficking. Survivors indicate they would particularly like to see increased psychological support, financial support and education or vocational training opportunities.

Provide for appropriate forms of justice and redress that are more survivor-centered and survivor-informed

Findings from interviews with key informants and community members indicate a need to strengthen prevention, protection, and prosecution efforts. Specifically, sustainability of local programs serving survivors and parents. Participants report a lack of access to justice services and indicate that enforcement of antitrafficking laws vary between communities.

Participants also highlight the "culture of silence," described as community members remaining silent about child trafficking rather than reporting or seeking to help a victim. Given these findings, we recommend that justice services increase collaboration with local leaders, government officials, and survivors, with an aim to ensure equity in access to justice for survivors across Sierra Leone.

Through these collaborations, local leaders and officials can raise community awareness about the importance of supporting survivors and victims of child trafficking by speaking up when a child is being mistreated or exploited; they can prioritize learning from survivors and parent's experience of justice and support services. Although Magistrate and High Courts dealing with trafficking-related cases sit in district headquarter towns, our findings indicate that justice and other support services may be challenging for survivors and family members to access, especially when survivors are living in rural communities.

Collecting robust data about access to justice and support services, including a feedback mechanism for survivors and parents would provide better understanding of where there are gaps in access. We recommend that government agencies enhance and strengthen data collection on service access for survivors and families. Feedback from these groups could include mechanisms for monitoring and incorporating learnings into programming and intervention at every level. Our findings indicate that survivor and parents have experiences with services which could offer critical insight into gaps, challenges, and what is working for people who are seeking or receiving support during or following a trafficking experience.

Improve effectiveness and resilience of prevention via systematic collaboration between key social actors. Prevention of trafficking depends on cooperation between non-government stakeholders (survivors, parents, paramount chiefs, councils of elders, local child welfare committees, mothers' clubs) and relevant government agencies.

Interviews with key informants suggest collaboration between stakeholders, especially local leaders and GoSL leaders, could be greatly strengthened. Collaboration is viewed as critical for ensuring programs, services, and policies are equitably enforced and implemented. Survivors and key informants strongly suggest meaningful engagement between themselves and support agencies in developing programs and policies. Paramount chiefs could consider appointing young people, especially young women and individuals who have experienced trafficking, as sub-chiefs and advisors. For example, young people could support paramount chiefs in adopting and developing community bylaws which are meaningful for young people and more effective in preventing and reducing trafficking.



Top: Makeni, Bombali Disctrict, Sierra Leone, December 2021. Bottom: View from Yuyi goverment building, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 2021.



STUDY OVERVIEW

APRIES in partnership with its Africa-based research partners, RAN and CMDA, conducted this baseline study in Sierra Leone between 2019 and 2020. Data was collected in Kailahun, Kenema, and Kono using three data collection methods: 1) household surveys of randomly sampled households, 2) indepth qualitative interviews with stakeholders (including young people who had experienced child trafficking, guardians of young people who had experienced child trafficking, and key informants who had professional knowledge about the problem of child trafficking in Sierra Leone), and 3) focus group discussions with community members. Figure 1, APRIES data map, provides more detail about data collected during the baseline study for each study arm.





As Figure 1 shows, a total of 3070 households in the three target regions participated in the household survey used to estimate prevalence; 54 individuals were interviewed about their experiences with or knowledge about child trafficking; and 24 focus groups were conducted to better understand community perceptions of child trafficking. More details regarding design of data collection instruments, associated methodology, and participant demographics will be discussed in the methods section.

RESEARCH ETHICS

This study was reviewed by the Ethics Review Committees in Sierra Leone, University of Liverpool, and the University of Georgia. In addition, official approval was obtained through the National Taskforce Committee Against Human Trafficking in Sierra Leone. Permission also was obtained from the provincial governments and chiefdoms in the three key hotspots: Kailahun, Kenema, and Kono.

STUDY AIMS

This report details the findings from a baseline mixed-methods, community-based research study conducted in Sierra Leone by APRIES in 2019-2020 which aimed to:



Estimate baseline prevalence of child trafficking in target hotspot regions—Kailahun, Kenema, and Kono—in Sierra Leone through both direct estimation and the Network Scale-up Method.

To effectively address each study aim, the APRIES baseline study design incorporated a sequential approach to data collection and analysis in which the quantitative household survey and the qualitative interviews and focus groups were conducted prior to the quantitative household survey. Prior to data collection, a scoping visit was conducted to engage with research partners in Sierra Leone and identify key hotspot regions for study. The quantitative study arm primarily focused on addressing study aim one, establishing baseline prevalence for child trafficking and the worst forms of child labor within the target hotspots, whereas the qualitative study arm primarily focused on study aim two, exploring the nature and forms of child trafficking and response to child trafficking in Sierra Leone. Results from both study arms are integrated in this report, providing context and support for overall findings.

KEY TERMS

Child Trafficking. We define child trafficking in accordance with the Palermo Protocol, as the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of a person under the age of 18 for any form of exploitative labor or commercial sex act.

Child Labor. Child labor is any work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development. In particular: children below 12 years working in any economic activities, children aged 12 to 14 engaged in more than light work, and all children engaged in the worst forms of child labor (ILO Conventions 138, 182 and UN Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989, Art 32). In addition, children aged 15 to 17 are considered to be engaged in child labor if they exceed work hour limits established by the ILO (Global Estimates of Child Labor, 2017)⁴.

Children are classified as victims of child trafficking if, in the last year, they were subject to any of the "worst forms of child labor," per Article 3 of ILO Convention Number 182⁵:

- a) Exposing children to any form of slavery or practice similar to slavery, including recruitment of children in armed conflict,
- b) Using children in prostitution,
- c) Using children in illicit activities such as the production and trafficking of drugs,
- d) Having children to perform work which is likely to harm their health, safety or morals, or work in hazardous conditions, which are harmful to their physical and mental development.

STRUCTURE OF THIS REPORT

This report is structured as follows: study background and context, methods, findings, implications and recommendations. The findings from both quantitative and qualitative methods have been integrated to comprehensively address our study aims. The conclusion discusses extensions of this study, which are currently in progress as well as plans for future studies, such as an endline study to measure impact of anti-trafficking initiatives in Sierra Leone.

STUDY BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Sierra Leone is a country that has faced a series of natural and man-made disasters over the last 30 years, not least the mass trauma of conflict and displacement of the population during and after the 1991–2002 civil war, the Ebola virus epidemic, and the Covid–19 pandemic (which is ongoing at the time of writing this report).

It is one of the poorest countries in the world, with its people suffering high levels of poverty, malnutrition, and low life expectancy. The effects on children and childhood have been severe. The 2016 Sierra Leone Child Poverty Report found that 77.4% of children are living in poverty and suffering a violation of at least one of their basic rights (UNICEF 2016), reducing slightly to 66% in 2017 (UNICEF & STATS SL 2019). Rates of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) are high with children making up a significant proportion of victims (Euronews 2019, NPR 2019).

Recent estimates suggest that Sierra Leonean children and women regularly experience violence in their homes and communities (ACFP, 2020; Riley, 2014). Approximately 54.5% of children in Sierra Leone experienced severe physical abuse in 2017 (Pengpid & Peltzer, 2020), and an estimated 50% of Sierra Leonean women experienced physical violence in an intimate partner relationship in 2019 (Seidu et al., 2021).

Girl children are especially at risk of experiencing the impacts of harmful traditional practices such as female genital mutilation and child marriage. For example, a recent report by the African Child Policy Forum (2020), found that the prevalence rate for child marriage in Sierra Leone is 38%, which is one of the highest in the continent.



Sierra Leone, Undated, Licensed through Adobe Stock.

Crisis Events Impacting Vulnerability to Child Trafficking

After the civil war, UNICEF estimated that there were more than 800,000 orphaned, abandoned, and vulnerable children in the country (UNICEF, 2007). This many children without adult guidance and support likely gave rise to exploitation and child trafficking.

Since then, according to the NGO Street Child, the Ebola epidemic, which began in 2014, resulted in a further 12,000 children being orphaned, and a host of adverse effects for children, including trafficking (Street Child, 2015). While the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on children in Sierra Leone is still un-known, preliminary research indicates that the expected impact may be similar or even worse than what took place during the Ebola epidemic (African Child Policy Forum, 2020).

Existing international research has indicated that the pandemic has increased severity and prevalence of a host of social problems across the globe, including: gender-based violence (Evans, Lindauer, Farrell, 2020; Gosangi et al., 2020; Moreirada & Costa, 2020); violence against children (African Child Policy Forum, 2020; Bhatia, et al., 2020; Cappa, & Jijon, 2021; Kuehn, 2020; M'jid, 2020); severe financial hardship (African Child Policy Forum, 2020; Buonsenso, et al., 2020; Green & McCargo, 2020); food insecurity (African Child Policy Forum, 2020; Schwarz, 2020); and mental health needs (Czeisler et al., 2020; Torales, 2020).

Some research has indicated that children face increased risk due to increasing isolation and potential for exposure to family violence resulting from the closure of schools and increased family stress due to the pandemic (Cappa & Jijon, 2021; M'jid, 2020; UNCD, 2020a). Notably, during the pandemic, child protection and child welfare agencies across the world experienced difficulty sustaining their critical protection work, resulting in a potentially dangerous situation for many children (UNCD, 2020b).

This preliminary international research suggests that the Covid-19 pandemic may increase vulnerabilities to trafficking for children in Sierra Leone and may also impact the effectiveness of community response to family violence and violence against children.

Menpikin and Child Trafficking in Sierra Leone

One unique aspect of the challenges faced by children in Sierra Leone is the dependency by families on informal fostering (or kinship care) arrangements known in Sierra Leone as "menpikin," in which children reside in households separate from their biological parents.

The 2020 TIP report noted that "[t]raffickers exploited traditional foster care practices called 'menpikin' to convince parents to hand over their children and promising to provide an education or better life, but instead exploit the children" for both labor and sexual exploitation in Sierra Leone (US State Dept, 2020a).

Menpikin is a tradition in Sierra Leone that predates the civil war and is perceived by many as beneficial for the child and both the biological and new host families—"a way for families to help their children become educated, improve their chances for an advantageous marriage, learn a trade, and become 'civilized' by living in an urban or peri-urban environment" (Gale, 2008: 5).

Such practices are commonplace in many sub-Saharan African countries, and there is evidence this can lead to marginalization of some children (Serra, 2009), but outcomes are context-specific with multiple overlapping categories of orphanhood and fostering leading to very different outcomes for the child (Hampshire et al., 2015). For example, research into kinship care practices carried out by GOAL found that the 2014-2015 Ebola epidemic and difficult socio-economic conditions led to 'the neglect and abuse of many menpikin' (GOAL, 2016).

Awareness of Child Trafficking

In a cross-sectional study conducted in the headquarters of seven districts in Sierra Leone (Kailahun not included), half of the sampled households indicated that they were aware of children being moved 'under undesirable circumstances' (suggesting a high risk of being trafficked), with Koidu in Kono District re-cording the highest proportion (64.2%), while Kenema recorded the second lowest, 34.7%.

Key informants interviewed for the GOAL study confirmed that internal child trafficking was more prevalent than the international trafficking of children.

GOAL also found that the movement of these children was mostly from rural to urban areas, with key determinants listed as 'deception, adoption, cajoling and exchange of cash' and that 'the motivations, particularly on the part of the would-be caregiver, include child labor, hawking, child marriage, schooling, and forced initiation.' They also found it very common for children to be involved in transactional sex and commercial sex (GOAL, 2019: 2–3).

This echoed and confirmed problems identified in previous research, where the most common type of child trafficking in Sierra Leone was found to be internal and for the purpose of forced labor or sexual exploitation (Surtees, 2005).

Current Study

Considering this evidence, APRIES conducted a scoping visit in early 2019, prior to launching this research study. During the scoping visit, the team met with experts and key informants, including main stakeholders and researchers working in anti-trafficking and child protection in Sierra Leone (see methods section for more details). Based on findings from the scoping visit, the current study scope was narrowed to focus internal child trafficking, and hotspots in Kono, Kenema, and Kailahun were identified as target areas for study.

Kono, Kenema, and Kailahun in Context

Kenema, Kailahun, and Kono districts make up the Eastern Province of Sierra Leone (see highlighted region in Figure 2), which occupies less than a fifth of the country's total land area but has the highest population proportion (23% of the national population) with about 1.64 million persons⁶.

The Eastern Province population includes 667,685 children between 0 and 14 (41% of total regional population) and 215,996 young people between 15 and 19 (13%) (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2016). Kenema is the regional headquarter of the Eastern Province.

The district capitals are Kenema, Kailahun, and Koidu, respectively. Each district is split into chiefdoms; Kenema has 16, Kailahun has 15, and Kono has 14. Sierra Leone shares its eastern borders with Liberia on the southeast through Kailahun and Kenema districts and with Guinea on the northeast through Kono and Kailahun Districts.



Figure 2: District Map of Sierra Leone as of 2017

Hotspots outlined in red. Original map by NordNordWest, licensed by Creative Commons. Eastern Province outlined by APRIES.

⁶ National population Census – 2015 projected to 2018 (Statistics Sierra Leone)

According to the most recent census in 2015, Kenema district had the largest population with 610,000 persons, and Kailahun district was second in terms of population size with about 527,000 people (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2016a).

In terms of land mass, Kono district is the largest district in the region, but has a population of 506,000, which is the smallest in the region (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2016a). In each district, about 40% of the total population were children aged 0 to 14: 245,634 (40% of total district population) in Kenema, 219,198 (42%) in Kailahun, and 212,853 (42%) in Kono.

Among the three districts there were 215,996 young people aged 15 to 19: 79,007 in Kenema (8% of total district population), 72,956 in Kailahun (14%), and 64,033 in Kono (12%; Statistics Sierra Leone, 2016). Overall, 33% of residents in the Eastern Province live in an urban community (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2016a). As a regional capital, Kenema has the largest proportion of people living in urban communities (45%) in the Eastern Province, followed by Kailahun (29%) and Kono (25%; Statistics Sierra Leone, 2016a).

Ethnicity

Sierra Leone is a multi-ethnic county with 15 ethnic groups represented in the 2015 census. Sixty-three percent of people in Sierra Leone identify as either Mende or Temde (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2016b). The census indicated that although ethnic groups are dispersed throughout the country, Mende people primarily reside in Eastern and Southern Regions, while Temde people primarily reside in Northern and Western Regions (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2016b).

In Kenema, 70.7% of the population identify as Mende and 23% identify as Kissi. Kailahun similarly has a population which primarily identifies as Mende (83.4%); in addition, 4.8% of the population identifies as Temde, 3% identifies as Fullah, and 2% identifies as either Limba or Madingo. Among the three districts, Kono has the most ethnically diverse population: 61% identify as Kono, 9% identify as Temde, 6% identify as Koranko, 7% identify as Kissi, 5% identify as Limba, 4% identify as Fullah, and 3% identify as Mende (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2016b).

Occupations

Agriculture, including farming and fishing, are the most prominent occupations in the country (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2016d). Subsistence rice farming is the primary occupation for the majority of the population especially in the hinterland of all three districts. Kailahun is most notable for the production of cocoa and coffee as a source of income (OCHA, 2015a).

To a limited extent, these two cash crops are also grown in Kenema and Kono districts (OCHA, 2015b & c). Kono district has had the richest deposits of diamond, followed by Kenema district (OCHA, 2015b & c). Diamond mining activities (including artisanal, small-scale and largescale) have always been highly prevalent in these districts and are known to have fueled the civil conflict which lasted between 1991 and 2002 (OCHA, 2015b).

School Enrollment Rates

School enrollment varies across regions and also between school levels. Rates of enrollment in primary school are much higher than enrollment in Junior Secondary or Senior Secondary school (Statistics Sier-ra Leone, 2016c). Nationally, according to the 2015 census, 65% of 6-to-11-year-old children across the country were enrolled in primary school (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2016c).

The Eastern Province had the second highest primary school enrollment rate among the four regions, at 68% (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2016c). Kailahun was in the top three for primary school enrollment among all districts with an enrollment rate of 71%.

Kenema had a rate of 66% and Kono followed close behind at 65%. Across the country, enrollment rates for Junior Secondary School (JSS), among 12-to-14-year-old youth was low with an overall rate of 21% (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2016c).

The Eastern Province had the second highest number of 12-to-14-year-olds enrolled in JSS at a rate of 22%. Kailahun was again in the top three compared to all other districts, with a rate of 24%, followed by Kenema at 23% and Kono at 19%.

Nationally, compared to all school levels, Senior Secondary School (SSS) enrollment was the lowest, with a rate of 11% of youth aged 15 to 17 enrolled in SSS (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2016c). The Eastern Province had enrollment rate of 9%, which was similar to the Northern and Southern regions and comparatively smaller than the 22% enrollment rate in the Western district. Kenema had a higher enrollment rate compared to other regions, at 15%, followed by Kono and Kailahun which both had rates of 11%.

Poverty

The Eastern Province is one of the poorest regions in Sierra Leone, based on the latest UNDP National Human Development Report (2019). The Eastern Province's incidence of absolute poverty (60.9%) compares favorably with other regions (second only to Western region, which records the lowest, 18%), but it is higher than the national average of 57%.

The East has the highest rate for poverty gap (35.3%) and severity of poverty (16.2%; UNDP, 2019). Further, the Eastern Province has the highest incidence (18.1%) and gap (21.4%) of extreme poverty, and the second highest for severity (6.7%), following Western region (with 9.3%; UNDP, 2019).

According to the 2019 Multi-Dimensional Child Poverty Report by Statistics Sierra Leone, the Eastern Province, where 71% of children experience at least one deprivation, has a higher child poverty headcount than the national average. Between the three districts in the Eastern Province, the child poverty rate is highest in Kailahun (78%), followed by Kono (73%), and is lowest in Kenema (64%; Statistics Sierra Leone, 2019).

Children's Living Arrangments

According to the most recent multi-cluster indicators survey in 2017, roughly half of all children in the Eastern Province were living with their parents: 50% in Kenema, 45% in Kono, and 43% in Kailahun (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2018).

An average of 10% of children living in the Eastern Province had lost one or both of their parentd—the rates were 14% in Kailahun and Kono and 9% in Kenema (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2018). About 20% of children in the Eastern Province were living with someone other than their biological mother and father despite both of their parents being alive, including 20% in Kenema, 19% in Kono, and 18% in Kailahun (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2018).

Anti-Trafficking Law and Policy in Sierra Leone

The relevant national legislation is the 2005 Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act, which enshrines the definition of trafficking as established by the Palermo Protocol⁷. The Sierra Leone Ministry of Social Welfare and its partners are advocating for the review of the Act, and, at time of writing (December 2020), the draft document is with the Sierra Leone Ministry of Justice for review and submission to Parliament for approval.

There are a number of other relevant pieces of legislation and policy initiatives relating to child protection, including the Child Right Act of 2007⁸, the Three Gender Acts of 2007⁹, the Sexual Offences Act 2012¹⁰, the National Child Justice Strategy (2013–2017) and the Child Welfare Policy (2014).

Concluding observations of the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) on Sierra Leone in 2016 highlighted a range of serious concerns, including the practice of female genital mutilation (FGM), sexual and gender-based violence, registration of births and provision of access to education, and the poor treatment (and stigmatization) of girls that are pregnant, including victims of rape (CRC 2016).

Assessment of Sierra Leone's progress in tackling human trafficking is quite mixed. The 2005 Anti– Trafficking Act includes a maximum penalty of ten years' imprisonment for those guilty of trafficking or a fine of 50 million Leones or \$5,000¹¹, but the legislation stipulates no minimum sentence and does not include any other preventative instruments (such as prevention orders) for use when there is not enough evidence for a conviction. A lack of successful prosecutions has been blamed on judicial processes: there was a long gap with no convictions until 2020¹². These issues relate to the preliminary investigation (PI) system (magistrates) who take a long time to process cases, which often end up collapsing. There is also no established victim support or victim support fund.

In the last ten years, the US State Department's Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report placed Sierra Leone on the 'Tier 2 Watch-list' in 2012 and 2018 due to lack of action on the issue. For the drafting of the original law, an anti-trafficking task-force was set up (in November 2004) by the Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs¹³ and other members of the Child Protection Network (CPN).

However, there are regular complaints of under-funding. The 2018 TIP report noted that, "For the fourth consecutive year, the government did not provide funding for the anti-trafficking task force to adequately fulfill its mandate or implement the 2015–2020 national action plan" (US State Dept, 2018: 378).

During the presidency of Ernest Bai Koroma (APC), the Sierra Leone government published a National Action Plan on Human Trafficking (2015–2020) that contained measures for reforming the law, with a National Task Force (NTF) to oversee these efforts. A focus on the issues around child protection, including child trafficking, was further prioritized following the change of government in 2018.

Since his election, the current President Julius Maada Bio (SLPP) has placed children's issues and SGBV high on the political agenda. The Medium-Term National Development Plan (MTNDP) (2019–2023) noted that statistics on "violence against children, child labor, child trafficking, teenage pregnancy, and child marriage remain among the worst in the subregion and in Africa as a whole" (p140-141). President Bio has committed the government to a 'children-first' approach.

Evidence of the enhanced focus on children by the Sierra Leone government is provided by the launch in 2018 of the government's flagship Free Quality School Education (FQSE) program. While the school system still suffers from unequal access and poor outcomes, FQSE has significantly increased the enrollment of children in schools and has attracted international funding (World Bank, 2020).

Another relevant high-profile initiative is the 'Hands Off Our Girls' campaign, launched (in 2018) by The First Lady of the Republic of Sierra Leone, Madam Fatima Bio. The goal of the campaign is to protect Sierra Leonean girls from rape and gender-based violence.

Recent developments in the anti-trafficking regime include an announcement in 2019 that the NTF would be decentralized from Freetown to 14 districts in order to improve access to justice and protection, and in response to procedural delays in the criminal justice system.

This initiative will be co-chaired by the Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender and Children Affairs (MSWGCA - the responsible ministry for policy) and the Office of National Security (ONS), and composed of traditional and religious authorities, the FSU, and other local committees and community groups (IOM, 2019). In the 2020 TIP report, Sierra Leone was upgraded from Tier 2 Watchlist to Tier 2 in recognition for increased investment and the creation of the district-level taskforces (Brewer 2020).

A second National Action Plan (2021–2023), launched in October 2020, underlined this renewed focus on human trafficking. In the same month, the Vice President of Sierra Leone, Mohamed Juldeh Jalloh, joined an event to commemorate twenty years since the Palermo Protocol (US Dept of State, 2020).

⁷The Palermo Protocol (2000): 'Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children', United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, UNODC Sections 23-26, 28, 34, 125-140 of The Child Right Act, 2007 (Act No. 7 or 2007) are relevant to child trafficking

⁹The Three Gender Acts of 2007 include: 1) The Domestic Violence Act; 2) The Devolution of Estates Act; 3) The Registration of Customary Marriage and Divorce Act

¹⁰Amended by the Parliament of Sierra Leone, 20th September 2019 (operational January 2020)

¹¹Section 22 of the Anti-Human Trafficking Act, 2005

¹²In February 2020, the Sierra Leone High Court delivered guilty verdicts for two women for 30 counts of human trafficking and money laundering.

¹³ This Ministry was split by the President Bio led govt. in 2018 so that there is now the Ministry of Social Welfare, and Ministry of Gender and Children Affairs

METHODS

This mixed methods study utilized a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods in order to address each study aim. Study Aim 1, which focused on describing the problem of child trafficking in hotspot areas in Sierra Leone, as well as analyzing service and policy gaps, was addressed using mixed methods. Study Aim 2 used quantitative methods to estimate baseline prevalence of child trafficking in target hotspot regions in Sierra Leone. When appropriate, the qualitative findings were used to provide context for prevalence estimations, such as in presentation of findings about types of trafficking that children have experienced in the hotspot region. This section will briefly describe methodologies utilized for this study. Additional information and more details about each methodology are provided in the appendix.

Qualitative Methods Overview

The qualitative methodology used was grounded in a community-based, participatory research approach which centered the voices of community members in understanding child trafficking experiences and context. The purpose of the qualitative study arm was to gain deeper insights into the context, the setup, and the dynamics of child trafficking in Sierra Leone to understand the drivers of vulnerability, and to explore the institutional factors affecting compliance to TVPA standards for prevention.

The key objectives of the qualitative arm of the study were to: 1) explore the nature and forms of child trafficking in Sierra Leone including the drivers, the context, linkages, and transactions involved; 2) describe the current policy, institutional set-up, and gaps in addressing human trafficking as well barriers to compliance with the TVPA's minimum standards; and 3) use study findings to generate insights to inform future anti-human trafficking programming and policy, and research in Sierra Leone.

Sample Size and Sampling Strategy

Qualitative data was collected through 54 in-depth qualitative, semi-structured interviews with stakeholders (including young people who had experience of child trafficking, parents/guardians of young people who had experienced child trafficking, and professionals who have direct experience with services and policies addressing child trafficking in Sierra Leone), 23 focus groups with community members, and 1 focus group with the Sierra Leone Anti-Trafficking Taskforce.

The sampling for the qualitative study was purposive with an approach designed to obtain informationrich sources at each level of data collection. Sampling at the local levels (for IDIs and KIIs) involved the use of snowball sampling—information-rich sources identified in the first round will nominate other local information-rich sources. See Appendix A for more details about the sampling activities.

Data Collection Procedures

The qualitative study arm involved five key data collection activities: 1) a comprehensive desk review of relevant literature; 2) key informant interviews (KIIs) with representatives of governmental and non-governmental agencies (NGOs) at national and local government levels; 3) key informant interviews with local leaders and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) that are knowledgeable about the set-up and dynamics of human trafficking; 4) in-depth interviews (IDIs) with identified young adult survivors of child trafficking (that have gone through rehabilitation in the shelters or those identified by the community leaders) and referred parents/guardians of victims/survivors in geographic hotspots for child trafficking; and 5) focus group discussions (FGDs) with representatives of local communities in the geographic hotspots, including an FGD with members of the National Taskforce on Human trafficking (excluding those that have already been interviewed during the KIIs).

Qualitative data collection guides were developed by the research team for each participant group. Although each guide included questions specific to the particular group, there were five overarching domains of inquiry for the guides. These included: 1) conceptualizations of child trafficking, 2) perceptions about the causes of trafficking, 3) consequences of trafficking, 4) current initiatives to address trafficking, and 5) proposed solutions to prevent trafficking and support survivors. An in-depth description of the qualitative data collection tools and procedures as well as full versions of data collection tools are available in Appendices A-C.

Data Collection Teams. Data was collected by local research officers with graduate level training and prior experience in collection of qualitative and quantitative data. This ensured the research officers' familiarity with the regions and the political, cultural, and socio-economic factors affecting people from whom data was collected. A three-day mandatory research officer training was required. The training focused on orienting research officers to the study protocols and procedures.

In addition, the training provided an overview of basic concepts of human trafficking and child trafficking as well as guidelines and strategies for data collection on sensitive topics. The research officers collecting data worked with supervisors to practice and pilot test qualitative data collection instruments before using them in the field.

To ensure maximum fidelity to the study protocol, the data collection was closely supervised by teams of experienced researchers from ResilientAfrica Network (RAN)—Makerere University's School of Public Health and Conflict Management & Development Associates in Sierra Leone (CMDA-SL).

Qualitative Data Management and Analysis

Transcription. All interview data was recorded using portable audio-recorders. Recordings were assigned a unique identification code and all were de-identified before analyses. The recordings were downloaded to a computer daily and backed up on another password-protected computer. Audio files were transcribed in two rounds.

In round 1, audio files were transcribed by a local transcriber fluent in English and the local language. Of note, interviews were conducted in either English or the local languages of Krio or Mende. The transcribers fluent in English and the local languages transcribed all the audio recordings into English using verbatim translation—ensuring that the inherent meaning or context of the interview was not lost.

Analyses. Once the files were transcribed, the research team conducted a group coding process in NVivo utilizing a codebook method and analyzed data using thematic techniques, such as constant comparison (King & Brooks, 2018; Miles & Huberman, 1994). The group coding process was conducted in four steps: 1) development of the preliminary coding scheme, 2) finalize coding scheme, 3) individual coding, and 4) team coding-to-agreement. Each step is described fully in the appendix. All transcripts of each type of qualitative data were reviewed and coded by the qualitative data team using the group coding process.

Ethical Considerations

Before conducting any data collection for this study, the proposal and all supporting documents were submitted to Ethics Review Committees in Sierra Leone, University of Liverpool, and the University of Georgia for review and approval.

The proposal documents were presented to the National Taskforce Committee Against Human Trafficking in Sierra Leone and an official approval was sought. Permission also was sought from the provincial governments and chiefdoms in the respective geographical areas to be involved in the study.

Following all approvals, the study was rolled out to the data collection areas fully observing participants' confidentiality and rights. Prior to administering the household survey or conducting an interview or focus group discussion, research assistants explained to each participant the purpose of the survey and obtained their verbal informed consent.

Participants reserved the right to refuse to answer questions. Responses to the survey or information collected during an interview or focus group discussion was not linked to specific respondents. For confidentiality purposes, identifiable information on all sampled households who participated in the household survey were collected and kept in a secure manner.

Covid-19 Research Protocols. Due to the nature of the pandemic, there were additional ethical and research protocols which were included in the study design. The majority of the qualitative interviews and focus group discussions were conducted prior to the Covid-19 pandemic. However, household surveys were conducted during the pandemic. Protocols were developed to be consistent with Sierra Leone Ministry of Health and Sanitation guidelines as well as the criteria from the University of Georgia IRB. For example, to minimize transmission and protect study participants as well as data collectors, interviews, group meetings, and household surveys were conducted outdoors with social distancing measures in place.

Prevalence Estimation Methods

A quantitative household survey was conducted to estimate the prevalence of child trafficking in high-burden areas [Kailahun, Kenema, and Kono] in Sierra Leone. The survey included questions to assess trafficking experiences and vulnerabilities to trafficking of children in sampled households. In addition to direct estimation, the Network Scale Up Method (NSUM) was also used to calculate prevalence estimates (e.g., Yang & Yang, 2017).

NSUM uses information about prevalence of a phenomenon (e.g., child trafficking) in respondents' networks to estimate prevalence of the phenomenon within the defined population. Questions for the network scale-up models were incorporated into the surveys of households selected via cluster sampling design. This strategy enables comparison between direct and indirect survey methods for estimating the prevalence of child trafficking.

Study Site and Study Population

Data were gathered in the three target hotspot regions (Kailahun, Kenema, and Kono), identified by the scoping visit previously described. The specific study target population for the household survey was children aged 5–17 who have been members of a household in one of the targeted regions within the last year.

Sample of Households Participating in the Survey. A total of 3070 households were surveyed based on probabilistic random sampling, of which 905, 1220, and 945 household surveys took place in Kailahun, Kenema and Kono, respectively (Table 4). The number of people residing in the sampled households was 4716 (Kailahun), 4529 (Kenema), and 7493 (Kono), accounting for 0.75%, 1.09% and 0.80% of the total number of people in each region.

The number of children aged 5–17 in the sampled households are 1743 (Kailahun), 1537 (Kenema), and 3029 (Kono), accounting for 0.94%, 1.55% and 0.91% of the total population of children aged 5–17 in each region. Tables 5 and 6 present descriptive information about the economic conditions of the sampled households.

Sampling Size and Procedures

A sample of census enumeration areas (EAs) was selected with probability of selection proportional to the most recent population estimates. Population-based cluster sampling was employed. The primary sampling unit (PSU) is the enumeration area (EA), which is the basic administrative unit used in the collection of census data.

The secondary sampling unit (SSU) is the household. We define a household as "a person or a group of persons, related or unrelated, who live together and who share a common source of food" (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2013). Within each EA, a listing of households was created. Targeted households were selected via systematic random sampling from a randomly selected starting point in each selected EA.

The sample size of 3,070 households (from 145 enumeration areas) were allocated to the three hotspot districts, proportionate to the population of each region so that the regions with larger populations received a proportionately larger allocation. Within the regions, the allocated enumeration areas (and households) were allocated to rural and urban strata proportionate to size of each stratum. A full description of sampling procedures and sampling calculations are available in Appendix E.

Eligibility Criteria. The survey respondent was the oldest female member of the household who met the following criteria: 1) was above the age of 18; 2) had resided in the household for at least the past 12 months; 3) was able to understand the survey questions; and 4) was able to communicate responses to the survey questions. The oldest female member of the household was selected due to her expected knowledge about the lives of the children in the household and in the village. If there was no female in the household who met the inclusion criteria, the oldest male in the household who met the inclusion criteria was selected.

Data Collection and Tools

An interviewer-administered questionnaire was used to estimate prevalence of child trafficking and vulnerability to child trafficking in target hotspot regions (see Appendix F for the full survey), as well as to determine the correlates for vulnerability to trafficking at the household level, which is ongoing (see Continuing and Future Research section).

The survey included questions about the activities of children who live in the household, as well as about the activities of children in the respondent's network. This questionnaire incorporates questions adapted from instruments used to estimate human trafficking (e.g., the Delphi Survey, the UNICEF report on reversing child trafficking trends in Asia, instrument used to estimate Modern Slavery [Larsen & Diego-Rosell, 2017; UNICEF EAPRO, 2009]), items from the Demographic Health Survey (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2013), as well as questions designed by the research team.

Household Survey Development. Our selection of questions to determine the correspondence between demographic characteristics of the respondent's network and the reference population (survey section E), which are used in the calculation of the prevalence estimates via NSUM, were guided by the following two principles: 1) reliable data about these demographic characteristics in the population must be available, and 2) the number of people who possess the characteristic is ideally 0.1%–0.2% of the population (Mc–Cormick, Salganik, & Zheng, 2010) and no more than 5% of the population in order to reduce recall bias (Yang & Yang, 2017). The survey instrument contained the following sections:

A. Household Identification

Location of household, date of interview, identification of data collector.

B1. Household Roster

List of household members and responses to demographic questions about each member

B2. Assessment of Child Labor (CL) in the Household

Questions on labor activities in and outside the home for each person aged 5 to 17 named in the household roster. Children who are involved in excessive levels of work activity for their age are considered to be child labor victims, as are all children who experience trafficking, per the assessments in Survey sections B2 and F. See Appendix 2 for statistical and operational definitions of excessive levels of work activity by age.

B3. Assessment of Trafficking Victimization and Vulnerability in the Household

Checklist of activities that either alone or in combination constitute child trafficking (CT) (refer to Appendix 2 for the statistical and operational definition of household child trafficking). Checklist is performed for each person aged 5 to 17 named in the household roster.

C. Household Description

Questions drawn from the Demographic and Health Survey that assess physical characteristics of the dwelling reflect-ing household wealth.

D. Perceptions of Family Welfare

Assesses respondent's perceptions of the availability of economic resources in the household.

E. NSUM and Transmission Bias

Questions determine demographic characteristics of respondent's network (NSUM network reference questions) and estimate the likelihood that persons in the network have communicated personal information to the respondent (transmission bias).

F. Listing of Potential Child Victimization to Trafficking

Listing of all children under the age of 18 in the community that have either worked outside the home and/or lived away from parents in the past 12 months. Assessment of trafficking victimization and vulnerability to trafficking for each child named in the roster.

G. Impact of Covid 19

Respondents rated (on a scale of 1 to 5) the impact of COVID-19 related restrictions on welfare of the family, community, exploitation of children, and access to essential social services.

Prior to the survey implementation, the questionnaire was pretested and piloted. The pre-testing occurred in October 2019 in Uganda with a similar population, and the survey was subsequently modified prior to full-scale piloting in December 2019. The pilot was administered to a sample of 152 households in rural and urban areas, similar to the main study areas.

The piloting exercise was conducted concurrently with the data collection for the qualitative phase of the baseline study. During the pilot, the study team checked for validity and reliability of the questions, especially those used to estimate prevalence of child trafficking, so as to maximize response rates as well as validity and reliability of the tool. Based on the feedback obtained from the pilot test, adjustments were made to the questionnaire that was ultimately used for the quantitative phase of the baseline study.

Data gathered through key informant interviews and focus group discussions collected during the qualitative phase was used to inform revisions of the piloted survey. For example, preliminary results from the qualitative interviews were discussed by team members while developing the household survey. This approach is consistent with our collaborative approach to research, which incorporates the voices of community members and affected populations in the data collection process.

The finalized questionnaire was translated into Krio (local language spoken in the selected districts) for administration in Sierra Leone. APRIES faculty and RAN provided training to CMDA researchers in August-September of 2020. CMDA researchers then trained local enumerators on the data collection process. Due to COVID-19 constraints, the training by APRIES and RAN was conducted virtually via Zoom.

Network Scale-up Methodology Overview

The use of the Network Scale Up Method (NSUM) to estimate the prevalence of child trafficking and child labor is a unique aspect of our study. NSUM is a strategy for estimating prevalence of hidden or hard-toreach populations, such as trafficking victims, by utilizing information about the prevalence of the hardto-reach population in the respondents' networks.

NSUM may be preferable to direct questioning when asking about illegal or stigmatized activities, which there may be a tendency to conceal. Specifically, the NSUM uses population-level information to generate estimates of the unknown information about the hidden population from the sample, from which conclusions are drawn back to the population. The basic NSUM model is specified below (Killworth, McCarty, Bernard, Shelley, & Johnson, 1998; Maltiel, Rafter, McCormick, & Baraff, 2015).

$$\frac{m}{c} = \frac{e}{t} \tag{1}$$

Where

- *m* is the mean number of people known in the target subpopulation;
- *c* is the average personal social network size;
- *e* is the size of target subpopulation;
- *t* is the size of total regional population.

Based on the assumption that the i^{th} participant knowledge of the m^i target subpopulation follows a Binomial distribution:

$$P(m_i) = \binom{c_i}{m_i} p^{m_i} (1-p)^{c_i-m_i} p \tag{2}$$

Where

 c_i is the social network size of the i^th participant;

 m_i is the number of people in the subpopulation known by the i^{th} respondent; p is the probability of people in the subpopulation known by the i^{th} respondent;

A maximum likelihood estimator of the subpopulation size e is given by

$$\hat{e} = t \cdot \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} m_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} c_i}$$
(3)
The \hat{e} requires estimating the social network size c_i, which can be estimated using the chosen reference subpopulations by

$$\frac{\sum_{j=1}^{n} m_{ij}}{c_i} = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^{n} e_j}{t}$$
(4)
$$\widehat{c}_l = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^{L} m_{ij}}{\sum_{j=1}^{L} e_j} \cdot t$$
(5)

Where

- m_{ii} is the number of reference subpopulation *j* that participant *i* knows;
- e_j is the known size of the reference subpopulation j;
- *n* is the total number of participants, or the sample size;
- *L* is the number of known subpopulations we chose.

NSUM Implementation

Network scale-up estimates of child trafficking are constructed from responses to survey questions about people's personal networks. After completing the initial interview questions in the survey regarding the background characteristics of the household and its members, questions were asked about the size of the respondent's network for various subgroups.

The network was defined for the respondent as: the number of people in the region of study (Kailahun, Kenema, or Kono) who you know by sight and by name, who also know you by sight and by name, and with whom you have communicated with in some way (in-person, by text, email, phone call, or through social media) in the past twenty four months. Using this definition, respondents were asked to state the number of individuals in their network that fell within the subgroup categories identified in Section E of the survey instrument.

The sub-population questions in Section E were selected based on the application in the local context, availability of population level data on the subgroups, and their random distribution (i.e., random mixing) in the entire population (see Feehan & Salganik, 2016; Yang & Yang, 2017). We included 16 subpopulations questions in the survey, but due to lack of reliable administrative data, dropped two of the questions from the analysis. The remaining 14 subpopulation questions produced subpopulation estimates from the sampled population that were within a reasonable range of true subpopulation size (Salganik et al., 2011; Salganik, 2014; Wang et al. 2015; Teo et al. 2019).

As a result, we utilized all 14 subpopulation questions to estimate personal network size, in line with common practice for NSUM estimates (Killworth et al. 1998 (a, b); Bernard et al. 2010; Maltiel et al., 2015). Specifically, the number of persons known to the respondent within each of these subpopulations of known size was used to determine the size of the respondent's network. Figures 11–13 report results of the validity check for the 14 subpopulations for the three regions (Kailahun, Kono, and Kenema). NSUM estimates were then generated by calculating the proportion of the respondent's network that is a member of the hidden population (child trafficking victim; child labor victim) and aggregating to the population of children in the region (Kailahun, Kono, or Kenema).

While NSUM is a promising technique to estimate the prevalence of hidden populations, it does contain biases that must be addressed. There are at least three primary sources of bias in NSUM: transmission bias, barrier bias, and recall bias (Yang & Yang, 2017). Transmission bias is bias that is introduced when respondents are unaware that people in their social network are members of the population of interest. Barrier bias is an issue when members of the population of interest are particularly likely to have certain social characteristics or to live in certain locations, making them less accessible to some respondents. Recall bias is the failure of a respondent to remember relevant information about people in their network. We discuss how we addressed each of these three biases in Appendix X.

Quality Control and Assurance

At the end of each interview, the research assistant thoroughly checked the questionnaire for completeness. Supervisors cross-checked all the questionnaires at the end of each day's work to ensure that no important data were missing. Staff from CMDA and RAN oversaw the quality control aspects of the study, in liaison with the field supervisors. In addition, the supervisors held daily debriefs to track data collection progress, understand any problems encountered, and plan for the next days' work.

STUDY FINDINGS

This section presents study findings resulting from analysis of the quantitative household survey and the qualitative interviews and focus group discussions. The findings are presented in the following sections:

- Prevalence Estimates of Child Trafficking and Child Labor
 Community Perspectives About Child Trafficking and Child Labor
- **3** Types of Child Labor and Child Trafficking Experienced
- **4** Exploitation that Involves Force, Fraud, or Coercion
- **5** Vulnerabilities to Child Labor and Child Trafficking
- **6** Perspectives About Leaving a Trafficking Situation and Reintegration Post-trafficking
- 7 Analysis of Policy and Service Gaps

Prevalence Estimates of Child Trafficking and Child Labor

This section will report findings from both direct prevalence estimates and NSUM estimates for Child Trafficking (CT) and Child Labor (CL)¹⁴.

Direct Prevalence Estimates Generated from Reported Experiences of Children in the Sampled Households

Of interest is the number of CT and CL victims in the sampled households and in the social networks reported by the respondents, as mentioned in the introduction. We begin by presenting prevalence estimates derived from information provided by respondents about the children who reside in their own households (Table 1). This is a traditional method of prevalence estimation. The estimate of CL encompasses CT, as by definition those who have experienced CT are also engaged in child labor.

Table 1: Mean Number and Prevalence Rates of CT and CL Using Direct Estimation

		Child TraffickingChild LaborMean Number (95% CI)Prevalence Rate (95% CI)Mean Number (95% CI)Prevalence Rate (95% CI)		d Labor	
Region	Methods			Rate	
Kailahun	Direct	60866 (57094,	32.87 (30.84,	64265	34.73
	Estimation	64948)	35.08)	(60395, 68058)	(32.62, 36.76)
Kenema	Direct	51949	26.64 (25.21,	56197	28.80
	Estimation	(49162,54980)	28.20)	(52977, 59178)	(27.17, 30.35)
Kono	Direct	76824	45.67 (43.18,	88095	52.29
	Estimation	(72626,81195)	48.27)	(83879, 92404)	(49.87, 54.94)

Note. Direct estimation is based on the reports of respondents about the activities of the household children that were classified to be trafficking or labor. The prevalence rates of CT and CT in the households are then extrapolated to the entire region. The bootstrap resampling procedure (Efron and Tibshirani, 1994) is conducted to produce 95% CI for the Direct Estimators in each region. The resampling is repeated for 500 times with replacement.

¹⁴See appendix for the full statistical definition of child labor and child trafficking used in this study: https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/ en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::N0::P12100_ILO_CODE:C182 International Labour Organization. 2008. Report of the 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians. These sectors are defined as hazardous by law in Sierra Leone.

International Labor Bureau. 2018. Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor, Sierra Leone https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/ILAB/child_la-bor_reports/tda2018/Sierra%20Leone.pdf

Child Trafficking. According to the estimates derived from reports of activities of children in the sampled households, the prevalence of CT was 45.7% in Kono, 32.9% in Kailahun, and 26.6% in Kenema (See table 1). Among the three hotspots, CT was the most prevalent in Kono, where nearly half of children in sampled households experienced trafficking, and least prevalent in Kenema, where one in four children experienced CT.

Child Labor. Unsurprisingly, the prevalence of CL was larger than CT. According to the data collected about activities of the children residing in the selected households, 52.4% of the children aged 5 to 17 in Kono, followed by 34.7% in Kailahun, and 28.8% in Kenema perform work that is classified as child labor (Table 1). Like CT, CL was also the most prevalent in Kono and least prevalent in Kenema.

NSUM Prevalence Estimates Generated from Reports about Children in Respondents' Networks

We also estimated the prevalence of CT and CL via NSUM, which relies on information provided by the respondents about children that they know in the region of interest, as described above. Table 2 shows the mean number and prevalence rate and the 95% confidence interval (CI) of CT and CL across the three regions using NSUM. Direct prevalence estimates are also included for comparison purposes. The 95% CI for the prevalence estimates are produced using the rescaled bootstrap procedure (Rao, Wu, & Yue, 1992; Rao & Wu, 1988; Rust & Rao, 1996), which is known to have a sounder theoretical foundation than the Killworth et al. (1998)'s method (Feehan & Salganik, 2016).

The NSUM estimate and the CI are calculated using the network reporting R package (Feehan & Salganik, 2014). As an additional check to ensure the correctness of NSUM implementation, we also calculated estimates using the NSUM R package (Maltiel et al., 2015), which produced the same mean estimates as did the network reporting R package. The missing data in the answers to the CT and CL questions are treated as no answer or no information. Topcoding was performed prior to the NSUM analysis, and adjustments for transmission bias (or VF) were then applied to the NSUM estimates. These technical details are presented in Appendix L.

		Child Trafficking		Child Labor		
Region	Methods	Mean Number (95% CI)	Prevalence Rate (95% CI)	Mean Number (95% CI)	Prevalence Rate (95% CI)	
Kailahun	NSUM	11687 (10736, 12683)	6.31 (5.80, 6.85)	12616 (11515, 13841)	6.81 (6.61, 7.94)	
Kenema	NSUM	9623 (8675, 10625)	4.94 (4.45, 5.45)	10426 (9462, 11419)	5.35 (4.85, 5.86)	
Kono	NSUM	10546 (9586, 11562)	6.27 (5.70, 6.87)	11970 (10953, 13017)	7.12 (6.51, 7.74)	

Table 2: Mean Number and Prevalence Rates of CT and CL using NSUM

Note. The NSUM is based on a full set of 14 reference subpopulations, along with topcoding procedure (before) and visibility factor correction (afterward) applied (see Appendix L).

Child Trafficking. The prevalence rate of CT using NSUM with adjustments for the visibility of CT (VF) was 6.27% in Kono, 6.31% in Kailahun, and 4.94% in Kenema. Kono and Kailahun have almost the same prevalence rate of CT, while Kenema has the lowest prevalence rate (see table 2).

Child Labor. According to the NSUM estimates, adjusting for visibility, 7.12% of the children aged 5–17 in Kono, followed by 6.81% in Kailahun, and 5.35% in Kenema perform work that is classified as child labor (table 2). CL was also the most prevalent in Kono and least prevalent in Kenema, which is consistent with findings using direct estimation, though the NSUM estimated prevalence rates are considerably lower than are the directly estimated prevalence rates for all regions.

Comparison of NSUM Estimates and Direct Estimation

The prevalence rates of the NSUM method are not on the same scale as those derived from the direct estimation from sampled households. The direct estimation approach gives prevalence rates that are about four times larger than the NSUM approach for Kailahun and Kenema, and about six times larger for Kono. This dramatic difference in the prevalence estimates from the NSUM and direct estimation suggests the ineffectiveness of NSUM in estimating the hard-to-reach and hidden population of child trafficking victims in Sierra Leone.

Many factors led to the failure of NSUM. First, NSUM relies on the availability of administrative data for the reference subpopulations, whose accuracy has a direct impact on the estimation capacity of the hidden population. The lack of reliable administrative data is a well-known challenge in low resource countries. More research is needed to determine how NSUM can best be implemented in such contexts.

Second, our approach to mitigate transmission bias was imprecise, as it relied on information about the visibility of non-stigmatized characteristics. This addresses the measurement of VF to some extent, but it is not the most ideal approach. However, the direct collection of the additional data needed to estimate the visibility factor more directly exceeds the scope of this study.

The NSUM shows lack of power and efficacy in estimating the prevalence of child trafficking and child labor in these three hotspots in SL. It underestimates the number and prevalence rate compared to the direct estimation based on the households. Therefore, more research is needed to assess the utility of NSUM in estimating this hard-to-reach population in developing or low-resource countries. APRIES is also engaged in the Prevalence Reduction Innovation Forum (PRIF), which includes seven research projects in Brazil, Costa Rica, Morocco, Pakistan, Tanzania, and Tunisia that use NSUM combined with other methods to estimate the prevalence of human trafficking in specified hotspots and target populations. The results in this report are relevant to the PRIF project and will assist in developing realistic hypotheses for the various estimation methods.



Community Perspectives About Child Trafficking and Child Labor

As indicated by the prevalence estimates calculated for this study child trafficking and child labor are likely to be experienced by a large population of children in the hotspot regions. In addition, there appears to be considerable variation between hotspots in terms of prevalence.

Results from our study indicate that many factors could be driving these differences, such as poverty, the availability of services and programs for families (such as schools), and even the attitudes and beliefs of community members regarding child trafficking and child labor.

This section will present findings from interviews and focus group discussions related to the later potential factor, and explore community perceptions of child trafficking and child labor. Additional potential driving factors will be addressed in Section 6, "Perspectives about Explanations and Causal Factors for Child Trafficking."

Community Perceptions About Child Trafficking, Child Labor, and Child Work

Qualitative findings about community conceptualizations of CT and CL were drawn from analysis of focus group discussions with community members and community leaders, as well as interviews with key informants, survivors, and parents.

We were particularly interested in exploring the ways in which community members might distinguish between and define child work, child labor, and child trafficking. As described in the methods section, a portion of the focus group discussions were centered around three vignettes¹⁵ which described children's experiences with child trafficking [Vignette 1], child labor [Vignette 2], and age-appropriate child work (household chores) [Vignette 3]. Participants were asked to consider the narratives and discuss their views about each scenario and whether or not they feel the vignette described forced labor or child trafficking.

Acceptability of Child Trafficking, Child Labor, and Child Work

As would be expected, the exploitation in Vignette 1, which described child trafficking, resulted in a strong condemnation of the child's treatment by participants. Community responses to Vignettes 2 and 3 revealed a strong consensus around the appropriateness of child involvement in domestic duties and helping with the family business, aligned with gender and age-specific roles and expectations.

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

-Young Adult Men, Focus Group Discussion #9

Community members appeared to perceive of domestic work as particularly important for girls in order to prepare them for future responsibilities of household work.

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

-Young Adult Women, Focus Group Discussion #7

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

-Young Adult Men, Focus Group Discussion #17

Notably, when describing potential vulnerabilities to trafficking (addressed later in this section), some participants indicated that gendered expectations for girls to perform domestic duties may be a contribut-ing factor to their vulnerability to trafficking and exploitation, especially for domestic work.

Some participants indicated that that what constitutes a proportionate or reasonable amount of work should be left to the parents' judgement to decide. This finding appears to indicate community members may be hesitant to accept advice or suggestions, especially from individuals outside of the family, about how much labor, or which types of labor, may be too much for a child.

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

-Women Elders, Focus Group Discussion #18

Perspectives About Work and School Balance

The acceptability of children's involvement in domestic chores was combined with a strong norm that such work would only be acceptable for children to carry out if the demands were reasonable and could be fitted around school attendance.

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

-Young Adult Women, Focus Group Discussion #8

In the vignettes where children were expected to do hard work and are not allowed to regularly attend school, the consensus was not quite as strong that this was wrong.

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

-Women Elders, Focus Group Discussion # 2

AND

Overall, community members appeared to view CT as immoral and exploitive. However, there was generally less agreement about potential harms of CL. More comments denounced the denial of education, while fewer comments noted the age-appropriateness of the work itself. However, a few community members clearly indicated a view that there was a point where work expectations are not in line with a child's age.

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

-Focus Group Discussion # 9, Young Adult Men

Exploring community beliefs and attitudes about child work, child labor and child trafficking provides insight into some potential reasons there may be regional variation in prevalence, especially in terms of the degree of child labor acceptability.

Types of Child Labor and Trafficking Experienced

Our research revealed that children and young people who moved from their homes can find themselves faced with a range of different forms and types of work and non-work-related exploitation and abuse. In interviews with survivors and parents, we were told about a range of circumstances, but by far the most common themes involved the relocation away from a child's biological family with the promise to send them to school.

Once relocated in the new residency, the child faced a requirement to spend long periods helping with domestic chores or engaging in street vending, at the expense of school attendance. The excerpt below is from a survivor who had recently lost his father due to Ebola. His aunt offered to help the family by tak-ing the survivor to her community to enroll him in school. However, as he describes, when he went to live with his aunt, he was not enrolled in school but rather worked as a street vendor.

"But when I went there, about a week to the reopening of school, she told me to be selling cold water until school reopen[ed]. So, I started selling until school reopened, then I asked her about the school business. She then told me to continue selling the cold water, the money she will use to buy my school materials. But for her own children, they started to go to school straight off while I stayed home selling.... I waited for a long time and the aunty still told me to continue to sell water for the school affairs."

-Male Survivor, Student, Participant #50

The interviewee quoted above remained in the aunt's house selling water without attending school for a number of years. He was able to make contact with his mother through a neighbor, who then helped him get back to his home community.

This experience of being relocated by family with the promise of education was common among survivors in our study, as was the difficulty survivors faced in getting into contact with their family during the trafficking situation.

Results from the household survey, which were contextualized by interviews, reveal different ways that trafficking is likely to be experienced within the hotspot regions. The section below presents data on these experiences from the household survey.

It includes both the children residing in the sampled households (household children), children in the respondents' networks (network children), and the qualitative interviews conducted with survivors and parents of survivors in the hotspot regions.



HOW "HOUSEHOLD" AND "NETWORK" CHILDREN WERE DEFINED IN THE HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

Household children include all children who were living in the survey respondent's household at the time of data collection, such as a biological son, biological daughter, foster child, or other relatives or non-relatives residing in the respondent's household.

Network children include children who are in the respondent's social network within the local community—they are children with whom the respondent has a personal relationship, or who is an acquaintance of the respondent, but they do not live in the same household.

For example, this could include a child who is a neighbor of the respondent, or a child who is a peer or friend of the respondent's child. As will be indicated by the findings in this section, generally, the network prevalence estimates of trafficking are higher than the direct prevalence estimates.

This variation may reflect the fact that people tend to be either less aware or more reluctant to report the exploitative activities of children involved in their social network than of children in their household. However, different from the prevalence estimate of trafficking, the prevalence of child labor due to excessive work hours in the network are generally lower than the household estimates.

This may be due to the fact that it's usually much easier to know and report how many hours in the past week the household children worked than the network children did, leading to an underreport of network children who exceeded work hour limits established by the ILO (Global Estimates of Child Labor, 2017)¹⁶.

¹⁶ International Labour Office. 2017. Global estimates of child labour: Results and trends, 2012–2016. Geneva.

The following section will explore findings regarding prevalence of and study participant's experiences with 1) exploitive labor sectors (such as mining, portering, domestic work and other types of labor trafficking experiences), 2) hazardous working conditions (i.e., heavy lifting and exposure to extreme cold), and 3) exploitation that involves force/fraud/ or coercion (such as being forced to work to pay school fees or experiencing violence as a means of coercion or control).

Exploitative Labor Sectors

The household survey captured data about prevalence of children involved in labor sectors which were defined as exploitative by the Government of Sierra Leone (GoSL)¹⁷, according to guidance by the ILO convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor. Note that the statistical definition of the worst forms of child labor includes additional categories such as hazardous working conditions or exploitation that involves force/fraud or coercion.

As indicated above, these areas will be explored later on in this report. See appendix for full statistical definition of the worst forms of child labor used to guide the household survey data collection and analysis.

The six labor sectors, which are considered exploitative for children according to GoSL law and thusly automatically qualify a child as a victim of trafficking include: 1) portering, 2) construction, 3) fishing, 4) mining/quarrying, 5) commercial sex, and 6) manufacturing (Table 3 and Figures 14–16).

In addition to the six sectors analyzed using data from the household survey (which correspond to GoSLs definition of exploitive sectors), interviewees (including survivors, parents, and community members) also described children working in other labor sectors, which were experienced as exploitive, including domestic work, street vending, and criminal activity or begging. These sectors were not classified as exploitive by GoSL, so do not meet the standard to be included in the statistical analysis. However, our data indicates that young people experienced working in these labor sectors as exploitive and therefore their experiences are described in this section.

It is important to note that survivors' qualitative descriptions of the work they engaged in during their trafficking experience often included descriptions of work classified as exploitive (such as portering or mining), but these descriptions were embedded within descriptions of work which was not classified by GoSL as exploitive.

For example, no survivors interviewed for this study used the term "portering" when describing their work activities during trafficking; however, survivors sometimes described portering in the context of describing exploitive domestic work (i.e., carrying firewood or water) or mining. The first half of this section will report the statistical prevalence by region of the 6 sectors classified as exploitive labor: 1) portering, 2) construction, 3) fishing, 4) mining/quarrying, 5) commercial sex, and 6) manufacturing.

An exploration of trafficking types described by survivors and parents of survivors in interviews follows. It includes some examples reflecting experiences with the six labor sectors classified as exploitive, in addition to other labor sector types described as exploitive in the qualitative interviews, like domestic work.

Prevalence by Region. Overall, as shown on Table 3, data for both household and network children indicate that portering was the most common form of child labor experienced in all three regions (12% to 21% for household children and 19% to 36% for network children). Fishing (4% to 12% for household children and 7% to 14% for network children) and mining (4% to 7% for household children and 10% to 14% for network children) appeared to be the next most common, followed by construction work (3% to 4% for household children and 5% to 18% for network children).

Commercial sex (1% to 2% for household children and 4% to 8% for network children) and manufacturing (1% to 2% for household children and 0% to 8% for network children) were the least prevalent forms of trafficking reported in the study regions.

¹⁷See appendix for the full statistical definition of child labor and child trafficking used in this study: https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/ en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::N0::P12100_ILO_CODE:C182 International Labour Organization. 2008. Report of the 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians. These sectors are defined as hazardous by law in Sierra Leone. International Labor Bureau. 2018. Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor, Sierra Leone https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/ILAB/child_la-

Kailahun. As indicated in Table 3 below, portering is the most commonly experienced exploitative labor sector among child trafficking victims in Kailahun, where a percentage of 12% and 18% of the total number of trafficked children in the household and in respondents' networks, respectively, were involved in portering. Next, fishing, mining/quarrying are all reported at similar yet significant levels of 4% for household and 11–14% for network trafficking victims.

Kenema. In Kenema, the prevalence rates of involvement in the exploitative labor sectors among the child trafficking victims in the sampled households are portering (20%), fishing (9%), mining (7%), construction (4%), commercial sex (2%), and manufacturing (1%). The prevalence rates for victims in respondents' networks are portering (22%), mining/quarrying (14%), manufacturing (8%), fishing (7%), construction (5%), and commercial sex (3%). Again, portering is the most common sector (see table 3).

Kono. In Kono, the rate of victims involved in portering is 21% in the households and 36% in respondents' networks, making portering the most common exploitative sector in the region (See table 3). The second most prevalent sector is fishing, which involves 12% and 14% of the household CT and network CT victims, respectively. Meanwhile, construction and mining/quarrying are all important sectors, with over 10% of trafficking victims in the network involved.

Table 3: Exploitative Labor Sectors Experienced by Children in Sampled Households and in the Social Networks of Respondents Who Were Trafficked

Labara Gastara	Kailahun		Ke	Kenema		Kono	
Labor Sectors	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	
Total Household	573	100.0%	807	100.0%	702	100.0%	
Total Network	504	100.0%	177	100.0%	317	100.0%	
Mining/quarrying							
Household	21	3.7%	54	6.7%	46	6.6%	
Network	56	11.1%	25	14.1%	30	9.5%	
Fishing							
Household	24	4.2%	74	9.2%	81	11.5%	
Network	71	14.1%	12	6.8%	45	14.2%	
Pottering							
Household	67	11.7%	163	20.2%	147	20.9%	
Network	93	18.5%	38	21.5%	114	36.0%	
Commercial Sex							
Household	5	0.9%	12	1.5%	10	1.4%	
Network	39	7.7%	6	3.4%	18	5.7%	
Manufacturing							
Household	9	1.6%	11	1.4%	10	1.4%	
Network	34	6.7%	14	7.9%	1	0.3%	
Construction							
Household	19	3.3%	31	3.8%	28	4.0%	
Network	90	17.9%	8	4.5%	46	14.5%	

Number of Types of Work in Which Children are Trafficked

The frequency of types of work performed by the victims of child trafficking in respondents' networks are summarized in Table 17 (see Appendix H for discussion of how the types of work fit into the operational definition of household CT and network CT). Many victims of child trafficking are involved in only one type of work. Specifically, the rates of trafficked children involved in one type of work are 44%, 50%, and 39% in households and 34%, 37%, and 33% in people's networks in Kailahun, Kenema and Kono, respectively.

However, a majority of the trafficked children are engaged in more than one type of work across the three regions. In Kailahun, household CT victims are involved in two types of work, while CT victims in the network participate in four types of work on average. In Kenema, the household CT victims are involved in two types of work on average, while the network CT victims are involved in three types of work. House-hold children in Kono classified as trafficking victims are involved in, on average, three types of work in the households, while network children classified as trafficking victims are engaged in four types of work.

Contextualizing Types of Trafficking Experienced

In contrast to the household survey findings, reported above, the majority of participants interviewed reported domestic work and street vending as the primary types of trafficking they experienced. A few survivors and parents described experiences with hazardous work, stealing, begging, and commercial sex work.

Interviews carried out with survivors of child trafficking, parents of survivors, and key informants provided rich and detailed context for understanding more about children's experiences with street-selling/ vending, domestic work, hazardous work, forced begging and criminality, commercial sex, and sexual exploitation. In addition, our data also provides a description of key actors involved in the trafficking situation, which will be explored in this section.

Domestic Work and Street Vending

The majority of participants who were interviewed for this study described being trafficked for domestic work and street vending. The victim/perpetrator pattern was highly gendered—boys and girls trafficked for labor exploitation were normally controlled by an adult woman who ran the business in question or acted as head of the household. This woman was referred to as 'Aunty' and often was not the biological aunt of the child. In our study, girls and boys were often moved to a sister's or aunty's house to do domestic chores and look after other children. Survivors often mentioned the frustration of witnessing their trafficker's biological children go to school and get fed while they suffered.

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

-(Female Survivor, Unemployed, Participant # 62)

AND

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

- Male Survivor, Carpenter, Participant #55

Hazardous Work and Portering

We also heard testimony of children carrying out hazardous work, such as mining and portering firewood and other heavy bundles. These activities were sometimes, but not always, arranged to accommodate school attendance. For example, in the excerpt below, a survivor describes working in mines and carrying firewood before school.

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

> > - Female Survivor, Trader, Participant #57

As this excerpt reveals, patterns of school attendance were complex across our sample of survivors. There were many occasions when children were allowed to go to school for a short period and then required to work. Alternatively, they were expected to work very early in the morning and then attend school later.

Experiences with Criminal Activity and Begging

Although there were few survivors in our sample who reported engaging in criminal activity or begging, their stories reveal how children may experience coercion in relation to criminal activity, how drugs or alcohol may be used to elicit compliance, and how a child may beg to fulfill basic needs, such as food, while experiencing trafficking. For example, in the excerpt below, a survivor recounts his experience with being forced to steal for his uncle:

> "After two days my aunt's husband talked to me in the evening and told me if I want to live in his house, I should ... help him with his business. His business was to recruit young boys into stealing (kaydee boys) in the town and the girls to be prostitutes in her bar. These boys would go and steal from people, sellers, passer-by or anybody that they deem fit. If anyone comes home without a stolen property, he will not have food for that day and will sleep outside the compound. At the end of the month they get paid...I stole a mobile phone and I was caught in the act. I was taken to the police station at TOWN but I managed to call my uncle and I was released the next day. Because my uncle knew I was too afraid, he increased the amount of drugs and alcohol that he used to give me, I use to take one tablet of tramadol and 5 packets of rum and one tie weed (jamba) for the day and another dose at night."

> > -Male Survivor, Carpenter, Participant # 49

Stealing and Begging as Survival Strategies

Sometimes survivors reported stealing or begging as survival strategies. For example, stealing money from traffickers or placing aside money from their work to provide for their basic needs or save up for school expenses. In the excerpt below, a survivor describes putting aside money from selling water to pay for school supplies.

"So I continued (selling water for trafficker) but with a difference. For every Le 100,000 worth of water...I added 25,000 for myself. This money I accumulated up to Le 100,000 and I went and bought uniform, bag and shoes, but I was yet to buy books...[when trafficker found out] she withheld my school materials...I hid and stayed with one women [neighbor]..."

-Male Survivor, Student, Participant #50

There were also reports of children engaged in begging due to abandonment and necessity rather than as part of organized crime. They were 'made' or forced to beg on the street to survive because they were not receiving basic needs while experiencing trafficking:

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

-Female Survivor, Student, Participant #46

Commercial Sex

Another complex, exploitative, and highly gendered experience frequently emerged for young girls who have been moved to a new home, where commercial sex became a means of earning money. Survivors indicated that entering into commercial sex or transactional relationships represented a viable means of escape and survival, or helped them avoid other forms of exploitation.

While victims potentially could gain some sort of independence from domestic life, commercial sex and transactional relationships carried very high risks attached, especially for violent encounters. For example, a survivor quoted below describes leaving her family home due to household violence and entering into a transactional relationship with a man who later became abusive. She turned to commercial sex work as a way to leave that relationship, but found that she was treated with violence and abuse by some of her clients.

"At the time my parents were not having any money, so my boyfriend was coming closer to me, giving me money and buying food and clothing for me. I thought he was a good man...I was having what I needed but there was so much violence. Some men will take me to get sex with me, when I go with them, they will start beating me up, collecting the money that I have made for that night."

-Female survivor, Student, Participant # 60

Another survivor reported that not only did she sometimes experience violence and abuse from men while engaging in commercial sex work, she also was threatened by the men who assaulted her that they would call law enforcement to force her to leave their house.

"Later when a girl in the community made friends with me and encouraged me to move in with her, I did so gladly. That is how I entered prostitution. One of the men I met were good while others were terrible. Some beat me and took my property after we finish and they would shout at me to leave their house or they would call the police."

-Female Survivor, Student, Participant #45

In the context of commercial sex or transactional sexual relationships, in our study the victims were female, and use of violence was even more frequent, with survivors reporting that physical abuse was a constant threat from the men they were with.

The experiences survivors reported with law enforcement, like those described in this section, indicate that some survivors may have a fear of law enforcement and that some men might view law enforcement as useful for controlling or manipulating women, especially when women are engaging in commercial sex work.

It is notable that, in general, the evidence from our sample suggests that the prospect of any police involvement will work to the advantage of the trafficker, rather than the victim.

Key Actors in the Trafficking Situation

Survivors referred to those involved in the trafficking experience as "aunty" or "uncle," sometimes "brother" or "sister." These individuals were sometimes biological family members and sometimes friends of the family.

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

-Female Survivor, Unknown Occupation, Participant #51

While parents and family members were most frequently cited by survivors and key informants as the relevant actors in the trafficking process, key informants also described middle-men and women getting involved in recruiting children in rural areas on behalf of clients in cities.

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

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

-District Council Chairman, Key Informant, Participant #67

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

-Paramount Chief, Key Informant, Participant #71

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

"Let me share with you a case that came to us recently. There was a girl at the age of around 14 who lives with her parents in COMMUNITY at the outskirts of CITY. One day the mother went to the father and told him they would like to initiate the girl in the Bondo secret society¹⁹. It is a tradition that requires spending money. The dad had a friend living in CITY. So, they went in to a deal. [Friend] would sponsor your child to get into the society with the agreement that [friend would] marry her. Money was exchanged and the girl was initiated and the girl was handed over to the man."

–Human Trafficking Task Force Member, Key Informant, Participant #73

Hazardous Working Conditions

52

Our data indicate that children often perform hazardous work. For example, household survey study participants reported that some children who experienced child labor or trafficking in their household or within their social network carried heavy loads, were exposed to extreme cold, operated heavy machinery, were exposed to dust, and were exposed to loud noise.

In addition to reporting carrying heavy loads and being exposed to other potentially hazardous or arduous working conditions, survivors and parents of survivors interviewed for this study also reported illness and long-lasting physical impacts from demanding work, experiencing extreme hunger and exhaustion as a result of working long hours, not having adequate rest or nutrition, and exposure to potential hazards while traveling to the worksite.

A few respondents reported being forced to work on the street, engaging in criminal activity which increased the risk of experiencing and being involved in violent interactions, such as gang involvement.

Drawing from data captured by the household survey, the following section will report prevalence estimates of children's exposure to hazardous working conditions. Following this will be a presentation of related findings from interviews and focus group discussions.

¹⁹The Bondo Secret Society performs Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) as a standard part of the initiation process. This is an example of a harmful traditional practice. Currently, FGM is legal in Sierra Leone.

Regional Prevalence of Hazardous Working Conditions

The prevalence of potentially hazardous working conditions among child trafficking victims in each region are reported in Figures 3–4 and also detailed in Tables 7–8. Working conditions reported in the household survey which were classified as potentially hazardous included: carrying heavy loads, exposure to extreme cold, operating heavy machinery, exposure to dust, and exposure to loud noise.

Across samples in all three hotspot regions, for both exploited household children and exploited network children, the most commonly reported form of a hazardous working condition was carrying heavy loads (between 19% – 47% for household children and between 54% – 67% for network children), while exposure to extreme cold was the second most prevalent (11% in Kenema, 31% in Kailahun for household children; and 31% in Kenema, 54% in Kailahun, and 55% in Kono for network children).

Notably, participants surveyed in Kono reported exposure to hazardous working conditions for network children, but only reported one hazardous working condition (carrying heavy loads) for household children.

Kailahun. As indicated by Figure 3, in Kailahun, 47% and 31% of the victimized household children are reported to be involved in carrying heavy loads and are exposed to extreme weather, respectively. Among victimized children in people's networks, 67% are reported to be involved in carrying heavy loads, while 54% were exposed to extreme weather. A significant percentage of victimized network children are involved in operating heavy machinery (27%), exposure to dust (23%) and exposure to loud noise (22%).





Kenema. In Kenema, the prevalence rates of carrying heavy loads and exposure to extreme weather are 64% and 11% among household CT victims, respectively, and 54% and 31% in the network CT (Figure 4). Household children are more frequently reported to carry heavy loads than children in the respondents' networks, indicating that carrying heavy loads is a common experience for children in Kenema.





Kono. Kono has a high percentage of CT in the network of the respondents in all classes of dangerous labor experiences. Specifically, 58% are engaged in work in which they carry heavy loads, 55% are exposed to extreme weather in their labor, 23% operate heavy machinery, 37% are exposed to dust, and 28% are exposed to loud noise (Figure 5). Far fewer children residing in the sampled households were reported to be exposed to dangerous work conditions. Specifically, 19% are engaged in work that involves carrying heavy loads, while no children were reported to be exposed to extreme weather, operate heavy machinery, or to be exposed to dust or loud noise. This again shows the reluctance of people to report on the danger–ous activities of children in their households (see Table 7–8).

Figure 5: Percentage of household CT and network CT Victims in Kono Experiencing Hazardous Working Conditions



In summary, among types of hazardous working conditions reported in the household survey, carrying heavy loads and exposure to extreme weather are most common among the trafficked children in both the households and people's network. Similar to findings regarding exploitative labor sectors, the percentage of children in people's social network falling into these categories are generally higher than in the household sample.

All categories of dangerous labor experiences are common among network children. Of the three regions, among network children, Kenema has the lowest rate of children operating heavy machinery and being exposed to dust and loud noise. Kailahun and Kono reported similar rates of exposure. The following section will present findings from qualitative interviews with survivors and parents of survivors to contextualize and deepen findings from the household survey.

Survivor and Parent Reported Experiences of Hazardous Working Conditions

Survivors and parents of survivors reported a number of potentially hazardous working conditions during their trafficking experience, including some which overlapped with findings from the household survey, such as carrying heavy loads. Other types of potentially hazardous conditions, which were only reported by research participants during interviews, included illness and long-lasting physical impacts directly resulting from potentially hazardous working conditions, exposure to potential hazards while traveling to the worksite, and being forced to engage in activities which increased risk of violence or experiencing physical harm, such as gang involvement.

Carrying Heavy Loads

Many survivors and parents interviewed reported that carrying heavy loads was a condition of their trafficking experience. Survivors reported not only that the work itself of carrying heavy loads was potentially hazardous, but some narratives suggested that this work was carried out in the context of other potential hazards, such as a young child traveling long distances alone, or working in conditions where basic needs were not met, leading to extreme fatigue and hunger. For example, in an excerpt below, a survivor shared her experiences with being trafficked for domestic work by her aunt. She was around 7 years old at the time that her trafficking experience began:

> "The distance I covered to fetch water was very far, it was about four miles. I fetch a lot of water until all the empty containers were filled. After fetching the water [my aunt, trafficker] gave me lots of dirty clothes to wash, but I was still hungry. After washing clothes, she told me to clean the toilet..."

> > -Female Survivor, Unemployed, Participant # 44

As the excerpt above indicates, the work itself was potentially dangerous, involving heavy lifting and walking long distances alone. The interviewee also reported carrying firewood and performing a range of additional household duties without access to basic nutrition, often hungry and extremely fatigued.

Illness Related to Hazardous Working Conditions

Some respondents in interviews and focus groups reported sickness and physical impacts which were a direct result of engaging in work within potentially hazardous conditions. For example, in a focus group discussion, a young man described the potentially hazardous conditions his brother had experienced while working in a mine:

"...the company that is making this road opened a quarry. Our aunt came and carried our brother and forced him to work in the quarry to earn money. Later they brought the boy back sick, she could not tell us the cause of the sickness... until we had to find out from the boy himself who explained that he was working in the quarry breaking stones and so he has pain all over his sides and body."

-Young Adult Men, Focus Group Discussion # 6

Exposure to Hazards While Traveling to Work

Some participants reported children being exposed to hazardous conditions during travel to work, in addition to experiencing hazards on the job. For example, in the excerpt below, a father shared his children's experiences with traveling to a farm to perform work while being trafficked by a Koranic Teacher. At the time, the children were between 6 and 8 years old:

> "[My children] said they were doing farm work and they were crossing the deep river to go to the farm. When they were crossing the river, the water reach[ed] them at their chest. They were holding themselves to cross the river to go to the farm. They were making the farm, planting the rice, and weeding the farm."

> > -Father of Survivor, Unemployed, Participant #35

Activities Which Increased Risk of Exposure to Violence

Although there were few survivors interviewed for this study who reported being trafficked for illegal or illicit activities, there were indications that those survivors may experience hazardous working conditions which are directly linked to these activities. For example, a 15-year-old survivor recounted his experiences being trafficked by his uncle. He explained why he did not feel free to leave his uncle's house during the trafficking experience. In describing the control that his uncle used over him, he also described conditions which could increase risk of violence exposure for children involved in illegal or illicit activities:

"...I thought if [trafficker] threw me out, I will be in the street unprotected by him. We have so many small cliques out there in the street, about six of them were our enemies. The six other cliques have their own different masters operating the same way like us. So in short, there were our rivals in the street, even if you changed your street boy lifestyle, you are still their enemy. Our different masters taught us and instilled that in our minds. So for me to move out of his house I consider it to be of great danger to myself, my life will be in danger."

-Male Survivor, Carpenter, Participant # 49

As indicated by the excerpt above, data from qualitative interviews revealed that hazardous working conditions were sometimes a means for traffickers to exert control to maintain their exploitation of a child survivor; for example, by forcing a child to engage in illegal activities. The next section will explore findings related to experiences of force, fraud, or coercion and other means of control utilized by traffickers as reported by study participants.



Exploitation That Involves Force, Fraud, or Coercion

This section will explore both the types of control reported by study participants, such as force, fraud, or coercion, as well as the mechanisms traffickers used to exert these types of control, such as using violence. For example, household survey respondents indicated that children who were trafficked were often "forced to work for someone." Interviews with survivors and parents reveal different mechanisms used by traffickers to force a child to work for them, for example through using violence or denying basic needs to children being trafficked by them.

Types of Force, Fraud or Coercion

The household survey collected data about eight types of force, fraud, or coercion experienced by household children who were trafficked, as well as by children known to be trafficked in the respondent's social network.

Respondents were asked to respond "yes" or "no" when asked whether a child trafficking survivor or victim (either in their household or their network) experienced the following types of force, fraud, or coercion: 1) forced to beg for alms, 2) performed work not agreed upon, 3) forced to work to pay for school, 4) worked outside of the home for little or no wages, 5) not allowed to leave, 6) forced to commit illegal or illicit activities, 7) forced to work to repay a debt, and 8) forced to work for someone.

Consistent with the household survey data, interviews revealed that many of the survivors and parents in our study experienced multiple types of force, fraud, or coercion while enduring a trafficking situation. In addition, survivors in our sample reported that they were subjected to a range of mechanisms that traffickers used in order to maintain them in the situation of exploitation including: 1) violence, 2) abusive relationships, 3) isolation, 4) denying basic needs, and 5) manipulating survivors hope for a better outcome.

This section begins by providing an example from the interviews to contextualize the types of force, fraud, or coercion captured in the household survey. Following this will be a presentation of regional prevalence drawing from household survey data. The section will end with an exploration of mechanisms of force, fraud, or coercion described in interviews with survivors and parents of survivors.

Commonly Reported Experiences of Force, Fraud, or Coercion

As will be discussed in more detail below, survey respondents across the three hit spot regions reported that for household children, the most commonly experienced forms of force, fraud, or coercion were being forced to work for someone, being forced to pay for school, and being forced to work out of the home.

Respondents also reported that network children most commonly experienced not being allowed to leave and being forced to work for someone. Interview participants reported similar experiences, such as being forced to work for someone and being forced to pay for school. Findings from interviews indicate that children may experience multiple types of force, fraud, or coercion in addition to mechanisms of control during a trafficking experience. The following excerpts are from interviews and can provide insight into what force, fraud, or coercion may look like as experienced by survivors.

Forced to Work for Someone

Many survivors and parents of survivors described experiences of being forced to work for someone during the trafficking situation. For example, in the excerpt below, a survivor describes how a Koranic teacher forced him and other children to work on community farms. The interviewee also described being made to carry firewood due to the trafficker withholding basic necessities, such as food:

"We had to fetch firewood for other people who gave us rice to eat. [Trafficker] also used us to make income for him by forcing us to do paid jobs on farms belonging to other people. We never benefited from the jobs that he forced us to do."

-Male Survivor, Student, Participant #47

Not Allowed to Leave

Many survivors in our study also reported not being allowed to leave a trafficking situation or return to their home community. Survivors also regularly described being isolated from family members and friends. Traffickers directly hindered the survivor's ability to communicate with their family, either by not allowing access to a phone or to visit with people outside the trafficker's home, or by not allowing a survivor to have a private conversation with family members or friends from their home community. The excerpt below shares the story of a survivor trafficked for domestic work by her aunt and uncle. She describes how she was not allowed to leave or return to her home community:

> "[My aunt] was not allowing me to talk to any of my family members because she was saying when you come with those children from the village they will be in haste to go back to the village. So she was not allowing me. When it was time for holidays she was not allowing me to go to my village except during the period I became pregnant."

> > -Female Survivor, Hairdresser, Participant #52

Forced to Work to Pay for School

Survivors reported that traffickers would sometimes use the promise of schooling as way to control and manipulate them into staying with the trafficker. For example, survivors reported that traffickers would promise that the money raised by work children were engaging in would be saved and used to pay for school expenses, such as fees, books, and uniforms, but this turned out to be a false promise.

For example, a survivor described an experience where he was coerced into selling water by a trafficker who told him that they needed the money to pay for his school expenses.



Classroom, Undated, Licensed through Adobe Stock.

"...I asked [my aunt, Trafficker] about the school business and she told me that I should continue to sell water until we get enough money to cater for the school materials...I waited for a long time and the aunty still told me to continue to sell the water for the school affairs...So I continued, but with a difference. For every Le 100,000 worth of water, I added Le 25,000 for myself this money...I went and bought a uniform, bag and shoes...[when she found out, trafficker] withheld my school materials."

-Male Survivor, Student, Participant # 50

As indicated in the excerpt, when the interviewee realized that the trafficker was not honoring their promise to use money earned by him for school expenses, he began to put aside money to use for this purpose. However, as indicated when the trafficker found out about his savings, the materials were taken away.

The interviewee's actions in trying to circumvent the trafficker's coercion potentially placed him at increased risk of violence or other harms from the trafficker. This was echoed by other survivors in our study who reported setting aside money to buy food and then receiving harsh punishments from traffickers when this was found out.

Regional Prevalence of Force, Fraud, or Coercion

In Kailahun, 39% of trafficked children in the households of the respondents were forced to work for someone, 31% were forced to work to pay school fees, and 19% performed work not agreed upon (Figure 6).

The most common force, fraud, or coercion experiences for trafficked children in the network of the respondents were being forced to work for someone (43%), being forced to work to repay a debt (30%), not being allowed to leave (27%), and being forced to perform illegal/ illicit activities (such as theft, commercial sex, involvement in the drug trade, etc.) (19%).



Figure 6: Percentage of Household CT and Network CT Victims in Kailahun Experiencing Force, Fraud, or Coercion

In Kenema, the most common types of force, fraud, or coercion occurring among victimized household children are being forced to work for someone (24%) and being forced to work to pay school fees (20%; Figure 7). Meanwhile, being forced to work for someone and not being allowed to leave are most common for the children in the networks, involving 29% and 44% of the total number of victimized children in the respondents' networks.

Figure 7: Percentage of Household CT and Network CT Victims in Kenema Experiencing Force, Fraud, or Coercion



In Kono, 33% of victimized children in the household were forced to work for someone, and 20% were forced to work to pay for school (Figure 8). Similarly, among the trafficked children in people's networks, 29% are forced to work for someone and 32% are not allowed to leave.

Figure 8: Percentage of Household CT and Network CT in Kono Experiencing Force, Fraud, or Coercion



As indicated by the regional prevalence figures above, (also see Table 7–8) our data indicates that it is common for children who are experiencing a trafficking situation to also experience force, fraud, or coercion. What the household survey data does not reveal is how these forms of control are mechanized by traffickers. The following section, drawing from the qualitative interviews with survivors and parents, explores the range of mechanisms that traffickers used to maintain control of children whom they were trafficking.

Mechanisms of Control

Survivors in our sample reported that traffickers used a range of methods to maintain exploitative situations, including: 1) violence, 2) abusive relationships, 3) isolation, 4) denying basic needs, and 5) manipulating survivors hope for a better outcome.

Violence

Cases of physical and psychological forms of violence were common, especially in cases of trafficking for domestic work, as well as for survivors engaging in commercial sex or transactional sex. Experiences of violence were described as happening in an open and almost casual manner, often repeated and as punishment for a perceived lack of productivity on the part of the child, or in response to complaints made about the work, sometimes with long-lasting repercussions.

In the excerpt below a survivor, who was a young child when she first started to work for her aunt, describes her aunt physically assaulting her while doing domestic work:

"...she [AUNT] had wanted me to had wanted me to do the work on time. My strength was not up to the job given to me. I was doing the job but not on her time. Sometimes she [AUNT] beat me a lot for not having completed a task in time... if I do the work, she was happy but if not she [AUNT] will shout, insult and sometime beat me severely."

-Female Survivor, Unknown, Participant # 51

In another example, a survivor describes abuse by her sister. The sister had taken the survivor in as a child with the promise of helping her attend school. However, the interviewee reported doing domestic work and engaging in street vending rather than attending school.

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

-Female Survivor, Unemployed, Participant # 44

As the interviewee's story indicates, physical violence suffered during trafficking could often have long lasting repercussions. Another example of this was shared by a survivor who reported that her step mother was extremely abusive towards her. The interviewee's step mother had not sent her to school, like the step mother did with her own children, but rather had the interviewee performing domestic work and selling. In the excerpt below, the interviewee describes an assault that took place while she was being trafficked in her sister's home.

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

-Female Survivor, Student, Participant # 59

Abusive Relationships

As indicated in the previous section, survivors described experiences with traffickers which were abusive, involving the use of violence, intimidation, and threats as a means of control. Some survivors reported abusive relationships within the context of a pseudo parent-child relationship between the survivor and trafficker. Others reported abusive relationships in the context of an intimate or transactional relationship. This sometimes resulted from the trafficking experience; for example, when survivors reported being involved in an intimate relationship in order to secure food and other basic resources while being trafficked.

Pseudo Parent-Child Relationship

Survivors who were trafficked by individuals they considered family members or by biological family members, such as an aunt, sometimes indicated that they had conflicting feelings about the people who mistreated them.

They reported viewing them as their only family or wanting to be with the person who was trafficking them, but at the same time being frightened to be with them or experiencing violence while with them. Survivors reported a strong desire to be loved, supported, and treated like a biological child. Some survivors indicated that their strong desire to be a part of family life meant that they struggled to detach themselves from the person who was exploiting them.

Some survivors seemed to form an emotional bond or attachment with the person who trafficked them, despite being treated poorly or even violently by the trafficker. For example, a survivor describes her struggle with leaving her aunt who had trafficked her, whom she calls "mammy." The interviewee described "mammy" beating her regularly and denying her food while she was being trafficked for street vending.

"I told [my friend] that I will not go to Freetown [leaving my aunt] because that mammy [trafficker] was the one who grew me up and cared for me therefore, I will not abandon her...Yet the mammy do not like me and...they were not properly giving me food or water except I had to beg water from someone else...I love them so much but they do not like me."

Intimate Partner Violence and Sexual Abuse

Some survivors reported experiencing sexual abuse within a trafficker's household, or experiencing intimate partner violence while engaging in an intimate or transactional relationship during the trafficking experience. For example, one survivor reported a sexually exploitive relationship with her uncle that took place when she was a teenager living in his house to attend school.

"Although I have started doing it [having sex] before I went to their [Uncle and Aunt's] house, but I like having sex with him [Uncle] because anytime we did it, he [Uncle] will give me a lot of money and also will not allow he [Uncle's] wife to maltreat me."

-Female Survivor, Student, Participant # 43

Some survivors reported that the abusive and controlling nature of abusive intimate relationships became all too apparent once they became pregnant, or otherwise dependent. In the excerpt below, a survivor describes how the relationship changed after she became pregnant. The interviewee had been trafficked for domestic work by her aunt, and was kicked out of her aunt's home when her pregnancy was discovered. The interviewee, who was a teenager, moved in with the middle-aged man she had been in an intimate relationship with: "At that moment he was helping me. That gave me the cause to move to him but no sooner I was with him, he started treating me. I don't know if it is because of the pregnancy. He doesn't care whether I needed soap or food."

-Female Survivor, Hair Dresser, Participant #52

Isolation

One of the key features of child trafficking we found was the ease with which people who were trafficked in our study, once separated from a safe environment, could be controlled and manipulated. As seen in the section above on "not being allowed to leave," our data indicates that traffickers often restrict travel or communication with family and friends, thus isolating the person being trafficked and keeping them trapped in the situation, often through deceptive techniques, and consequently generating significant emotional anguish.

In addition, some survivors in our study reported isolation due to not knowing how to get in touch with their parents. For example, one survivor, forced into street vending while living with an older friend, described his struggle in trying to reconnect to his parents.

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

-Male Survivor, Student, Participant #47

In another example, a survivor described how his uncle manipulated him into believing that there was no one else to care for him, as a way of maintaining control.

"The uncle used fear to keep me there. He normally tell me I have no mother or father and only direct relatives I have are my step mother...So if I am with him this was the only way to survive."

-Male Survivor, Carpenter, Participant #49

Denying Basic Needs

Denying basic needs to children was frequently part of the system of control. This rendered the victim hungry and helpless and forced them to make difficult choices that may end with violent retribution. For example, a survivor described not having enough to eat during her trafficking experience.

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

-Female Survivor, Hair Dresser, Participant # 52

In another example, a survivor describes enduring trafficking in an orphanage, where she was denied food and made to engage in domestic work rather than attend school.

"I do the cooking, but no food was given to me to eat and everything will be given to [orphanage owner's] children to eat."

-Female Survivor, Seamstress, Participant # 53

Parents of survivors confirmed that when they heard about or reconnected with their children, they often discovered that they were in a state of extreme hunger, left to fend for themselves, sometimes without even basic shelter. In the excerpt below, a mother of a survivor describes treatment of her two children, who had been trafficked by a Koranic teacher.

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

-Mother of Survivor, Farmer, Participant # 31

Survivors Hope for a Better Outcome

Survivors accounts reveal that traffickers were able to take advantage of a number of factors that make it difficult for people who are experiencing trafficking to extract themselves. One of these is a perspective that if they remain patient things will improve, or that there is little that they can do because the situation they face is part of God's plan. For example, in the excerpt below a survivor who was trafficked by his aunt describes her hope for a change.

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

-Male Survivor, Unemployed, Participant # 56

Another interviewee described feeling that there was "no way out" while enduring trafficking in her aunt's home.

"I accepted whatever maltreatment I got from [my aunt] since I had no way out at that time."

-Female Survivor, Unemployed, Participant # 54

As this section revealed, many child trafficking survivors in our study experienced multiple forms of force, fraud, or coercion which were employed by traffickers using various means. Collectively, these findings suggest that children and young people may face a range of barriers when trying to leave or end a trafficking situation and that sometimes leaving may be dangerous.

Vulnerabilities to Child Trafficking

This section will explore potential vulnerabilities to child trafficking by presenting a comparison of characteristics of child victims and children who were not reported as being victims of trafficking (as reported in the household survey). Perspectives about causes and explanations for child trafficking, as described by interviews and focus group discussions, will also be discussed.

Characteristics of Children who Experience Child Trafficking and Child Labor

Characteristics of children who have experienced trafficking or child labor can offer insight into which groups of children may be at increased risk. The household survey collected demographic and other information about children who were victims of child trafficking and child labor, as well as non-victim children within households. Characteristics collected included: sex, age, disability status, child's level of education, school enrollment status, parentage status (orphan or non-orphan), and children's contribution to household expenses. See Tables 11–13 in the appendix for characteristics of children who experienced child trafficking with non-victim children. See Tables 14–16 for characteristics of children who experienced child labor with non-victim children. The following sections will present key findings from these tables as well as related qualitative findings.

Sex and Age

The sex distribution of the household children that fall into the classification of victims of CT, victims of CL, and non-victim children are compared across the three regions (Tables 11–16). Our findings indicate that male and female children experience trafficking at similar rates. In Kailahun, 51% of CT victims are male; in Kenema 52% of CT victims are male; and in Kono, 48% are male.

Overall, children between the ages of 12–17 are more likely to be trafficked than are children below the age of 12 (See Figure 9 below and Tables 11–13 in appendix). In Kailahun, 57% of children that are victims of CT are in the age range of 12–17, while 35% of the children who are not CT victims are between the ages of 12–17. Similarly, in Kenema, 59% of children who are victims of CT are in the age range of 12–17, while children in this age range are only 35% of those who are not CT victims. In Kono, 60% of CT victims versus 37% of non-victims are in the age range of 12–17.

Figure 9: Children's Age by CT/Non-CT Victim Status for Each Hotspot



Age by CT Victim/CT Non-Victim

Child Labor by Age Groups

We also assessed the number of children involved in excessive amounts of economic activity for their age, which qualifies as involvement in child labor. Table 9 (in appendix) and Figure 10 (below) presents these results for the children residing in the sampled households.

These results indicate that it is not unusual for children aged 5–11 to spend more than one hour a week in economic activities in the three hotspots. Very few children aged 15–17 are reported to spend an excessive number of hours in economic activity for their age in any of the three regions. Kono has the largest proportion of children who are engaged in an excessive number of hours in the labor force.

Among the CL victims in the network, nearly half of them are children in the 15-to-17-year age range who spend at least 43 hours in economic activity in a given week. The other half were children aged less than 15 who work an excessive number of hours in economic activities for their age. The proportion of children aged 5-11 and 12-14 who spend excessive hours in economic activity are roughly equal. See Table 10 and Figures 10, 17-19 for details.



Figure 10: Child Labor Hours by Age and Region

Disability Status

Rates of involvement in trafficking and labor by disability status are roughly equivalent across the three hotspots (Table 11–13). In Kenema, 3% of the CT victims identified in the household have a disability. This rate is 3% in Kono and 4% in Kailahun.

Level of Education

The level of education is predominantly "primary school" across the three regions (>50%). The second largest composition is JSS, which shows a significantly higher proportion in CT victims than in non-victims. In Kailahun, 27% of CT victims completed JSS, compared to 21% of the non-victims. These figures are 29% for CT victims and 17% for non-victim children in Kenema; and 31% for CT victims and 18% for children who are non-victims in Kono (Table 11–13).

Currently Enrolled in a Formal School/Koranic School/Madrassa

Regarding the enrollment rate in a formal school, children who are victims of trafficking have a higher rate of non-enrollment than children who are not victims of trafficking. Specifically, the non-enrollment rate of CT victims and non-victims are 19% and 9% in Kailahun, 14% and 9% in Kenema, and 18% and 13% in Kono, respectively (Table 11–13). There is a slightly higher rate of enrollment in a Koranic school or madrassa among children who are victims of trafficking than children who are non-victims in the three regions.

Lack of Educational Opportunities and the Promise of School Access

Participants in interviews and focus groups described a lack of educational opportunities as a key driver of trafficking vulnerability. For example, participants indicated that parents may be more likely to send their child to another community if there is not a school available in their area or if the family is unable to afford the cost of school attendance:

"There is less opportunity in terms of education in this village. Most parents when their child have their NPSE (Exam) they will send them to the bigger town to get better education service."

-Young Adult Women, Focus Group Discussion # 8

Some participants directly related being trafficked or engaging in exploitive labor in order to make money for school:

"...there are some children who pay their exam fees to write the Private WASSCE from engaging in jagaja (artisanal mining), and this is because their parents could not afford the sum, and so, are left with no option, but involve themselves in all sorts of exploitive work just to earn a livelihood."

-Male Elders, Focus Group Discussion #15

Additionally, survivors and parents often described promises of schooling made by the trafficker as a key reason why the family agreed to send their child to a relative or friend, resulting in a trafficking situation. From parents' perspectives, the decision to send the child away was nearly always due to the promise of a good education for the child at their destination. Only later did many claim to realize that this was not happening and they were being deceived.

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

-Mother of Survivor, Unknown Occupation, Participant #33

AND

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

-Female Survivor, Unemployed, Participant #54

Survivors who were disconnected from their biological family due to a disagreement or household violence were also exploited by individuals who promised to help them with schooling. For example, an interviewee quoted below desired to attend formal school. He had been living alone on the street due to a disagreement with his parents regarding Koranic school. He met an older friend who told him that he could get a free education if he travelled to the friend's hometown. Once he arrived, it quickly became clear that the friend did not intend to help him attend school, but rather pushed him to engage in street vending without pay:

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

-Male Survivor, Student, Participant #47

Bereavement

Data from our household survey indicates that children who have lost one or both parents—i.e., single or double orphans—have a higher rate of victimization than children whose parents are living (Table 11-13). Specifically, the percentage of single or double orphans among child victims is 21%, while this is 11% in non-victim children in Kailahun.

In Kenema, 19% of children who are victims of trafficking are either single or double orphans, compared to 15% of children who are non-victims in the household. In Kono, the children who are single or double orphans and victims of trafficking are 20%, while the children who are single or double orphans and non-victims is 7%.

Some interview participants also identified the death or one or both parents as leading to a trafficking experience. Extended family members were often involved in deciding where to place the surviving children. For example, some survivors in our study reported being taken away after a funeral by an aunt or uncle. In the excerpt below, a community member describes the impact of Ebola and children's departure from their home communities as a catalyst for trafficking.

"Ebola affected us. The parent that lost their lives because of Ebola, their children stayed with relatives. Most of them are not here."

-Women Elders, Focus Group Discussion #3

Contribution to Household Expenses

The household survey collected information about whether children contribute to household expenses, because this can be indicative of financial hardship within a household. Findings, as described in Table 11–13, reveal that in Kailahun, the percentage of household child trafficking victims who contribute to the expenses of the household is much higher than the percentage of household children who are non-victims contributing to the expenses of the household (41% vs 10%).

This is also true in Kenema and Kono. In Kenema, the percentage of household children who are victims contributing to the expenses of the household is 20% and the percentage of household children who are non-victims contributing to the expenses of the household is 3%.

In Kono, the percentage of household children who are victims and who are non-victims contributing to the expenses of the household are 27% and 15%, respectively. This could indicate that financial hardship or instability at the household level may be a contributor to trafficking vulnerabilities.

Consistent with results from the household survey, interview participants affirmed that often children may be expected to contribute to household expenses because the family is experiencing financial hardship. One key informant, who was a paramount chief, described the problem this way:

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

-Paramount Chief, Key Informant Interviewee # 2

A participant in a focus group discussion among male elders also described children's contribution to household expenses being related to experiences of financial hardship:

"The lack of money is a serious problem. If I have, say about six children going to school, the government will not be responsible for everything. I must buy the uniform, the bag, the books. Without money I am going to send the children to somebody who has work to do for pay...The children will work until we get enough money to take care of expenses."

-Male Elders, Focus Group Discussion #5

In addition to linking children's contribution to the household with trafficking vulnerability, interview and focus group participants described poverty in general as a key driver of vulnerability to trafficking in their communities. For example, in a focus group discussion with a group of male elders, a participant described how, in their view, poverty is linked to trafficking vulnerability:

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

-Male Elders, Focus Group Discussion #15

Survivors and parents of survivors interviewed also described poverty as being a key factor in their experience of trafficking.

"The only experience I recall is that we were poor, and my mother could not cater for my needs, so she saw an opportunity in my trafficker's request to take me away. She [trafficker] promised [my mother] of giving me a better education."

-Male Survivor, Carpenter, Participant #55

Additional Vulberability Factors

In addition to vulnerability factors indicated by the household survey described above, interviews and focus groups revealed three additional potential factors which may contribute to trafficking vulnerability: gender norms, gender-based violence, and exploitation of traditional menpikin practices. The high acceptance of child labor was also a potential vulnerability factor described by research participants who were interviewed or participated in focus group discussions. Findings related to the acceptability of child labor were presented in findings Section 2 above.

Gendered Norms

Some community members and survivors viewed gendered norms about expectations for girls and women as drivers for trafficking vulnerability. For example, in a focus group discussion with young adult women, a participant described how gender norms may be related to trafficking vulnerabilities:

> "Most parents have the idea that their girls should do more work at home to learn how to take care of their family for tomorrow. That is why girls are most time given away to help other family members on their household chores."

> > -Focus Group Discussion # 8, Young Adult Women

As the excerpt above indicates, girls may be at increased risk for being trafficked for domestic work in part because they are expected to perform domestic work and prepare for adult responsibilities managing a household due to their gender.

Gender-Based Violence

Survivors also reported experiences of gender-based violence, which they perceived as a key factor in why they experienced trafficking. For example, some survivors indicated that they left home due to experiences of violence in their parent's household, which resulted in them entering a trafficking situation.

"When I was with my parents, they were always having quarrel with me at home, so I decided to leave the house and go with my boyfriend. If they were not shouting at me, I wouldn't have left their house."

-Female Survivor, Student, Participant #60

After leaving her parents' home, the interviewee quoted above moved in with her boyfriend, who was abusive and exploitive towards her. The interviewee indicated that her boyfriend forced her to engage in commercial sex work. This example illustrates that for many survivors, the cycle of violence experienced in the household is again experienced when they leave their family household and may also contribute to trafficking vulnerability.

Menpikin Practices

Some key informants who were interviewed for this study suggested that exploitation of traditional menpikin practices, which are informal foster care arrangements, may also be a driver of trafficking vulnerability.

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

-Chief Field Officer at NGO, Key Informant Interviewee # 5

Many participants in interviews and focus groups described the practice of sending a child away from their community and birth family in order to live with relatives as something that happens with regularity. Some community members interviewed for our study expressed that it was not the traditional practice that was the problem, but rather that sometimes the foster arrangement is exploited by relatives and others in order to have children work for them rather than fulfilling promises about caring for the child.

For example, parents of survivors interviewed for this study described many instances where a foster arrangement was made on the basis that the fostering family or relative would provide support for the child to attend school. However, participants found that this promise was not fulfilled. Some participants also indicated that due to their financial hardships, they believed that menpikin offered their child the best chance at improving their life, even if it meant that the child might struggle.

Survivors also indicated that arrangements were often made by their parents about a menpikin placement without their knowledge or consent, which they suggested made it more difficult for them to leave the situation, as their parents had not given them options or asked how they felt about moving to live with another family.

Summary of Potential Vulnerabilities

Overall, in analyzing the findings from the household survey comparing characteristics of children who experienced child trafficking with children who did not experience trafficking (Table 11–13), we found that the following five factors may be associated with an increased likelihood of experiencing trafficking: 1) children who are between the ages of 12 and 17 years old, 2) who are not enrolled in formal school, 3) who are enrolled in a Koranic school, 4) children who have lost one or both parents, or 5) children who contribute to household expenses.

These potential child-level factors are consistent with findings from interviews and focus group discussions where we were regularly told that household poverty, loss of a parent, and lack of accessible schooling were key drivers of trafficking experiences. In addition, data from our qualitative interviews provides insight about potential community level factors, such as economic inequalities and gender-based violence, which may also contribute to trafficking vulnerability.

Importantly, although data from the household survey indicated that a child's gender does not appear to be a contributing factor to trafficking vulnerability (because the survey findings indicate that both male and female children are at relatively equal risk of experiencing trafficking), findings from interviews and focus group discussions indicate that gender may indeed be a factor which contributes to trafficking vulnerability.

Specifically, we found through interviews with survivors and community members that gender-based violence and gender norms expectations were viewed as contributing factors to trafficking vulnerability. This difference between the findings may indicate a need for further study to identify the ways in which gender, the social construction of gender, or gendered experiences may be a potential contributing factor to vulnerability to child trafficking.

As will be discussed in the implications section, exploring characteristics of child victims of CL or CT can help policy makers and helping organizations identify children who may be at an increased risk for trafficking and also target services and programs to support potentially high-risk populations.

Perspectives About Leaving a Trafficking Situation and Reintegration Post-trafficking

This section will explore survivors' and parents' experiences with leaving a trafficking situation and their perspectives about reintegration post-trafficking. The findings in this section are drawn exclusively from qualitative interviews with survivors and their parents. The first part of this section will explore routes and methods that survivors described to leave the trafficking situation. The second part will describe survivors' views and experiences with reintegration and healing post-trafficking.

Leaving the Trafficking Situation

In the cases of the survivors, and the parents of survivors, that we interviewed, leaving the trafficking situation occurred through several routes and methods. The most common was through contact with family members or friends who then arranged for the child to return home, or to another safe residence. Survivors also reported being helped by strangers, neighbors and friends. A few survivors described getting help from authorities. Some survivors also reported leaving on their own, through vocational training.

Help from Family

Survivors described receiving help from family members when leaving the trafficking situation. These moments of support occurred primarily when family members made direct contact with the survivor during the trafficking situation to check on their well-being. For example, in the excerpt below, an interviewee recounts when her brother helped her leave a trafficking situation.

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

-Female Survivor, Unemployed, Participant #44

Help from Neighbors

There were several cases where fortunate contact with neighbors and strangers was the key to alleviating the situation, either when others in the community recognized the problem and took the child into their own home, or where concerned citizens intervened on behalf of the child to help them. For example, in the excerpt below an interviewee recounted his neighbor stepping in to verify to his mother that he had been mistreated by the trafficker, who was a family member.

"When I told my mother, she did not believe me. She said I only want to go back for nonsense. It was the [neighbor] who told her that, what I was saying was true. Then my mother travelled to CITY...I come back to the village with my mother who reported everything to our family"

-Male Survivor, Student, Participant # 50

In the following excerpt, an interviewee describes getting support from a neighborhood friend.

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

-Male Survivor, Unemployed, Participant # 56

Help from Authorities

Less frequently, survivors and parents reported that the authorities (community chiefs, the police, or family services unit (FSU) officers) were involved in the process of getting the child out of the situation and/or returning the child to the family. For example, a parent of a survivor describes what happened when he reported his son's situation to the police.
"[The FSU] advised me to get to him immediately and so I did...FSU gave me the authority to pursue my son and get him back. I took two of my brothers along who helped me trace the child and brought him back."

-Father, Trader, Participant #29

Similarly in the excerpt below, a survivor describes contacting the police who helped her leave the trafficking situation.

> "I gave the Police man the Chief's number who was in the village whose number my mother has been using to make calls...they sent this Police Officer to go and ask for my mother...they directed the Police Officer where my family was. The Police Officer traced my family and explained to them everything I was going through."

> > -Female Survivor, Hair Dresser, Participant # 52

Help from Friends

Some survivors reported that they received help from friends in order to leave the trafficking situation. For example, an interviewee quoted below escaped from her aunt's abusive and exploitive home, where she had been forced to sell water and carry out domestic chores rather than going to school. Her traffick-ing experience at her aunt's house lasted for 5 years, during her childhood. This excerpt describes what happened when she left the situation and stayed with a friend.

"My aunty did not ask me to leave the house, me – I ran away from her to the street to look for men who can give me money... (Silence for while) I think I was fifteen years when I left her... [after leaving trafficking situation] There was not enough money to take care of ourselves because the only way my friend get was by sleeping with men and that was what I entered into so we can up keep ourselves with food and other toiletries."

-Female Survivor, Unemployed, Participant #62

The interviewee's friend who helped her escape trafficking by offering her a place to stay was also engaged in sex work. The survivor felt that she had no other option than to engage in commercial sex work to make a living. Although the interviewee did not report experiencing violence while engaging in sex work, she did face discrimination from community members. She later reported that a neighbor had reported her to the police for engaging in commercial sex, she was arrested and held in jail for a few days until her friend bailed her out.

Education and Employment as a Route Out

For some survivors we interviewed, the main positive outcomes or routes away from exploitation were enrollment in school or securing paid work. For example, in the excerpt below, two interviewees recount their experiences with securing vocational training, which lead to employment.

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

> > -Female Survivor, Hairdresser, Participant # 52

AND

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

-Male Survivor, Carpenter, Participant #55

Post-Trafficking Reintegration and Healing

Survivors and parents described a number of needs and challenges post-trafficking, which they described as impacting the reintegration and healing process. For example, survivors reported that after leaving the trafficking situation they had basic needs, medical needs, and needs for access to education and vocational training. Many times these needs were unmet post-trafficking. In addition, parents and survivors report-ed experiencing psychological distress post-trafficking, due to potentially traumatic events they experienced while being trafficked. Study participants also reported difficulties with reintegration into communities, especially due to community discrimination when a survivor returned to their community after experiencing sexual abuse during trafficking.

Survivors Needs Post-Trafficking

The immediate needs of the survivors we interviewed in many ways reflected the deprivations they had experienced while being exploited, although some had specific health needs relating directly to the violence they had been subjected to. The majority reported to us that they simply wanted to be with their families, to be loved and cared for as any other child. They wanted to have everything they might need to go to school, meaning all the basic necessities (food and clothing), plus support for any expenses related to education.

"I needed love, care and education... At the time I was really stress[ed]. I needed to go to school."

-Female Survivor, Seamstress, Participant # 53

Unfortunately, for some of the survivors we spoke to, these needs were still not met even after they left the trafficking situation. For many survivors, schooling was especially something that they wanted to access post-trafficking.

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

-Female Survivor, Unemployed, Participant # 62

However, survivors reported that they were unable to have the resources needed to attend school. In the excerpt below, an interviewee describes not only her difficulty in attending school due to her pregnancy, but also indicates a psychological consequence that results from her experience during trafficking and her continued struggle to access schooling post-trafficking.

"I just wanted to go to school that was the first thing I needed...I don't have dressing to wear and even after giving birth I want to go to school again, I know I am not big to attend school [in a low tone]."

-Female Survivor, Unknown, Participant #63

In another example, an interviewee described struggles with housing as well as resources for school post-trafficking.

"The first thing I ever wanted was to continue my education. I still don't have that person to help me...my mates are going to school but I am not. I sometimes go there to take a walk. If I say I will go to school, I don't have someone that will buy me uniform, shoes, books and bag to go to school...I still don't have a place to stay...I want someone who will support me to continue with my education."

-Female Survivor, Unemployed, Participant # 58

Some survivors who were able to attend school post-trafficking reported having to continue to work prior to or after school, which the indicated impacted their sleep and ability to focus in school:

"There was this work we have to do before going to school. I was doing domestic work like fetching water...As time progresses, I became adopted to that. So I had to get up early and do my work before going to school. I was getting up between 4:30 to 5am. I was going to bed around 9:30pm to 10pm."

-Female survivor, Student, Participant # 51



Top: River No. 2, Freetown.

Middle: Rice drying, Kainkordu, Soa Chiefdom, Kono Disctrict.

Bottom: One view outside Ministry of Social Welfare, Freetown.

Sierra Leone, December 2021.

Trauma and Psychological Distress

Among our sample of survivors there was evidence of a variety of responses to the trafficking experience which provided evidence of trauma impacts which remined a challenge post-trafficking. These included comments about feelings of depression, suicidal thoughts, difficulties in communicating, and ongoing emotional distress. These were triggered when recalling the experiences, or perhaps inadvertently caused by reminders, such as through the presence of family members who had been involved:

"...even when I'm not with [my sister] again. I'm afraid of her up till now. Anytime when I see her I felt the experiences I had when I was with her in CITY.... Anytime I see [my sister], I felt the pain I experience when I was with her."

-Female Survivor, Unemployed, Participant #44

Another interviewee described how the psychological impact from trafficking and abuse impacts her school experience:

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

-Female Survivor, Student, Participant # 59

Some survivors indicated that they are internally struggling with effects from the trafficking experience.

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

- Female Survivor, Trader, Participant # 57

Parents' Perspectives. The parents we spoke to often noted in their children the physical and psychological consequences of being trafficked. These were associated with changes in behavior, sometimes directly related to the trafficking experience, for example:

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

-Mother, Unknown, Participant #25

AND

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

-Mother of Survivor, Trader, Participant # 27

Parents also reported that their family and their child sometimes faced stigmatization upon the return to the community, especially when their child experienced sexual abuse:

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

-Mother of Survivor, Unknown, Participant # 26

Challenges with Reintegration

The stigmatization that the mother quoted above described was common among survivors in our study who were pregnant when they returned to their home community or if they had experienced sexual abuse during trafficking. Survivors reported a lack of acceptance on the part of the family or stigmatization in the community due to community perceptions about their engagement in sexual activities. In the excerpt below, an interviewee described her experience coming back to her village after being trafficked for commercial sex:

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

-Female Survivor, Student, Participant # 60

Some survivors also reported experiencing lack of acceptance by family members, especially if they were viewed as wayward or had engaged in criminal activity while being trafficked. For example, an interviewee described his experience of returning to his parent's home after leaving a trafficking situation at a Koranic school.

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

-Male Survivor, Student, Participant # 47

Findings from this section indicate that survivors continue to have critical unmet needs post-trafficking, such as psychological needs and schooling access. In addition, reports that survivors often experience stigmatization and isolation upon returning to communities or families, indicates that survivors may be at increased risk of future exploitation or even re-trafficking.

Analysis of Policy and Service Gaps

Drawing from the comprehensive desk review of anti-trafficking policies, as well as interviews with key informants, this section describes anti-trafficking policy and its implementation, and enforcement. The first half of this section describes the legal framework for enforcing anti-trafficking laws. The second half of this section is organized to reveal key informant's perspectives about implementing the Three Ps in Sierra Leone, including Prevention, Protection, and Prosecution. In addition, key informant's perspectives about challenges with implementing the Three Ps (Prevention, Protection, and Prosecution) are discussed.

Legal Framework

Enforcement of the formal legal framework in Sierra Leone, including trafficking, gender-based violence, and all other child protection matters is handled by the Family Support Unit (FSU) of the Police, sometimes working alongside staff from MSWGCA. Research by the Centre for Accountability and the Rule of Law (CARL-SL) reported that in 2014 there were 62 FSU units in Sierra Leone with 403 staff and 20 social workers from the MSWGCA (CARL, 2016). CARL found the FSU to be under-equipped, under-staffed, and under-funded, with "obstacles to access the justice system" meaning many crimes going "unreported and unpunished thus creating an impunity gap for perpetrators" (Ibid: p5). The FSU approach is to resolve claims with out-of-court settlement of cases, and officials claim that in most situations "families prefer to solve the issue at home and only in the cases of death are cases prosecuted" (MSWGCA 2014: 19). This may be due to a lack of availability of courts, the ability for traffickers to pay off their victims' families, case backlogs, and a range of other obstacles of access to justice, alongside an unwillingness of many women to bring cases against male family members for fear of alienation and ostracization (Castillejo, 2009).

Customary Law

As with many African countries, the formal framework for law, security, policing, and justice in Sierra Leone co-exists with customary practices in a hybrid system with overlapping spheres of authority (Manning, 2009). This "rich and diverse associational life" of Sierra Leone was severely disrupted by the civil war (Vincent, 2012: 13–15). Post-war initiatives regarding justice, the politics and patterns of local governance, and issues such as reform of the chieftaincy system, reflect the donor-driven trajectory of Sierra Leone's development (Broadbent, 2012). These reforms have not solved the issues of an over-centralization of power in the capital, Freetown, and ineffective local and national governance structures; they have also focused on formal processes, at the expense of sufficient attention to non-state actors and "informal" systems for dispensing justice.

Of significance here is the role played by the chieftaincy system and "secret societies"¹⁹ in customary law practices. The chieftaincy system includes 149 Paramount chiefs, representing each district in the country and over 15,000 sub-chiefs. Chiefs have significant powers—to levy fines, and control land use and sale. They also have the power to compel residents to undertake "voluntary" labor, for example, as payment for having their cases heard (Vincent, 2012). Secret societies play a large role in ordering and regulating community life, maintaining norms of behavior and membership providing access to political and economic resources.

²⁰There are separate societies for men and women and these vary by region: the Poro (male) and the Bondo (female – North, Freetown)), and also Wonde, Gbangbani, Hunting and Ojeh (male), Sande (female – South).

There is a degree of regional variation, but all secret societies involve initiation, for example through rites of passage with women undergoing Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). Secret societies are closely involved with handling domestic disputes, brokering family reconciliation, and even addressing and resolving potential cases of trafficking and exploitation, using a wide range of methods and normally much more quickly than the court system could manage (M'Cormack-Hale, 2018).

However, as with the formal system of law, women can be excluded or marginalized in customary law processes (M'Cormack–Hale, 2018). They may be given the status of minors, or have their cases settled in male secret societies, to which they have no access. These inequalities around formal and informal justice may also be pronounced for other groups, such as the poor, or those living away from their own communities (Castillejo, 2009: 10–11). Despite this, considering the central role of these societies and their members, there are productive routes for community–based structures to help those affected by issues such as trafficking to interact with the formal legal system. As M'Cormack–Hale (2018) points out, "the perception that Secret Societies adjudicate outside of western–centric human rights norms need not negate working with them in the interests of securing justice".

The 3 Ps and Implementation Challenges

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

Specific recommendations included reform of the legislative framework, alongside other changes to increase the quantity and efficiency of prosecutions (and to meet the minimum standards regarding sentencing); enhancing protection for victims through increased investment in services and provision of shelters; and increased awareness-raising and training activities to improve prevention, alongside a request for specific policy changes. The latter related to the ongoing ban on recruitment of Sierra Leoneans for overseas work, which it was suggested could be leading to an increase in irregular migration and thereby vulnerability to exploitation.

The interviews carried out as part of this study included engagement with a range of stakeholders and key informants. Since these interviews were conducted a new Action Plan on Trafficking (2021–2023) was launched (in October 2020). The key informants that we spoke to described precisely the kinds of systemic and structural weaknesses undermining prevention efforts and effective implementation of a comprehensive response to trafficking that have been identified by previous research (Zimmerman et al., 2021). The following section details challenges to implementing the 3 P's.

Prevention

Key informants reported minimal efforts towards prevention, with a heavy focus on awareness raising campaigns. There were frustrations around a lack of collaboration and partnership that was seen as necessary to generate greater impact:

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

-Family Support Unit Officer, GoSL, Key Informant, Participant #75

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

"There are so many Acts but how do we popularize that for people to know?"

-District Council Chairman, GoSL, Key Informant, Participant #67

We found no evidence that prevention activities had been based on systematic research around gaps/ needs, or indeed whether there had been any evaluations of the impacts of these efforts. Underpinning the approach to prevention was a belief that awareness-raising activities would bear fruit given sufficient time and effort:

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

> > -Child Protection Officer, NGO, Key Informant, Participant #66

Key informants also revealed a recognition that the potential utility of awareness raising campaigns was weakened due to a lack of requisite legal and enforcement structures that are often precarious and prone to breaking down:

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

-Family Support Unit Officer, GoSL, Key Informant, Participant #64

Protection

Some key informants reported effective partnership working with NGOs to ensure protection for victims once they had been identified. However, although a number of key child protection NGOs were named that operate across the country, there were concerns that their capacity is not sufficient to deal with the complex work of protecting children from human trafficking:

"There are other organizations like NGO1, there is one local NGO called "LOCAL" that is operating here in Kailahun, INGO of course is taking the lead in the district... we have NGO2. We last have meeting with NGO2 some point in time on child trafficking. There are a lot of humanitarian organizations taking part in combating child trafficking. In term of staffing, looking at the local NGOs, the staff capacity is too much not at the level to take up the responsibility."

-Child Protection Officer, NGO, Key Informant, Participant #66

Key informants also described a range of child protection structures within communities including child welfare committees, and others related to the secret societies.

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

-Protection Officer, NGO, Key Informant, Participant #76

There was a strong message from our study participants that to effectively protect children from trafficking, these community structures needed to be part of a collaborative approach that both protects survivors and at-risk children and prevents trafficking in the first place.

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

-District Social Services, GoSL, Key Informant, Participant #72

However, there were mixed opinions about community structure's effectiveness, or suitability for dealing with the issue of child trafficking:

"Child Welfare Committees are not functional in every chiefdom. Where they are functional, they do identify, they do report, refer cases of trafficking and help with the reintegration of victims of trafficking – where they exist."

- Child Protection Specialist, NGO, Key Informant, Participant #77

AND

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

- Child Protection Officer, NGO, Key Informant, Participant #66

Prosecution

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

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

> > -Family Support Unit Officer, GoSL, Key Informant, Participant #64

AND

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

- Child Protection Officer, NGO, Key Informant, Participant #66

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

Minimal Punishment

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

-Protection Officer, NGO, Key Informant, Participant #76

AND

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

-Human Trafficking Task Force Member, Key Informant, Participant #73

Inconsistent Enforcement

"Like I told you the Paramount chiefs have been involved you go to one chiefdom they do not share the same characteristics so one law that is applicable in LOCAL COMMUNITY may not be applicable in another."

- District Council Chairman, GoSL, Key Informant, Participant #67

Families See No Benefit

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

-Child Protection Specialist, NGO, Key Informant, Participant #77

Culture of Silence

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

-Child Protection Specialist, NGO, Key Informant, Participant #77





Top: Village of Kainkordu, Soa Chiefdom, Kono District, Sierra Leone, December 2021.

Bottom: Road to Kainkordu, Soa Chiefdom, Kono District, Sierra Leone, December 2021.

KEY INSIGHTS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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

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

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

We begin this section with implications for prevalence research, followed by implications for practice and policy. We end with recommendations for policy makers and practitioners, which are based on our study findings and conversations with our partners.

Implications for Prevalence Research

This pioneering work is important in that it is the first piece of research to systematically and quantitatively examine the scale and scope of child trafficking and child labor in the child trafficking hotspots of Kailahun, Kenema, and Kono. The prevalence estimates of the CT and CL based on the probabilistic sampling survey of the households can serve as the baseline and provide insights into the severity and levels of child trafficking and child labor in the three regions. These data can be used to guide programming, legislation, and policies that will mitigate child trafficking and child labor.

We also implemented NSUM to estimate CT and CL and compared these estimates with those obtained through traditional survey techniques. In these hotspots, the NSUM underestimated child trafficking and labor activities relative to the estimates produced by traditional methods. Additional research comparing NSUM to direct survey methods is needed to determine under what circumstances NSUM vs. direct survey methods is the most appropriate prevalence estimation technique.

Several factors may have contributed to the difference in estimates between the direct and NSUM estimates. One possible factor is the discrepancy between the frame population (adults) and target population (children aged 5–17 and which are CT/CL) in the NSUM implementation (Feehan and Salganik, 2016). Because IRB protocols do not allow children to be interviewed, we administered the survey to the adults. This suffices for the traditional method based on household/proxy reporting.

However, when surveying is restricted to a subpopulation which reports on another subpopulation, then transmission, barrier, and recall effects can be compounded due to differences in the social network composition of the surveyed subpopulation relative to the targeted population. In this case, adults may not be as aware of CT and CL characteristics of children in the population relative to their own children's CT and

CL status and with respect to what children may know about each other's status. An additional sample collected from the target population could not only facilitate the quantification of transmission error and barrier effects, but also yield improved estimates via a technique known as generalized-NSUM (Feehan and Salganik 2016).

A hybrid strategy, which typically refers to a final estimate based on a weighted average of two estimators or designs, such as from a household sample and a respondent-driven sample, may also be advisable. In the context of this study, we suggest the use of a hybrid estimator based on the sample of household children respective to the Direct Estimation and the sample of network children in correspondence to the NSUM strategy. Direct Estimation calculates the prevalence rates of CT/CL by {the average # of CT/CL in the household}/ {the average number of children in the sampled households}, while NSUM estimates the prevalence rate by {the average # of CT/CL in the household and in the network}/ {the average personal network degrees}.

From this study, the average # of CT/CL in the network is typically quite less than that that in the household, which is probably due to the discrepancy between the frame population (adults) and the target population (children). If we compare the two estimators, NSUM has a small increase in the numerator but a big increase in the denominator comparative to the direct estimation, leading to an under estimation. An appropriate weighting strategy is suggested which can potentially reduce bias in the estimators, thus increasing and increase in accuracy in terms of the extrapolation of prevalence estimates from household or people's network to the vast general population.

In addition, post stratification sample weights would be useful in future research. Post stratification weighting is normally used to make statistics computed from the data more representative of the population. However, it requires the use of auxiliary information about the population and may take a number of different variables into account. Information usually needed includes population estimates of the distribution of a set of demographic characteristics that have also been measured in the sample—for example, information found in the census such as gender, age, educational attainment, household size, residence (rural, urban, metropolitan), and region. Finding good estimates for the population characteristics is sometimes a challenge.

Implications for Policy and Practice

Addressing systemic gaps and blockages

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

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

The Challenge of Redress and Reintegration

We heard loud and clear the desire of trafficked children to enjoy a full education and to enter into employment. However, too often, the problems faced by children and their families that led to the trafficking experience (poverty, bereavement, lack of access to education) mean that a return to the family home is no solution.

Removal from the trafficking situation may sometimes result in reunification and reintegration with their family and a return to regular schooling, but equally holds the risk of re-trafficking or entering into another form of exploitation. There is an urgent need for programs that support both redress and reintegration for survivors, and for these to be realistic, appropriate, and sustainable.

Improving Effectiveness and Understanding 'What Works'

The perception is that formal structures can have little penetration in rural areas, and that while community-based systems offer opportunities for justice, this can be unequal or unfair in terms of outcomes. There is thus an urgent need for evidence about the effectiveness of laws, policies and programs in this area. There is little knowledge about the impact of policy change, and the effects on identification of victims or the short, medium and long-term outcomes for survivors.

The findings summarized in this report provide the basis for future research which should gather evidence about "what works" with an emphasis on educational and employment outcomes. Key informants regularly referred to awareness-raising efforts as the main policy intervention for trafficking prevention, but there is no systematic research or evaluation into the effectiveness of these. Considering the complexity of the different cultural, geographic, demographic, and socio-economic factors, awareness-raising should be very focused and ideally based upon rigorous research to target key groups and to track its benefits and usefulness.

Trust, Community Engagement, and Collective Impact

Considering the challenges outlined in this report, partnership, and communication with both formal and informal structures, and between survivors, families, and communities will be integral to improving outcomes. The report highlights several challenges for navigating issues of trust with the authorities, which are often underpinned by perceptions of ineffectiveness. There is thus a need to build trust through sustained engagement and inclusive partnership.

Anti-trafficking policy and programming work should always be with, and for, survivors, and so their involvement in the development of interventions must be a minimum expectation. Survivors' involvement is critical for developing appropriate and well-matched community level and individual level interventions to prevent and address trafficking. There are significant potential benefits in including families and formal/community structures as part of a collaborative, co-designed approach. This also applies to research, such as this report, that aims to bring the voice of survivors, their families, and communities into work that can feed into the implementation and reform of law, policy, and programming.

Recommendations

Building from our study findings, we recommend that policy makers, GoSL actors, community leaders, justice sector actors, religious leaders, community members, survivors and parents collaboratively consider implementing policies and services in the following priority areas:

1 Include children at risk of trafficking in relevant education policy initiatives. Those who have lost one or more parents or are living away from biological parents should be included in the Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education's (MBSSE) National Policy of Radical Inclusion in Schools (2021).

This 2021 policy²¹ sets out provisions to increase justice and equity in peoples' lives by creating an educational environment that supports marginalized groups in formal education, but it does not currently cover children whose access to education is jeopardized by having lost one or more parents or who are living away from biological parents. Our findings indicate that children at risk of experiencing trafficking may be disconnected from their families. The results of our research also overwhelmingly point child trafficking risks driven in part by a lack of accessible, local schooling, as well as a lack of financial resources for families to purchase basic school supplies. Therefore, including these groups of at-risk children into this policy would help prevent trafficking.

2 Expand adult education and vocational training through Community Education Centres in rural areas for young adults who may have been denied an education due to trafficking and have since aged out of school eligibility.

Survivors in our study indicate they were unable to attend school, post-trafficking, leaving them potentially at increased vulnerability to re-trafficking. We recommend MBSSE consider increasing development and access to educational opportunities for survivors of trafficking, especially those who have aged out of eligibility for traditional schooling. Survivors interviewed for our study indicate they would welcome increased vocational programs and opportunities, especially in their home communities. Survivors report continuing to struggle post-trafficking and indicate that vocational programs may support them in building independence and decrease their re-trafficking risk. Community members echo survivors' perspectives and indicate that more vocational programs in their local communities would reduce trafficking. Programs would benefit from co-development with survivors in local areas to assess education and skills gaps and ensure uptake. NGOs and local child welfare committees could hire survivors and parents as peer supporters. This could strengthen services by making survivors' perspectives central to programming, as well as provide survivors with a vocational opportunity. It could also allow local communities to develop a sustainable network of support which could reduce re-trafficking or further exploitation of children.

3 Improve safeguards for children in informal fostering care.

We recommend community leaders, government officials from the Ministry of Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs (MSWGCA), and agency staff collaboratively build a record-keeping system for children who are living in menpikin arrangements in order to support efforts to ensure their safety and well-being. We also recommend that parents who feel they must send their child to live in a menpikin placement be encouraged to maintain direct contact with their children while they are living away, to check on them regularly, and to seek help if their child is not being properly treated. In addition, appropriate and targeted awareness-raising for community members could encourage the reporting of child abuse and child trafficking to authorities.

4 Encourage and foster a culture of support for reintegration of survivors.

Interviews with key informants and community members reveal many child services, especially those directly serving child trafficking victims and survivors, are under resourced and understaffed. Survivors and parents report receiving very little to no support post-trafficking to help with reintegration. We recommend service providers, such as FSUs and Child Welfare Committees, collaborate with service users to develop and provide comprehensive post-integration services for survivors and their families to ensure successful reintegration and decrease risk for retrafficking. Survivors indicate they would particularly like to see increased psychological support, financial support, and education or vocational training opportunities.

5 Provide for appropriate forms of justice and redress that are more survivor-centered and informed.

Findings from interviews with key informants and community members indicate a need to strengthen prevention, protection, and prosecution effortsspecifically, the sustainability of local programs serving survivors and parents. Participants report a lack of access to justice services and indicate that enforcement of antitrafficking laws vary between communities. Participants also highlight a "culture of silence," described as when community members remain silent about child trafficking rather than reporting or seeking to help a victim. Given these findings, we recommend that justice services increase collaboration with local leaders, government officials, and survivors with an aim to ensure equity in access to justice for survivors across Sierra Leone. Through these collaborations, local leaders and officials can raise community awareness about the importance of supporting survivors and victims of child trafficking by speaking up when a child is being mistreated or exploited. Though Magistrate and High Courts dealing with cases such as trafficking now sit in district headquarter towns, our findings indicate that justice and other support services may be challenging for survivors and family members to access, especially when survivors are living in rural communities. We recommend that justice and support services prioritize learning from the experience of survivors and parents.

Collecting robust data about access to justice and support services, including a feedback mechanism for survivors and parents, would provide better understanding of where there are gaps in access. We recommend that government agencies enhance and strengthen data collection on service access for survivors and families. Feedback from these groups could include mechanisms for monitoring and incorporating learnings into programming and intervention at every level. Our findings indicate that survivors and parents have experiences with services which could offer critical insight into gaps, challenges, and what is working for people who are seeking or receiving support during or following a trafficking experience.

6 Improve effectiveness and resilience of prevention via systematic collaboration between key social actors.

Prevention of trafficking depends on cooperation between non-government stakeholders (survivors, parents, paramount chiefs, councils of elders, local child welfare committees, mothers' clubs) and relevant government agencies. Interviews with key informants suggest collaboration between stakeholders, especially local leaders and GoSL leaders, could be greatly strengthened. Collaboration is viewed as critical for ensuring programs, services, and policies are equitably enforced and implemented. Survivors and key informants strongly suggest meaningful engagement between themselves and support agencies in developing programs and policies. Paramount chiefs could consider appointing young people, especially young women and individuals who have experienced trafficking, as sub-chiefs and advisors. For example, young people could support paramount chiefs in adopting and developing community bylaws which are meaningful for young people and more effective in preventing and reducing trafficking.



Village of Kainkordu, Soa Chiefdom, Kono District, Sierra Leone, December 2021.

INFORMING IMPLEMENTATION THROUGH RESEARCH: CURRENT PROJECTS AND FUTURE GOALS

This section describes current and future extensions of this baseline research study. In addition, we describe our Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning program (MEL) process and how we will collaborate with our implementation partners to develop implementation strategies and programs which are informed by evidence. We also describe APRIES' related organizational goals.

Future Research

An endline study is planned to begin in 2022. The endline study will assess changes in the prevalence of child trafficking over time from baseline and measure impact of anti-trafficking initiatives in Sierra Leone during the implementation period. In addition to the endline study, we are currently developing studies which deepen our understanding of child trafficking and child labor in Sierra Leone. Specifically, we have a number of ongoing research projects which extend or expand upon baseline findings presented in this report. These include:

- **1** Identifying vulnerability factors of populations in the three regions of Sierra Leone
- **2** Determining the correlates of child trafficking in the three regions of Sierra Leone
- **3** Expanding and refining prevalence estimates using NSUM for LMICs, like Sierra Leone
- **4** Identifying gaps in services and policies centering perspectives of child trafficking survivors and parents/guardians of survivors
- **5** Building an understanding about survivor and parent perspectives about trafficking vulnerabilities

6 Expanding our understanding of community conceptualizations of child trafficking, as it relates to prevalence and vulnerabilities

In addition to continuing to expand our research base of knowledge about child trafficking and child labor in Sierra Leone, we have also worked with our implementation partners to apply our research findings to improve programming efforts to address child trafficking and child labor.

Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning (MEL): Real World Research Application

Through our robust MEL program, we have proactively collaborated with our implementation partners in Sierra Leone to use data from our baseline findings to inform their programming efforts. In addition to sharing baseline findings with our partners, we have also provided technical guidance and assistance to facilitate this process. Our model for MEL, figure 11, shows how data collection and analysis/learning activities feed into our implementation work. Our MEL processes support our implementation partners to build evidence of their programs' effectiveness and to base their programming practices on evidence.



Figure 11: MEL Example of Evidence-Building and Evidence-Based for Implementation

Our implementation partners are currently refining and developing new programs to address baseline findings. For example, a finding in this report indicates that there is a high prevalence of trafficking for out-of-school children. Our partners are responding to this finding by developing new strategies for community sensitization and engagement of out-of-school children, youth, caregivers, and community groups. In addition, the finding that trafficking survivors have unaddressed needs post-trafficking (also identified in this report) has led to our partners developing a process for collecting and using survivor feedback to improve protective services. Our MEL work will not only help to build evidence of the effectiveness of anti-trafficking programs in Sierra Leone, but will also inform our research moving forward.

APRIES Goals: Looking Forward

Sub–Saharan Africa has the highest prevalence rates of child trafficking and child labor globally, due in large part to the region's high level of poverty. APRIES therefore plans to continue advocating for more resources into SSA.

While we conduct our work in specific hotspots, the attention, interest, and support of central governments is key to anti-trafficking efforts. We acknowledge that anti-trafficking efforts are not always a national priority for several governments in SSA due to limited resources and high needs. Therefore, weaving in anti-trafficking efforts as part of anti-poverty, domestic violence, and education inequality initiatives is strategic. Additionally, we foster the sustainability of anti-trafficking efforts by creating environments, such as in-country think tanks, that allow local and national responses to trafficking to continue post-programming.

By expanding our research knowledge about child trafficking, collaborating with our implementation partners, and building relationships with policy makers, advocates, and researchers in Sierra Leone, we continue to work towards making a measurable impact on the prevalence of child trafficking in Sierra Leone and throughout SSA.

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Tables

District	Kenema	Kailahun	Kono	Total
No. of Households	111,734	83,348	86,119	281,201
No. of Sampled	1220	905	945	3,070
Households				
No. of Children in the	1743	3029	1537	6309
sampled Households				
% Urban	45%	29%	25%	
No. of Urban EAs	26	12	11	49
No. of Rural EAs	32	30	34	96
No. of Urban	546	252	231	1029
Households				
No. of Rural	672	631	713	2016
Households				

Table 1: Household Survey Sampling Distribution

Data source: SSL 2016. Sierra Leone 2015 Population and Housing Census Summary of Final Results: Planning A Better Future. Freetown, Sierra Leone: Statistics Sierra Leone.

Table 2: Welfare of the Sampled Households

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

Each cell contains the mean value of the characteristics and the 95% confidence interval in parenthesis. The items are evaluating the household welfare on the scale of 1-5 with 1 being extremely disagree and 5 being strongly agree.

	Kailahun		Kenema		Kono	
Characteristics	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Total	905	100.00	1220	100.00	945	100.00
Type of toilet is used by the household						
Flush/pour flush to piped sewer system	0	0.00	8	0.66	1	0.11
Flush/pour flush to septic tank	70	7.73	30	2.46	6	0.63
Flush/pour to pit latrine	4	0.44	37	3.03	12	1.27
Ventilated improved pit (VIP) latrine	4	0.44	102	8.36	27	2.86
Pit Latrine with slab	530	58.56	866	70.98	719	76.08
Composting Toilet	29	3.20	46	3.77	99	10.48
Bush	268	29.61	131	10.74	81	8.57
Main source of lighting for the dwelling						
Electric lights	3	0.33	184	15.08	64	6.77
Kerosene or gas lamps	20	2.21	7	0.57	64	6.77
Candles or torch light	842	93.04	984	80.66	707	74.81

Generator	3	0.33	2	0.16	8	0.85
Other	37	4.09	43	3.52	102	10.79
Main source of drinking water for the h	ousehold					
Public tap	281	31.05	692	56.72	346	36.61
Dug well	293	32.38	382	31.31	354	37.46
Natural Spring	2	0.22	35	2.87	2	0.21
Rainwater	0	0.00	1	0.08	0	0.00
Bottled Water	0	0.00	3	0.25	1	0.11
River/Stream	297	32.82	84	6.89	242	25.61
Other	32	3.54	23	1.89	0	0.00
Main fuel used by the household for co	oking					
Electricity	0	0.00	1	0.08	2	0.21
LPG/natural gas/biogas	1	0.11	0	0.00	0	0.00
Kerosene	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.11
Coal/lignite	1	0.11	1	0.08	1	0.11
Charcoal	73	8.07	235	19.26	247	26.14
Wood	828	91.49	982	80.49	691	73.12
Straw/Shrub/grass	1	0.11	0	0.00	0	0.00
Agricultural crop	0	0.00	1	0.08	0	0.00
No food cooked in household	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.32
other	1	0.11	0	0.00	0	0.00

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Table 4: Characteristics of CT Events the Children in the Sampled Hous	eholds Experienced
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Type of	Events	Kailah	un	Kener	ma	Kono			
work		Count	Percent of household CT	Coun		Coun			
	Total	573	100.00	807	100.00	702	100.00		
Labor	Mining/quarrying	21	3.66	54	6.69	46	6.55		
sectors	Fishing	24	4.19	74	9.17	81	11.54		
	Portering	67	11.79	163	20.20	147	20.94		
	Sex work	5	0.87	12	1.49	10	1.42		
	Manufacturing	9	1.57	11	1.36	10	1.42		
	Construction	19	3.32	31	3.84	28	3.99		
Dangerous	Carrying heavy loads	268	46.77	516	63.94	133	18.95		
Labor Experience s	Operated heavy machinery or worked with dangerous tools	15	2.62	89	11.03	0	0.00		
	Exposure to dust, fumes, or gases	11	1.92	12	1.49	0	0.00		
	Exposure to extreme cold, heat, or humidity	177	30.89	92	11.40	0	0.00		
	Exposure to loud noise or vibration	13	2.27	7	0.87	0	0.00		
Force/Frau d/Coercion	Forced to work for someone who is not a member of this household	226	39.44	197	24.41	230	32.76		
	Forced to work to repay a debt with an employer or recruiter	64	11.17	43	5.33	22	3.13		
	Worked outside the home for little or no wages	146	25.48	194	24.04	221	31.48		
	Performed work that was not agreed upon (e.g., hired for one type of work, but ended up doing another)	108	18.85	41	5.08	40	5.70		
		24	4.19	40	4.96	28	3.99		
	Performed work that was illegal or immoral (such as stealing, prostitution)	17	2.97	12	1.49	12	1.71		
-	Forced or made to work to pay for their school fees	176	30.72	160	19.83	105	14.96		
-		11	1.92	48	5.95	16	2.28		

In each region (Kailahun, Kenema, or Kono), the first column is the number of household CT falling into the characteristics, and the second column is the percentage of household CT.

Type of	Events	Kailahun		Kenema		Kono	
work		Count	Percent of network CT	Count	Percent of network CT	Count	Percent of network CT
	Total	504	100.00	177	100.00	317	100.00
Labor sectors	Mining/quarrying	56	11.11	25	14.12	30	9.46
sectors	Fishing	71	14.09	12	6.78	45	14.20
	Portering	93	18.45	38	21.47	114	35.96
	Sex work	39	7.74	6	3.39	18	5.68
	Manufacturing	34	6.75	14	7.91	1	0.32
	Construction	90	17.86	8	4.52	46	14.51
Dangerous	Carrying heavy loads	338	67.06	96	54.24	184	58.04
Labor Experience s	Operated heavy machinery or worked with dangerous tools	138	27.38	19	10.73	74	23.34
	Performed work that exposes him/her to dust, fumes, or gases	118	23.41	25	14.12	116	36.59
	Performed work that exposes him/her to extreme cold, heat, or humidity	273	54.17	54	30.51	173	54.57
	Performed work that exposes him/her to loud noise or vibration	111	22.02	16	9.04	88	27.76
Force/Frau d/Coercion	Been forced or induced to commit illicit/criminal activities/Petty crime	95	18.85	6	3.39	21	6.62
	Been forced or induced to work for someone	214	42.46	51	28.81	91	28.71
	Been forced or induced to work to repay a debt owed by someone else		29.96	13	7.34	17	5.36
	Not allowed to contact his or her family or is otherwise cut off from family contact by his or her employer	135	26.79	78	44.07	100	31.55

Table 5: Characteristics of CT Events Experienced by the Children in the Social Network of Respondents
Table 6: Age Distributions of Excessive Work Hours Among Children in the Household Classified as Victims of CL

Categories of Household CL	Kailahun		Kenema		Kono	
	Count	Percent of household CL	Count	Percent of household CL	Count	Percent of household CL
Child aged 5-11 spends at least 1 hour in economic activity in a given week	141	8.09	168	5.55	194	12.62
Child aged 12-14 spends at least 14 hours in economic activity in a given week	8	0.46	77	2.54	89	5.79
Child aged 15-17 spends at least 43 hours in economic activity in a given week	0	0.00	8	0.26	13	0.85
Total household CL	149	8.55	253	8.35	296	19.26

Recall that the household children are classified as having been involved in child labor if "yes" responses are recorded on the following questions: the child spends at least 1 hour in economic activity in a given week if child is aged 5-11; the child spends at least 14 hours in economic activity in a given week if child is aged 12-14; the child spends at least 43 hours in economic activity in a given week if child is aged 15-17. The household CL refers to the children in the household working beyond the maximum work hours for their age group. That is, household CL does not contain household CT in this and next table.

Table 7: Age Distributions of Excessive Work Hours Among Children in the Network Classified as Victims of CL

Categories of Network CL	Kailahun		Kenema		Kono	
	Count	Percent of network CL	Count	Percent of network CL	Count	Percent of network CL
Child aged 5-11 spends at least 1 hour in economic activity in a given week	101	5.79	22	0.73	69	4.49
Child aged 12-14 spends at least 14 hours in economic activity in a given week	85	4.88	23	0.76	55	3.58
Child aged 15-17 spends at least 43 hours in economic activity in a given week	168	9.64	34	1.12	97	6.31
Total household CL	354	20.31	79	2.61	221	14.38

Recall that the network children are classified as having been involved in child labor if "yes" responses are recorded on the following questions: the child spends at least 1 hour in economic activity in a given week if child is aged 5-11; the child spends at least 14 hours in economic activity in a given week if child is aged 12-14; the child spends at least 43 hours in economic activity in a given week if child is aged 15-17. The network CL refers to the children in people's network working beyond the maximum work hours for their age group. That is, household CL does not contain household CT in this and the above table.

Victim	Number of	Number	Percentage of	Number of	Percentage of	Odds Ratio
Characteristics	Household Children	of CT	СТ	Non-CT	Non-CT	
Fotal	1743	573	100.00	1170	100.00	
Sex						
Male	835	291	50.79	544	46.50	1.19
Female	908	282	49.21	626	53.50	0.84
Marital status						
Married	17	8	1.40	9	0.77	1.83
Single	1649	508	88.66	1141	97.52	0.20
Separated/Divorced	1	1	0.17	0	0.00	NA
Other	76	56	9.77	20	1.71	6.23
Disability status						
Yes	83	25	4.36	58	4.96	0.87
No	1660	548	95.64	1112	95.04	1.14
Level of education						
Pre-primary	105	8	1.40	97	8.29	0.16
primary	968	299	52.18	669	57.18	0.82
JSS	392	153	26.70	239	20.43	1.42
SSS	75	18	3.14	57	4.87	0.06
None	181	85	14.83	96	8.21	1.95
Other	22	10	1.75	12	1.03	1.71
Currently						
enrolled in a						
formal school						
Yes	1525	467	81.50	1058	90.43	0.47
No	218	106	18.50	112	9.57	2.14
Enrolled in a						
Koranic						
school/madrassa						
Yes	268	133	23.21	135	11.54	2.32
No	1475	440	76.79	1035	88.46	0.43
Orphan						
Double orphan	32	17	2.97	15	1.28	2.35
Single orphan	222	105	18.32	117	10.00	2.02
No	1489	451	78.71	1038	88.72	0.47
Contribute to the						
expenses of the						
household						
Yes	356	234	40.84	122	10.43	5.93
No	1387	339	59.16	1048	89.57	0.17

Table 8: Characteristics of CT and Non-CT Children in the Sampled Households in Kailahun

Religion							
Christian	524	146	25.48	378	32.31	0.72	
Muslim	1218	427	74.52	791	67.61	1.40	
Tribal religion	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	NA	<u> </u>
Do not know	1	0	0.00	1	0.09	NA	
Age							
5~11	1008	248	43.28	760	64.96	0.41	
12~14	345	139	24.26	206	17.61	1.50	
15~17	390	186	32.46	204	17.44	2.28	

In each region (Kailahun, Kenema and Kono), the first column is the number of children in the sampled households with the characteristic, the second and third columns are the number and proportion of CT with the characteristic, the fourth and fifth columns are the number and proportion of non-CT with the characteristic, and the fifth column is the odds ratios (ORs) of the CT and non-CT with the characteristics. ORs are used to compare the relative odds of the occurrence of the outcome of interest (e.g., CT), given exposure to the variable of interest (e.g., double orphan). The OR can also be used to determine whether a particular characteristic is a risk factor for CT, and to compare the magnitude of various risk factors for. An OR greater than 1 indicates increased occurrence of CT for those with the characteristic (e.g., double orphan) and an OR<1 indicates decreased occurrence of CT for those with the characteristic (e.g., double orphan) and an OR<1 indicates decreased occurrence of CT for those with the characteristic (e.g., double orphan) and an OR<1 indicates the children with the characteristic (e.g., double orphan). The higher the odds ratio value is, the more likely it is that children with the characteristic (e.g., double orphan=2.35 in Kailahun as an example. This indicates that children who are double orphans are 2.35 times more likely to be trafficked than those who are not double orphan.

Victim	Number of	Number	Percentage of	Number of	Percentage of	Odds Ratio
Characteristics	Household Children	of CT	СТ	Non-CT	Non-CT	
Total	3029	807	100.00	2222	100.00	
Sex						
Male	1437	422	52.29	1015	45.68	1.30
Female	1592	385	47.71	1207	54.32	0.77
Marital status						
Married	11	5	0.62	6	0.27	2.30
Single	3010	801	99.26	2209	99.41	0.79
Separated/Divorced	4	1	0.12	3	0.14	0.92
Other	4	0	0.00	4	0.18	0.00
Disability status						
Yes	63	24	2.97	39	1.76	1.72
No	2966	783	97.03	2183	98.24	0.58
Level of education						
Pre-primary	102	9	1.12	93	4.19	0.26
primary	1739	413	51.18	1326	59.68	0.71
JSS	613	231	28.62	382	17.19	1.93
SSS	132	50	6.20	82	3.69	1.72
None	342	82	10.16	260	11.70	0.85

Table 9: Characteristics of CT and Non-CT Children in the Sampled Households in Kenema

Other	101	22	2.73	79	3.56	0.76
Currently						
enrolled in a						
formal school						
Yes	2715	697	86.37	2018	90.82	0.64
No	314	110	13.63	204	9.18	1.56
Enrolled in a						
Koranic						
school/madrassa						
Yes	822	229	28.38	593	26.69	1.09
No	2207	578	71.62	1629	73.31	0.92
Orphan						
Double orphan	45	19	2.35	26	1.17	2.04
Single orphan	452	134	16.60	318	14.31	1.19
No	2532	654	81.04	1878	84.52	0.78
Contribute to the	2					
expenses of the						
household						
Yes	247	161	19.95	86	3.87	6.19
No	2782	646	80.05	2136	96.13	0.16
Religion						
Christian	332	72	8.92	260	11.70	0.74
Muslim	2691	731	90.58	1960	88.21	1.29
Tribal religion	2	2	0.25	0	0.00	NA
Do not know	4	2	0.25	2	0.09	2.76
Age						
5~11	1765	330	40.89	1435	64.58	0.38
12~14	651	217	26.89	434	19.53	1.52
15~17	613	260	32.22	353	15.89	2.52

Table 10: Characteristics of CT and Non-CT Children in the Sampled Households in Kono

Victim	Number of	Number	Percentage of	Number of	Percentage of	Odds Ratio
Characteristics	Household Children	of CT	СТ	Non-CT	Non-CT	
Total	1537	702	100.00	835	100.00	
Sex						
Male	781	335	47.72	446	53.41	0.80
Female	756	367	52.28	389	46.59	1.26
Marital status						
Married	9	4	0.57	5	0.60	0.95
Single	1528	698	99.43	830	99.40	1.05
Separated/Divorced	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	NA
Other	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	NA
Disability status						
Yes	33	19	2.71	14	1.68	1.63
No	1504	683	97.29	821	98.32	0.61
Level of education						
Pre-primary	89	11	1.57	78	9.34	0.15
primary	830	349	49.72	481	57.60	0.06
JSS	385	218	31.05	167	20.00	1.80
SSS	77	49	6.98	28	3.35	2.16
None	150	74	10.54	28 76	9.10	1.18
livence	150	/ -	10.54	70	9.10	1.10
Other	6	1	0.14	5	0.60	0.24
Currently						
enrolled in a						
formal school						
Yes	1306			728	87.19	0.69
No	231	124	17.66	107	12.81	1.46
Enrolled in a						
Koranic						
school/madrassa	275	122	19.05	1.40	17.01	1 1 4
Yes	275			142	17.01	1.14
No Ornhan	1262	569	81.05	693	82.99	0.88
Orphan Double orphan	20	13	1.85	7	0.84	2.23
Single orphan	198			73	8.74	2.23
No	1319			755	90.42	0.43
Contribute to the					<u>-</u>	
expenses of the						
household						
Yes	297	189	26.92	108	12.93	2.48
No	1240			727	87.07	0.40
Religion						
Christian	709	306	43.59	403	48.26	0.83

Muslim	824	394	56.13	430	51.50	1.20
Tribal religion	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	NA
Do not know	4	2	0.28	2	0.24	1.19
Age						
5~11	810	280	39.89	530	63.47	0.38
12~14	374	194	27.64	180	21.56	1.39
15~17	353	228	32.48	125	14.97	2.73

Table 11: Characteristics of CL and Non-CL Children in the Sampled Households in Kailahun

Victim	Number of	Number	Percentage of	Number of	Percentage of	Odds Ratio	
Characteristics	Household Children	of CL	CL	Non-CL	Non-CL		
Total	1743	722	100	1021	100		
Sex							
Male	835	357	49.45	478	46.82	1.11	
Female	908	365	50.55	543	53.18	0.90	
Marital status							
Married	17	8	1.11	9	0.88	1.26	
Single	1649	656	90.86	993	97.26	0.28	
Separated/Divorced	1	1	0.14	0	0.00	NA	
Other	76	57	7.89	19	1.86	4.52	
Disability status							
Yes	83	30	4.16	53	5.19	0.79	
No	1660	692	95.84	968	94.81	1.26	
Level of education							
Pre-primary	105	21	2.91	84	8.23	0.33	
primary	968	388	53.74	580	56.81	0.88	
JSS	392	177	24.52	215	21.06	1.22	
SSS	75	22	3.05	53	5.19	0.05	
None	181	100	13.85	81	7.93	1.87	

Other	22	14	1.94	8	0.78	2.50
Currently						
enrolled in a						
formal school						
Yes	1525	596	82.55	929	90.99	0.47
No	218	126	17.45	92	9.01	2.13
Enrolled in a						
Koranic						
school/madrassa						
Yes	268	155	21.47	113	11.07	2.20
No	1475	567	78.53	908	88.93	0.46
Orphan						
Double orphan	32	21	2.91	11	1.08	2.75
Single orphan	222	125	17.31	97	9.50	1.99
No	1489	576	79.78	913	89.42	0.47
Contribute to the						
expenses of the						
household						
Yes	356	258	35.73	98	9.60	5.24
No	1387	464	64.27	923	90.40	0.19
Religion						
Christian	524	176	24.38	348	34.08	0.62
Muslim	1218	546	75.62	672	65.82	1.61
Tribal religion	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	NA
Do not know	1	0	0.00	1	0.10	NA
Age						
5~11	1008	343	47.51	665	65.13	0.48
12~14	345	160	22.16	185	18.12	1.29
15~17	390	219	30.33	171	16.75	2.16

Victim	Number of	Number	Percentage	Number of	Percentage of	Odds Ratio
Characteristics	Household Children	of CL	of CL	Non-CL	Non-CL	
Total	3029	1060	100	1969	100	
Sex						
Male	1437	553	52.17	884	44.90	1.34
Female	1592	507	47.83	1085	55.10	0.75
Marital status						
Married	11	5	0.47	6	0.30	1.55
Single	3010	1053	99.34	1957	99.39	0.92
Separated/Divorced	4	2	0.19	2	0.10	1.86
Other	4	0	0.00	4	0.20	0.00
Disability status						
Yes	63	29	2.74	34	1.73	1.60
No	2966	1031	97.26	1935	98.27	0.62
Level of education						
Pre-primary	102	23	2.17	79	4.01	0.53
primary	1739	568	53.58	1171	59.47	0.79
JSS	613	279	26.32	334	16.96	1.75
SSS	132	57	5.38	75	3.81	1.44
None	342	108	10.19	234	11.88	0.84

Table 12: Characteristics of CL and Non-CL Children in the Sampled Households in Kenema

Other	101	25	2.36	76	3.86	0.60
Currently						
enrolled in a						
formal school						
Yes	2715	917	86.51	1798	91.32	0.61
No	314	143	13.49	171	8.68	1.64
Enrolled in a						
Koranic						
school/madrassa						
Yes	822	304	28.68	518	26.31	1.13
No	2207	756	71.32	1451	73.69	0.89
Orphan						
Double orphan	45	21	1.98	24	1.22	1.64
Single orphan	452	185	17.45	267	13.56	1.35
No	2532	854	80.57	1678	85.22	0.72
Contribute to the	2					
expenses of the						
household						
Yes	247	183	17.26	64	3.25	6.21
No	2782	877	82.74	1905	96.75	0.16
Religion						
Christian	332	91	8.58	241	12.24	0.67
Muslim	2691	963	90.85	1728	87.76	1.38
Tribal religion	2	2	0.19	0	0.00	NA
Do not know	4	4	0.38	0	0.00	NA
Age						
5~11	1765	482	45.47	1283	65.16	0.45
12~14	651	274	25.85	377	19.15	1.47
15~17	613	304	28.68	309	15.69	2.16

Victim	Number of	Number	Percentage of	Number of	Percentage of	Odds Ratio
Characteristics	Household Children	of CL	CL	Non-CL	Non-CL	
Total	1537	998	100	539	100	
Sex						
Male	781	487	48.80	294	54.55	0.79
Female	756	511	51.20	245	45.45	1.26
Marital status						
Married	9	5	0.50	4	0.74	0.67
Single	1528	993	99.50	535	99.26	1.48
Separated/Divorced	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	NA
Other	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	NA
Disability status						
Yes	33	21	2.10	12	2.23	0.94
No	1504	977	97.90	527	97.77	1.06
Level of education						
Pre-primary	89	40	4.01	49	9.09	0.42
primary	830	494	49.50	336	62.34	0.03
JSS	385	289	28.96	96	17.81	1.88
SSS	77	66	6.61	11	2.04	3.40
None	150	106	10.62	44	8.16	1.34
Other	6	3	0.30	3	0.56	0.54

Table 13: Characteristics of CL and Non-CL Children in the Sampled Households in Kono

Currently						
enrolled in a						
formal school						
Yes	1306	836	83.77	470	87.20	0.76
No	231	162	16.23	69	12.80	1.32
Enrolled in a						
Koranic						
school/madrassa						
Yes	275	210	21.04	65	12.06	1.94
No	1262	788	78.96	474	87.94	0.51
Orphan						
Double orphan	20	18	1.80	2	0.37	4.93
Single orphan	198	160	16.03	38	7.05	2.52
No	1319	820	82.16	499	92.58	0.37
Contribute to the						
expenses of the						
household						
Yes	297	218	21.84	79	14.66	1.63
No	1240	780	78.16	460	85.34	0.61
Religion						
Christian	709	416	41.68	293	54.36	0.60
Muslim	824	580	58.12	244	45.27	1.68
Tribal religion	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	NA
Do not know	4	2	0.20	2	0.37	0.54
Age						
5~11	810	442	44.29	368	68.27	0.37
12~14	374	265	26.55	109	20.22	1.43
15~17	353	291	29.16	62	11.50	3.17

Region	Type of CT	Number of Types of Work						
		1	2	3	>=4	Total	Mean	SD
Kailahun	Household CT	250	131	76	116	573	2	2
	Network CT	169	84	60	191	504	4	4
Kenema	Household CT	403	154	92	158	807	2	2
	Network CT	65	35	36	41	177	3	2
Kono	Household CT	271	159	101	171	702	3	2
	Network CT	106	37	49	125	317	4	3

Table 14: Number of Types of Work in which CT Victims are Involved

The Mean and SD correspond to the number of work types per victim of CT involved

Victim	Number of	Number	Percentage	Number of	Percentage of	Odds Ratio
Characteristics	Household Children	of CL	of CL	Non-CL	Non-CL	
Total	3029	1060	100	1969	100	
Sex						
Male	1437	553	52.17	884	44.90	1.34
Female	1592	507	47.83	1085	55.10	0.75
Marital status						
Married	11	5	0.47	6	0.30	1.55
Single	3010	1053	99.34	1957	99.39	0.92
Separated/Divorced	4	2	0.19	2	0.10	1.86
Other	4	0	0.00	4	0.20	0.00
Disability status						
Yes	63	29	2.74	34	1.73	1.60
No	2966	1031	97.26	1935	98.27	0.62
Level of education						
Pre-primary	102	23	2.17	79	4.01	0.53
primary	1739	568	53.58	1171	59.47	0.79
JSS	613	279	26.32	334	16.96	1.75
SSS	132	57	5.38	75	3.81	1.44
None	342	108	10.19	234	11.88	0.84

Table 15: Characteristics of CL and Non-CL Children in the Sampled Households in Kenema

01	101	25	0.26	7(2.96	0.00
Other	101	25	2.36	76	3.86	0.60
Currently						
enrolled in a						
formal school						
Yes	2715	917	86.51	1798	91.32	0.61
No	314	143	13.49	171	8.68	1.64
Enrolled in a						
Koranic						
school/madrass						
Yes	822	304	28.68	518	26.31	1.13
No	2207	756	71.32	1451	73.69	0.89
Orphan						
Double orphan	45	21	1.98	24	1.22	1.64
Single orphan	452	185	17.45	267	13.56	1.35
No	2532	854	80.57	1678	85.22	0.72
Contribute to the	ne					
expenses of the						
household						
Yes	247	183	17.26	64	3.25	6.21
No	2782	877	82.74	1905	96.75	0.16
Religion						
Christian	332	91	8.58	241	12.24	0.67
/luslim	2691	963	90.85	1728	87.76	1.38
ribal religion	2	2	0.19	0	0.00	NA
o not know	4	4	0.38	0	0.00	NA
lge						
~11	1765	482	45.47	1283	65.16	0.45
2~14	651	274	25.85	377	19.15	1.47

309

15.69

2.16

15~17

613

304

28.68

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Victim	Number of	Number	Percentage of	f Number of	Percentage of	Odds Ratio
Characteristics	Household Children	of CL	CL	Non-CL	Non-CL	
Total	1537	998	100	539	100	
Sex						
Male	781	487	48.80	294	54.55	0.79
Female	756	511	51.20	245	45.45	1.26
Marital status	100	011	01.20	210	10110	1.20
Married	9	5	0.50	4	0.74	0.67
Single	1528	993	99.50	535	99.26	1.48
Separated/Divor		0	0.00	0	0.00	NA
Other	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	NA
Disability status						
Yes	33	21	2.10	12	2.23	0.94
No	1504	977	97.90	527	97.77	1.06
Level of educati	ion					
Pre-primary	89	40	4.01	49	9.09	0.42
primary	830	494	49.50	336	62.34	0.03
JSS	385	289	28.96	96	17.81	1.88
SSS	77	66	6.61	11	2.04	3.40
None	150	106	10.62	44	8.16	1.34
Other	6	3	0.30	3	0.56	0.54
Other	0	5	0.50	5	0.50	0.54
Currently						
enrolled in a						
ormal school Tes	1306 836	83.77	470	87.20	0.76	
No	231 162	16.23	470 69	12.80	1.32	
Enrolled in a	251 102	10.25	0,	12.00	1.52	
Koranic						
chool/madrassa						
les	275 210	21.04	65	12.06	1.94	
10	1262 788	78.96	474	87.94	0.51	
Drphan						
Double orphan	20 18	1.80	2	0.37	4.93	
Single orphan No	1981601319820	16.03 82.16	38 499	7.05 92.58	2.52 0.37	
NO Contribute to the	1517 820	82.10	499	92.38	0.57	
xpenses of the						
ousehold						
<i>(</i> es	297 218	21.84	79	14.66	1.63	
No	1240 780	78.16	460	85.34	0.61	
Religion						
Christian	709 416	41.68	293	54.36	0.60	
Muslim	824 580	58.12	244	45.27	1.68	

able 16: Characteristics of CL and Non-CL Children in the Sampled Households in Kono

Tribal religion	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	NA	
Do not know	4	2	0.20	2	0.37	0.54	
Age							
5~11	810	442	44.29	368	68.27	0.37	
12~14	374	265	26.55	109	20.22	1.43	
15~17	353	291	29.16	62	11.50	3.17	

Table 17: Number of Types of Work in which CT Victims are Involved

Region	Type of CT	Numb	Number of Types of Work					
		1	2	3	>=4	Total	Mean	SD
Kailahun	Household CT	250	131	76	116	573	2	2
	Network CT	169	84	60	191	504	4	4
Kenema	Household CT	403	154	92	158	807	2	2
	Network CT	65	35	36	41	177	3	2
Kono	Household CT	271	159	101	171	702	3	2
	Network CT	106	37	49	125	317	4	3

The Mean and SD correspond to the number of work types per victim of CT involved

Figures





The 14 reference subpopulations and their abbreviation are:

- 1) people who moved into [Kailahun/Kenema/Kono] from 2010-2015 (move);
- 2) men who are widows (widow);
- people with a disability whose main disability was caused by a transportation accident (transp);
- 4) people with a disability whose main disability was caused by an injury at work (work);
- 5) people with a disability whose main disability was caused by polio (polio);
- 6) people who are completely deaf (deaf);
- 7) children under the age of 18 who are orphans (orphan);
- 8) children under the age of 18 who have at least one parent living abroad (parentab);
- 9) children between the ages of 5 and 17 who have difficulty walking (walk);
- 10) children between the ages of 5 and 17 who are covered by any type of health insurance (healthins);

- 11) children between the ages of 7 and 14 who use the same language at home that is also used by their teachers at school (lang);
- 12) children aged 2-17 who use a hearing aid (hear);
- 13) children aged 2-17 who wear glasses for vision correction (glass);

14) and children aged 2-17 who use equipment or receive assistance for walking (asswalk).

The remaining two reference subpopulations were included in the survey but not used in the NSUM analysis due to the lack of known size from administrative data. They are women do you know who smoke cigarettes and women who graduated from high school.



Figure 13: Validity Check for Reference Subpopulations in Kenema

Refer to Figure 1 for the list of 14 reference subpopulations and their abbreviations.

Figure 14: Validity Check for Reference Subpopulations in Kono



Refer to Figure 1 for the list of 14 reference subpopulations and their abbreviations.

Figure 15: Percentage of Household CT and Network CT Victims in Kailahun by Labor Sector



Figure 16: Percentage of Household CT and Network CT Victims in Kenema by Labor Sector



128









Figure 19: Comparison of Percent of Household CL and Network CL by Age Range in Kenema.







Figure 21: APRIES Theory of Change



Appendix A: Qualitative Data Collection Activities, Sample Characteristics and Sample Size

Data Collection	Sample Characteristics	Number of
Activities		participants
(a) A comprehensive	Review of key published articles on human	N/A
desk review of	trafficking in West Africa	
literature on human	Review of reports, laws, polices, and guidelines	
trafficking in the West	from government agencies involved in addressing	
African region	human trafficking	
	Review of reports, polices, and guidelines from	
	national and international NGOs involved in	
	mitigating human trafficking	
(b) Key Informant	Key Informants from the following government	15
Interviews with	agencies: Ministry of Social Welfare/Action,	
representatives of	Ministry of Justice, Police Family Support Unit	
government and NGOs	(FSU), responsible for gender and child protection	
at national and local	issues, including investigating and prosecuting.	
levels	Key Informants from the following national level	
	NGOs/INGOs: like IOM, UNICEF- child protection	
	units, WHI, Caritas	
	Key Informants from regional local government	
	leaders from the following hotspot regions: Kono,	
	Kenema, and Kailahun	
	Key Informants (district local government leaders)	
	from selected districts in hotspot regions	
(c) Key Informant	In the first round of interviews, one local opinion	
Interviews with local	leader or one CSO leader was identified at the local	
opinion leaders and	level. Thereafter, each of the primary entities were	
CSOs that are	asked to nominate two other entities in each	
knowledgeable about		

the dynamics and set up	category until at least three levels of referrals are	
of human trafficking	attained (snowball sampling).	
(d) In-depth interviews	Opinion leaders and/or NGOs were requested to	39
with referred survivors	help identify survivors of child trafficking and/or	Interviews: 21
of child trafficking	their parents or guardians, so as to obtain detailed	with Survivors
and/or parents or	interviews from them. Some of the victims were	and 18 with
guardians of	identified from receiving centers/shelters for	Parents
victims/survivors in	children rescued from trafficking (survivors).	
geographic hotspots for		
child trafficking in		
Sierra Leone		
(e) FGDs with	Representatives of households in hotspot source and	24 Focus
representatives of local	destination communities for child trafficking will be	Groups (each
communities in	identified and composed into FGDs.	included 7-10
geographic hotspots for	Representatives of households in hotspot source and	participant's
child trafficking	destination communities for child trafficking will be	each)
	identified and composed into FGDs.	

Appendix B: Description of Qualitative Data Collection Tools

Comprehensive Desk Review of Literature. A comprehensive desk review of literature on human trafficking and child trafficking in the West Africa region was undertaken. The target was to obtain key published and unpublished articles on child trafficking in the region, so as to understand the context, prevalence, impact of the problem, interventions undertaken so far, and institutional capacities for addressing the problem. It also involved collection and review of reports from national and international NGOs involved in mitigating human trafficking. The literature review also shed light on key instruments and tools available to measure humantrafficking and learn from how they have been used.

Key Informant Interviews with Governmental and Non-governmental Agencies. Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) were held with representatives of governmental and NGOs and experts at the national level, the regional and district level in the identified hotspots. The purpose of the interviews was to collect key informants' views on the burden of child-trafficking, the dynamics involved, and the capacity of the institutions to address human trafficking. The interview guide for the national and regional KIIs included questions which asked participants about their role/level of expertise in response and prevention of child trafficking, their knowledge about child trafficking within their region, their perceptions about the causes of trafficking and their recommendations for trafficking prevention.

Key Informant Interviews with Local Leaders and Local Civil Society Organizations. KIIs were held with local opinion leaders and local CSOs that are knowledgeable about the dynamics and set up of child trafficking. A snowballing approach was used to identify referrals for interviews. During the first round of the interviews, one local opinion leader and one local CSO were identified from the district local government leaders (one in each category of known source communities and one in each category of known destination communities). Thereafter, each of the individuals identified was then asked to nominate two other individuals in each category until at least three levels of referrals were attained.

The purpose of the interviews was to understand the national and local dynamics of child trafficking, the key influencers and traffickers, the routes of movement, the most vulnerable subgroups/households and the factors driving their vulnerability, and the local institutional frameworks for mitigating the problem. The interview guide for local level KIIs included questions exploring the individual's knowledge about child trafficking within the local context, community response to child trafficking, and recommendations to address child trafficking within the community.

In-depth Interviews (IDIs) with Young Adult Child Trafficking Survivors and Parents/Guardians of Child Trafficking Survivors. IDIs were conducted with young adult survivors of child-trafficking, who had experienced trafficking in the last five years (excluding those who are currently being trafficked), as well as parents or guardians of referred victims/survivors of child trafficking in the localities that are hotspots for human trafficking. Opinion leaders who were interviewed in the previous data collection activity were requested to help identify survivors of child trafficking aged 18-22 years. The referred individuals and/or their parents/guardians were then contacted by the research team and invited to participate in a semistructured interview. Survivors were also identified from the centers and shelters that receive and care for victims who exited trafficking.

The purpose of these interviews was to understand the experiences the survivors and their families went through and the processes involved in the child trafficking chain. Although they were asked similar questions, an interview was developed specifically for survivors and another interview guide was developed for parents/guardians. The survivor interview guide included questions about the survivor's personal experience of trafficking as well as their perceptions about the causes and impacts of trafficking, challenges with re-integration and recommendations for peers. The parent/guardian interview guide included questions exploring the parent's perspective of their child's trafficking experience, the impact of trafficking on the young person and family as well as their recommendations for community leaders.

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with Local Community Members and Representatives. FGDs were facilitated with local community members and leaders in geographic hotspots for child trafficking. The purpose of the FGDs was to understand community members' perceptions of the local dynamics of child trafficking, the key influencers and traffickers, the most vulnerable sub-groups/households, the factors driving their vulnerability, and the local institutional frameworks for mitigating the problem. In each hotspot, at least one FGD was conducted with key demographic groups²¹ including: adult females, adult

²¹ See data map, page X for more detail regarding demographics of FGDs

males, female youth and male youth. The interview guide included vignettes related to child trafficking and child labor, which were intended to spark conversation among focus group participants. Vignette 1 depicted a child trafficking scenario. This vignette allowed us to explore how familiar child trafficking was to community members, and also which terms and concepts were used by community members to describe a case of child trafficking. Vignettes 2 [child labor] and 3 [child work] enabled the focus groups discussion to explore a bit more deeply the distinction between child labor and child work. Following each vignette, the focus group guide included questions to gauge participant's conceptualizations of trafficking and perceptions of community response. Finally, the guide included more general discussion questions seeking community feedback on recommendations for prevention and response.

Appendix C: Qualitative Data Collection Instrument Samples

Interview guide: Key Informants

Interview Guide 1: Key Informant Interview Guide, Government and NGO officials

Thank you for agreeing to speak with us. We'd like to begin by asking a bit of background information.

Objectives:

- Explore the status of efforts, including interventions and policies for prevention, protection, and prosecution against child trafficking at a country level, as well as identify the contribution of the different stakeholders in this field
- Capture perceptions, mechanisms, and manifestations of child trafficking
- Understand the practices and bottlenecks that perpetuate child trafficking in the country
- 1. Tell me about yourself, your organization/government department, and your role in child protection?
 - Probe for: Specific role of your office in combating *internal* child trafficking.
 - Probe for: Any specific age group that this organization focuses on (e.g., adolescents).
 - **Probe for:** How many personnel at the organization/department are assigned to work on child trafficking and related roles? What proportion (and or number) are full-time staff?
 - **Probe for:** What are the forms/types of internal child trafficking handled by your department/organization?
- 2. What is your organization's/department's understanding of child trafficking?
 - Probe for: Challenges faced by your organization/department in fighting child trafficking.
 - Probe for: What are the top three priorities for this organization/department in child protection?
 - **ONLY FOR NGOS-Probe for**: What is your organization's philosophy and approach in service provision?
 - **Probe for:** How are cases of child trafficking managed (referral mechanisms, re-integration and additional services offered)?
 - **Probe for:** What preventative measures (sensitization, among others) are done in vulnerable communities or populations?
 - **Probe for:** How do you identify and track the number of victims served and the services provided to the trafficked victims?
- 3. What are the most commonly occurring forms of internal child trafficking in this country?
 - **Probe for:** What are the most common sectors where children are trafficked (e.g., agriculture, mining, fishing, etc.)?
 - **Probe for Each Sector:** What are the working conditions of the trafficked children?
 - Probe for: What forms of trafficking that boys are mainly involved in?
 - Probe for: What forms of trafficking that girls are mainly involved in?
- 4. What other organizations/departments are involved in combatting internal child trafficking?
 - Probe for: The roles and capacities of the different bodies involved, including government bodies.
 - **Probe for:** How do organizations/departments work together or partner, if at all?
 - **Probe for:** Nature of coordination of effort and activities of the various Child Protection agencies geared toward addressing internal child trafficking problem in the country.
 - Probe for: From your perspective, how adequate are the support services for prevention of trafficking?

- 5. How does the process of internal child trafficking usually occur in this country?
 - **Probe for:** Most common regions/hotspots of origin and destination for trafficking and why?
 - **Probe for:** Common tactics used for recruitment of children?
 - **Probe for:** Who are in the recruitment networks for the children?
 - **Probe for:** Common modes of transport used and the different places of origin and destinations for internal (in-country) trafficking.
 - **Probe for:** Actions undertaken to address trafficking activities at known recruitment, transit and destination sites.
- 6. What are the causes/facilitators of child trafficking in your country?
 - **Probe for:** What are specific factors that place populations at risk for trafficking (structural/system)?
 - **Probe for:** What are factors that enable perpetrators to get away with trafficking (structural/system)?
 - Probe for: Are there cultural practices or attitudes that facilitate and sustain child trafficking?
 - Probe for: How does child trafficking go unnoticed by many people?
 - **Probe for:** Gaps and barriers in response that facilitate and sustain child trafficking (related to protection, prevention and prosecution) at national, institutional and community-level.
 - 7. Can you tell me about specific laws, policies, or guidelines in your country that are meant to protect children against trafficking, either directly or indirectly?
 - **Probe for:** What is your opinion on the laws, policies, and guidelines currently in place to reduce the practice of *internal* child trafficking and the implementation of them?
 - **Probe for:** How do local governments/chiefdoms and community Child Protection structures such as Child Welfare Committee (CWC), play a role in the prevention of child trafficking?
 - **Probe for**: Are there trainings provided on human trafficking (categories of identification, protection, prosecution, or prevention)? If so, who provides the training?
 - Probe for: Are there existing transit centers to receive children who are rescued?
 - **Probe for:** What are the entities involved in prosecution of traffickers?
 - **Probe for:** Opinion about the effectiveness of the prosecution efforts.
- 8. What are the future plans to address internal child trafficking?
 - **Probe for:** Short-term and long-term plans from the perspective of the organization and the government.
 - **Probe for:** Future plans related to bills being formulated, reviewed, tabled and planned activities.
 - **Probe for:** Future plans related to systems for implementation of policies and enforcement of laws to prevent and mitigate human trafficking and child trafficking and their effectiveness.
 - **Probe for:** Challenges that may hinder these plans.
- 9. What recommendations would you give to address internal child trafficking?

Additional questions for the key informants at the shelters

- 1. Describe the processes of how the victims of internal child trafficking come to this shelter?
- 2. What services are provided at this shelter to the children?
 - **Probe for:** Point at which the children leave this shelter?
 - **Probe for:** What is the typical length of time that support is provided to the victims and/or their families?
 - **Probe for:** Challenges the Facility is faced with and any measures being taken to mitigate the challenges.
 - Probe for: Any monitoring of impact (short and long-term) of the support given?

- **Probe for** Specific approaches they use in services or ask about rules/regulations/guidelines for survivors living there.
- 3. In your opinion, how does child trafficking affect the wellbeing of child victims/their families and the communities?
- 4. Based on the current situation, what would you recommend government to put in place or implement to mitigate internal child trafficking?

Thank you for taking off time to be part of this interview.

Interview guide: Survivors

<u>Interview Guide 4,</u> <u>Narrative: In-Depth Interviews with Survivors</u>

Thanks for agreeing to speak with us. We'd like to begin by asking a bit of background information. Kindly speak to us as much as you feel comfortable.

Objectives of the tool:

- Experiences prior that may have been drivers of vulnerability
- Understand manifestations and mechanisms of child trafficking including the set-up, linkages, and transactions involved
- To understand the nature/phenomenon of the trafficking experiences
- Experiences of survivors leading to their discovery (services, referral, re-integration)
- Barriers to successful re-integration of survivors from their perspective
- Experiences with prosecution

NOTE: For survivors that have been trafficked more than once, these questions should be asked for each trafficking cycle.

- 1. Tell us your story (before, during and after)
 - **Probe for:** Age at the time it happened.
 - Probe for: Schooling status before and after.
- 2. What led to this trafficking experience?
 - Probe for: Individual experiences.
 - **Probe for:** Family experiences.
 - **Probe for:** Community related or other issues.
- 3. Where did this trafficking experience take place AND how?
- 4. Tell me more about the kind of people who are involved (don't tell us their names)?
 - **Probe for:** Were you related to them in any way?
- 5. What did they do to keep you there?
- 6. What do you wish would have been done to prevent this trafficking experience from happening?
- 7. What were your immediate needs during this experience?

- **Probe for:** Were there any challenges (including financial, or otherwise) that the family had to deal with during the trafficking process?
- 8. How did you cope during the trafficking period?
- 9. How have you kept in touch with the agency/people that recruited you into trafficking?
 - **Probe for:** How did they communicate with you?
 - **Probe for:** Whether the survivor kept in touch with their families during the period of trafficking.
- 10. When did this trafficking experience stop and how?
 - **Probe for:** Other people in similar situations who are still there.
 - **Probe for:** How was help available?
- 11. What were your immediate needs after having come out of this experience?
 - Probe for: How did you cope after the trafficking period?
- 12. Tell us about the help you needed, received, and from whom?
- 13. If you have since been supported, what did you like and dislike about the help you received?
- 14. What challenges do you encounter now being back?
- 15. What recommendations would you give to individuals that have faced child trafficking?
- 16. Is there anything more about this experience you want to tell us?

Thank you for taking off time to be part of this interview.

Focus Group Discussion Guide Sample

Interview Guide 3-- FGDs with Community Members

SCRIPT:

Thanks for agreeing to speak with us. We'd like to begin by introducing ourselves.

Objectives (For the modulator):

- Community perceptions on human trafficking
- Community perceptions of the mechanisms, manifestations of child trafficking
- Understand the cultural practices that perpetuate child trafficking

<u>TIPS: ** If</u> the question has been answered fully and completely there is no need to repeat if, unless for clarity.

We are have gathered you here to discuss how children are treated when working inside and outside the home. **Vignette 1:**

Sadi is a 9-year-old girl staying with her single mother and her uncle Bondi. One morning, two men come to their home and they engage in an intense conversation with her mother for about 30 minutes. The men then gave her mother something that looked like money. Sadi has never seen these men but her uncle knows what they do and he believes many locals know this too. After their conversation, Sadi was asked to pack her bag immediately. Her mother told her she had no money to pay for her school fees and that they were taking her to study from the city. The men took Sadi to the bus park where she was handed over to another man who accompanied her. Upon arrival in the city, Sadi never joined any school but was taken to work for a well-to-do family in the suburbs. She works

every day from 5.00am to mid-night without any rest. She cleans the house and compound, washes clothes, cooks, and looks after four children, two of whom are older than her. Since coming to the city, Sadi has never communicated with her mother. She is forbidden from making phone calls. She tried to escape one day but her employers beat her severely and warned her never to go more than 100 meters away from the house. Despite working for close to a year now, she has never received any pay. Her employers scold her every day for being lazy, yet she feels she works her heart out. Sometimes she is denied the food she has prepared herself.

- 1.1. Do you think what is happening in this scenario is morally correct? Why or why not?
- 1.2. Does this scenario describe something that commonly occurs in this community? If so, in what ways does this occur?
- 1.3. Does this scenario describe forced labor or child trafficking?
- 1.4. Tell me about similar challenges/problems faced by children and young people (6-17 years) in your community.
 - Probe for: Family, cultural and social related challenges.
 - **Probe for:** Challenges specific to boys.
 - **Probe for:** Challenges specific to girls.
- 1.5. What are the causes of scenarios such as the one described in above?
 - **Probe for:** Cultural factors.
 - **Probe for:** Economic factors.
 - **Probe for:** Social factors.
- 1.6. Are there cases in your community where children (6-17 years) have been exploited, harbored or moved from their homes to other place(s)?
 - **Probe for:** Why they are exploited?
 - **Probe for:** Do parents know about this or gave consent?
 - **Probe for:** Where they go to work/exploited (the destinations)?
 - **Probe for:** Type of exploitation these children are usually exposed to.
 - Probe for: Specific seasons/high-peak seasons when these children are recruited.
 - Probe for: Whether the recruiters are commonly known to the family members or community?
- 1.7. How are cases, like these, of child trafficking being handled in your community when identified?
 - **Probe for:** Who is notified when a child is identified?
 - Probe for: What happens once these authorities/persons have been notified?
- 1.8. How has child trafficking impacted your community?
 - **Probe for:** How has it affected your community?
 - **Probe for:** The effects on the children (victims) and their families.
- 1.9. In what ways has your community tried to address the issues described above?

Vignette 2:

Modo is a 14-year-old boy while Meme, his sister is 10. Their father is a farmer. One morning as the two children prepare to go to school, their father tells them they were not going anywhere. He says that they have to work to eat and that it has become impossible for him to meet his agricultural production goals and business goals without them working. He tells the children that they are a useless lazy lot, yet they are the ones 'eating' all his money and therefore they have to work for it. From that day on, the children work from 6am to 6pm. The girl works in the field, preparing the ground for planting, sowing seed, weeding, harvesting the crop and manually threshing and

winnowing the maize. The boy works in a local stone quarry hitting rocks to make gravel which his father sells. They go to school only once or twice a week, mainly in the off-season, and even then, they often arrive very late after doing some work. Every day, they are very exhausted yet their living conditions do not seem to improve. To their father, working to make money is more important than going to school – the difference is he never participates in the work himself.

- 1.1 Do you think what is happening in this scenario is morally acceptable? Why?
- 1.2 Does this scenario describe something that commonly occurs here? If so, in what ways does this occur?
- 1.3 What are the causes of scenarios such as the one described in above?
 - **Probe for:** Cultural factors.
 - **Probe for:** Economic factors.
 - **Probe for:** Social factors.

1.4 In what ways has your community tried to address the issues described above?

Vignette 3:

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

1.1 Do you think what is happening in this scenario is morally acceptable? Why?

1.2 Does this scenario describe something that commonly occurs here? If so, in what ways does this occur?

General discussion questions

Given the discussions above:

- 1. Describe the expectations that adults have when it comes to children helping to work inside and outside the home.
 - Probe for: How many hours do they work for their families?
 - Probe for: How often do they work for their families?
- 2. What are your community's thoughts on children being overworked or exploited when working outside the home?
- 3. What would be your recommendations to reduce cases of child trafficking and other forms of exploitation of children in your area?
 - **Probe for:** Prevention of trafficking.
 - Probe for: Management of child trafficking victims (rehabilitation and protection of victims).
 - **Probe for:** Prosecution and judicial system.

Thank you for taking off time to be part of this interview.
Appendix D: Qualitative Coding Procedures

Step 1. Development of the preliminary coding scheme

Of note, a coding scheme was developed for each type of qualitative data (i.e., in-depth interviews with survivors, in-depth interviews with parents of survivors, key informant interviews with opinion leaders at the community-level and national-level, focus group discussions with the national anti-trafficking task force and community members) resulting in four schemes.

Three coding scheme development teams were created to develop the coding schemes: RAN, the University of Georgia, and the University of Liverpool. Each team was comprised of a minimum of 2 individuals. Each team was assigned a subset of transcripts to review by the Qualitative Analysis Lead (QAL) in order to develop a preliminary coding scheme. Each team identified themes, major codes and subcodes based on the interview questions and participant responses (King & Brooks, 2018; Miles & Huberman, 1994)—resulting in 3 preliminary coding schemes.

Step 2. Finalize coding scheme

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

Step 3: Individual coding

The coding process itself was comprised of two phases: individual coding (Step 3) and codingto-agreement (Step 4). The individual coding process began by creating multi-disciplinary two or three-person coding teams. This process was used to ensure the inclusion of diverse perspectives and increase the trustworthiness of the analysis.

Due to the high volume of transcripts and to ensure accuracy of coding, a coding schedule was developed comprised of several rounds. Each round was divided into up to eight codes. This

strategy enabled the coder to focus on only coding the transcripts for up to eight codes at a time, thereby reducing coder fatigue and increasing the accuracy of coding. Each team was informed of which rounds of codes they would be assigned. Once assigned rounds, each team member was responsible for individually coding all transcripts for codes within their designated round. To assist with this process, a team lead was assigned within each team to answer questions posed by members of the team. This person was responsible for keeping the team on schedule and facilitating and finalizing the coding-to-agreement process (described below in Step 4).

Step 4: Team coding-to-agreement

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

Steps 1 through 4 were overseen by the QAL on the project. In addition, each week, all members were required to attend a team supervision meeting. The team supervision focused on resolving problems that they arise during the coding process.

Once all the coding had taken place, the teams inputted the final codes into a qualitative analysis software (NVivo) program. NVivo was used to facilitate data organization, and retrieval, and data analyses for report writing.

Appendix E: Sample Size Calculation for Prevalence Estimates

The calculation of the sample size is $n' = \frac{z_{\alpha/2} \cdot p(1-p) \cdot N}{z_{\alpha/2}^2 \cdot p(1-p) \cdot N + (N-1) \cdot e^2}$, where $z_{\alpha/2}$ is the critical value of the normal distribution at $\alpha/2$. For a confidence level of 95%, where α is 0.05 and the critical value is 1.96; *e* is the margin of error, which is set at +-2.8%; *N* is the number of total population, which is 625,500 in Kailahun, and *p* is the sample proportion. In this study the female adult population is 163,629; so 163,629/625,500 = 26% of the population in Kailahun. This yields a result of n' = 945 households in Kailahun. The similar calculations are made for Kenema and Kono, which yield the sample size of 1220 in Kenema with response proportion 25% and margin of error 2.5%, and 905 samples in Kono with response proportion of 23% and margin of error 2.7%.

The total sample size of 945+1220+905=3,070 households (from 145 enumeration areas) were allocated to the three hot-spot districts in Sierra Leone, proportionate to the population of each region so that the regions with larger populations received a proportionally larger allocation. Within the regions, the allocated enumeration areas (and households) were allocated to rural and urban strata proportionate to size of each stratum. In the case of non-response at the household level for survey interview, a replacement was selected based on the above stratified random sampling strategy. Table 1 summarizes the sample allocation to the different levels in the study zones of Sierra Leone.

District	Kenema	Kailahun	Kono	Total
No. of	111,734	83,348	86,119	281,201
Households				
No. of Sampled	1220	905	945	3,070
Households				
No. of Children	1743	3029	1537	6309
in the sampled				
Households				
% Urban	45%	29%	25%	
No. of Urban	26	12	11	49
EAs				

No. of Rural EAs	22	30	34	96
NO. OI KUFAI EAS	52	50	34	90
No. of Urban	546	252	231	1029
Households				
No. of Rural	672	631	713	2016
Households				

Data source: SSL 2016. Sierra Leone 2015 Population and Housing Census Summary of Final Results: Planning A Better Future. Freetown, Sierra Leone: Statistics Sierra Leone.

Appendix F: Household Survey Tool

Prevalence Survey Tool – Sierra Leone (September 07, 2020)

Section A: Identification

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

Section B1:

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

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

Note: The follow	ring set of questions y	ou will be required fo	r fill in details of eac	h one of	the members in	n the HH
the names of 1=N	A) Marital statusMale1= Single 2= Married 3=Separated 	5) What is this person's relationship to the respondent? 1= Respondent 2= Spouse 3= Son/Daughter 4= Mother/Father 5= Brother/Sister 6=Grandpa/grand ma 7=Grandson/gran ddaughter 8=Other (specify)	6) What is this person's relationship to the household head? 1= Head 2= Spouse 3= Son/Daughter 4= Mother/Father 5= Brother/Sister 6=Grandpa/grand ma 7=Grandson/gran ddaughter 8=Niece /Nephew 9=Uncle/Aunt 10=Other (specify)	7) Age	8) Does this person have a disability? 0= No 1= Yes	 9) Level of education completed by last school year of schooling? 0= None 1=Pre-primary 2=Primary 3=JSS 4=SSS 5=University 6= Other (Please Specify)

0

1 2 3								
10) (ask if age 17 or younger) Currently enrolled in a formal school? 0= no 1= yes	11) Is child enrolled in a Koranic school/m adrassa?	12) (ask if age 17 or younger) Orphan? 0= No 1= Single orphan 2= Double orphan	13) Does this person contribut e to the expenses of the househol d? 0= no 1= yes	14) What is this person's religion? 1=Protestant /Anglican 2=Catholic 3=Moslem 4=Seventh Day Adventist 5=Saved/Pent ecostal 6=None 7=Other specify	15) Does the person currentl y live in the home? 0= no (go Q15) 1= yes (go to Section B2)	16) How long ago did the person leave the home?	 17) Why did the person leave the home? (check all that apply) a. marriage b. death c. migration d. work e. school f. other (specify) 0= no 1= yes 	 18) (ask if age 17 or younger when left home) Who did the child go to live with? 1= biological parent(s) 2= relative or extended family member 3= someone who is not a relative but who is known to the family (family friend/acquaintanc e) 4= someone who at the time was a complete stranger to the family 5= Other (specify)

Section B2:

Complete this section for each person aged 5-17 in the household roster (as recorded in Section B1-Q6) [SKIP TO section C if no child between 5-17 years of age]

1	 (ask if B1-Q10 = no) You said earlier that [name of child] is not attending a formal school. Why is	0. No 1. Yes
2	Has [<i>name of the child</i>] worked as a Menpikin in the last year ?	0. No 1. Yes
3	 Has [name of the child] been involved in any of the following sectors/type of work in the last year? (record response for each item) a. domestic work b. mining/quarrying c. agricultural work d. trading/vending activities e. fishing f. portering (carrying heavy objects) g. sex work (selling or giving any type of sexual service) h. begging i. motorcycle taxi driving j. manufacturing 	0. No 1. Yes 99. Do not know

	 k. working in workshops (e.g., crafts, mechanics) l. construction m. worked as a Menpikin n. Koranic school o. None [If none skip to section B3] p. Other (specify) 	
4	 Has [name of the child]) performed work away from the home in the last year that involved any of the following: (record response for each item) a. carrying heavy loads b. using dangerous tools or operating heavy machinery c. exposure to dust/fumes/gas d. exposure to extreme cold/heat/humidity e. exposure to loud noise or vibration f. none g. Other specify 	0. No 1. Yes
5	Who has [name of child] been working for in the last year ? (record response for each item) a. Own/Self b. Family/Household c. Extended Family/Relative d. Working for a company e. Stranger f. No one g. Other (Specify)	0. No 1. Yes
6	Approximately how many hours of work did <i>[name of child]</i> perform outside the home in the last 7 days? <i>Record '99' for Do not know/refused to answer</i>	# Hours
7	Was the number of hours worked outside the home in the last 7 days typical for <i>[name of child]</i> ?	 yes no, usually works more hours no, usually works fewer hours 99. Do not know

8	On a scale of 1 to 10, how certain are you about the number of hours you've reported? Where 1 represents being not certain at all and 10 being completely certain.	
9	Approximately how many hours of work did [name of child] perform inside the home in the last 7 days? This includes cooking, child care, getting water, and other household maintenance tasks Record '99' for Do not know/refused to answer	#Hours
10	Was the number of hours worked inside the home in the last 7 days typical for this person?	 yes no, usually works more hours no, usually works fewer hours
11	On a scale of 1 to 10, how certain are you about the number of hours you've reported? Where 1 represents being not certain at all and 10 being completely certain.	·

Section B3:

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

about	we are going to ask you some further questions each child listed on the household roster. Please all that apply. At any time in the past year:	
1.	[<i>name of the child</i>] was forced to work for someone who is not a member of this household	 No Yes Do not know
2.	[<i>name of the child</i>] was forced to work to repay a debt with an employer or recruiter	
3.	[<i>name of the child</i>] worked outside the home for little or no wages	
4.	[<i>name of the child</i>] performed work that was not agreed upon (e.g., hired for one type of work, but ended up doing another)	
5.	[<i>name of the child</i>] was forced or made to beg for alms	
6.	[<i>name of the child</i>] performed work that was illegal or immoral (such as stealing, prostitution)	
7.	[<i>name of the child</i>] was forced or made to work to pay for their school fees	
8.	(ask if living away from the household in Section B1 Question 2) [<i>name of the child</i>] was not allowed to leave or contact their parents	

Section C:

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

1	How many dwelling rooms does this household have? [MAY NEED TO ASK RESPONDENT]	Write in answer:
2	What is the <u>main</u> flooring material of the dwelling house?	 Earth, sand Dung Wood/Planks Palm/Bamboo Parquet or Polished Wood Vinyl or Asphalt Strips Ceramic Tiles Cement Carpet Other (Specify):
3	What is the <u>main</u> construction material of the exterior walls of the dwelling house?	 No Walls Cane/Palm/Trunks Dirt Bamboo with Mud Stone with Mud Stone with Mud Uncovered Adobe Metallic Sheets Plywood Cardboard Reused Wood Cement Stone with Lime/Cement Bricks Covered Adobe Covered Adobe Wood Planks/Shingles Other (Specify):

4.	What is the <u>main</u> construction material of the roof of the dwelling house?	 No Roof Cane/Palm/Trunks Dirt Bamboo with Mud Stone with Mud Stone with Mud Uncovered Adobe Metallic Sheets Plywood Cardboard Reused Wood Cement Stone with Lime/Cement Bricks Covered Adobe Covered Adobe Wood Planks/Shingles Other (Specify):
5a	What type of toilet is used by the household?	 Flush/pour flush to piped sewer system Flush/pour flush to septic tank Flush/pour to pit latrine Ventilated improved pit (VIP) latrine Pit Latrine with slab Composting Toilet Bush
5b	Do you share this toilet with at least one other household?	 Shared Facility (These are facilities that would be considered improved if they were not shared by two or more households) Not shared
6	What is the main source of lighting for the dwelling?	 Electric lights Kerosene or gas lamps Candles or torch light Generator Other (Specify):

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

SECTION D:

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

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

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

Section E:

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

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

People of all ages living in [DISTRICT –Kailahun/Kenema/Kono], (this can be family members, friends, children in the community, co-workers, neighbors, etc.), who....

.... you know by sight and by name,

..... who also know you by sight and by name,

.... and with whom you have communicated in the past 2 years. This could be in-person, by text, email, phone call, or through social media.

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

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

• Mr. Kargbo

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

If he saw you today, he would recognize you √ He knows you by face and name You talked to him at a wedding six months ago ✓ You have communicated with him in the last 2 years.

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

• Mrs. Sesay

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

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

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

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

• Mr. Koroma

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

But if he saw you today, he would recognize you because your son has shared your photo on social media.

 \checkmark *He knows you by face and name*

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

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

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

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

Use this definition in answering the following questions:

1	How many people do you know who moved into [Kailahun/Kenema/Kono] from 2010- 2015?	Write in response:
2	How many men do you know who are widows?	Write in response:
3	How many people with a disability do you know whose main disability was caused by a transportation accident?	Write in response:
4	How many people with a disability do you know whose main disability was caused by an injury at work?	Write in response:
5	How many people with a disability do you know whose main disability was caused by polio?	Write in response:
6	How many people do you know who are completely deaf?	Write in response:

7	How many women do you know who smoke cigarettes?	Write in response:
8	How many women do you know who graduated from high school?	Write in response:
9	How many children do you know under the age of 18 who are orphans (both parents are dead)?	Write in response:
10	How many children do you know under the age of 18 who have at least one parent living abroad?	Write in response:
11	How many children do you know between the ages of 5 and 17 who have difficulty walking?	Write in response:
12	How many children do you know between the ages of 5 and 17 who are covered by any type of health insurance?	Write in response:
13	How many children do you know between the ages of 7 and 14 who use the same language at home that is also used by their teachers at school?	Write in response:
14	How many children do you know aged 2-17 who use a hearing aid ?	Write in response:
15	How many children do you know aged 2-17 who wear glasses for vision correction?	Write in response:
16	How many children do you know aged 2-17 who use equipment or receive assistance for walking?	Write in response:
	We are also interested in how well people that ye To answer the questions below, please keep in m from the last set of questions: People of all ages	ind the same definition of "knowing"

	 Kailahun/Kenema/Kono], (this can be family members, friends, co-workers, neighbors, etc.), who you know by sight and by name, who also know you by sight and by name, and with whom you have communicated in the past 2 years. This could be inperson, by text, email, phone call, or through social media. 	
17	Out of every 10 people that you know, how many people would you estimate know your level of education?	1) 1 2) 2 3) 3 4) 4 5) 5 6) 6 7) 7 8) 8 9) 9 10) 10
18	Out of every 10 people that you know, what percentage of these people know your tribe?	1) 1 2) 2 3) 3 4) 4 5) 5 6) 6 7) 7 8) 8 9) 9 10) 10
19	Out of every 10 people that you know, what percentage of these people know your occupation?	1) 1 2) 2 3) 3 4) 4 5) 5 6) 6 7) 7 8) 8 9) 9 10) 10
20	Out of every 10 people that you know, what percentage of these people know whether or not you smoke cigarettes?	1) 1 2) 2 3) 3 4) 4 5) 5

		6) 6 7) 7 8) 8 9) 9 10) 10
21	Out of every 10 people that you know, what percentage of these people know your religion?	1) 1 2) 2 3) 3 4) 4 5) 5 6) 6 7) 7 8) 8 9) 9 10) 10

Section F:

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

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

1.	How many children in [DISTRICT– Kailahun/Kenema/Kono] do you know of that worked outside the home within the last year OR were living away from their parents, with or without the facilitation of an intermediary?	Number of children
	Ask respondent for the name of each child. Children's names will be listed on a form similar to the household roster in Section B1, and the questions below will be asked about each child listed in this section *	

Interviewer: Ask the questions in this section for all children identified in the above roster. Be sure to limit to only children aged 5-17.

2.	Is the child currently working outside the home?	0. No (go to Q2) 1. Yes (go to Q3) 2. Do not know
3.	Has the child worked outside the home in the last year?	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know
4.	How old is this child?	Record age in complete years
5.	Gender of child	 Male Female Non-binary
6.	Ethnicity of child (or language group, as appropriate)	
7.	Religion of the child	 Christian Muslim Tribal religion Other: Do not know
8.	Is the child a Sierra Leonean national?	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know

9.	Does the child have a history of going missing or is frequently away from home?	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know
10.	Was the child adopted under suspicious circumstances?	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know
11.	Does the child regularly attend school?	 Never Sometimes Always Don't know
12.	Does the child have a disability?	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know
13.	Are the child's biological parents alive?	 Both parents alive (go to Q13) Lost one parent (go to Q13) Lost both parents (go to Q14) Do not know
14.	Has the child lived apart from their biological parent(s) anytime in the last year?	 0. No (go to Q19) 1. Yes (go to Q15) 2. Do not know
15.	Has the child lived apart from their official guardian anytime in the last year?	0. No (go to Q19) 1. Yes (go to Q16) 2. Do not know
16.	During the time away from home, is/was the child staying in very bad living conditions (e.g., little access to food, clean water, sanitation)?	 Never Sometimes Always Do not know
17.	During the time away from home, was the child not allowed to contact his or her family or was otherwise cut off from family contact by his or her employer?	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know
18.	Was the child sent away from home to learn some trade or skill?	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know

19.	Highest level of education of the child at the time they begin working outside the home or began living away from parents/guardians. Note to interviewer: if the level of education was different at the time in which the child began working outside the home than it was when they were living away from home, enter the LOWER of the two levels of education.	 0. None 1. Pre-primary 2. Lower Primary (Class 1 – Class 3) 3. Upper Primary (Class 4 – Class 6) 4. JSS 5. SSS 6. Tertiary 7. Other (Please Specify) 8. Do not know
20.	In the last year, as the child worked as a menpikin?	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know
21.	 In the last year, has the child been involved in any of the following types of work? (check all that apply) a. domestic work for another household b. mining/quarrying c. agricultural work d. trading/vending activities e. fishing f. portering (carrying heavy objects) g. sex work (selling or giving any type of sexual service) h. begging i. motorcycle taxi driving j. manufacturing k. working in workshops (e.g., crafts, mechanics) l. construction m. Other (specify) 	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know

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

In the last year, has the child:

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

23.	 If child is under the age of 12 years: (Record response for each item) a. The child spends 1 hour or more in economic activity in a given week b. The child spends 28 or more hours in domestic activity in a given week 	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know
24.	 If child is aged 12 to 14 years: (Record response for each item) a. The child spends 14 or more hours in economic activity in a given week b. The child spends 42 or more hours combined in domestic activity and/or economic activity in a given week 	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know
25.	If child is aged 15-17 years: The child spends at 43 hours or more in economic activity in a given week	0. No 1. Yes 2. Do not know

SECTION G:

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

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

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

Questionnaire result

Record the result of the questionnaire/interview

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

Interview evaluation questions

When conducting this interview, was there any:

- a. Environmental interference
 - i. Weather
 - ii. Household environment
 - iii. Other (specify)
 - iv. None
 - v. Not applicable
- b. Unanticipated household event
 - i. A person lurking
 - ii. Angered household member
 - iii. Other (specify)
 - iv. None
 - v. Not applicable
- c. Political activity/interference during the process of administering the interview
 - i. Yes
 - ii. No
 - iii. Not applicable

d. Interviewer Observation throughout the process of administering the interview

- i. Appearance/mental status
- ii. Difficult question
- iii. Other (specify)
- iv. None
- v. Not applicable

Appendix G: Household Survey Data Collection Procedures

Local consultants from Conflict Management and Development Associates (CMDA) in Sierra Leone engaged with the governmental agencies that are custodians of the national official statistics to obtain information about the enumeration areas within each of the three regions. They used this information to sample rural and urban enumeration areas proportionate to the rural and urban population within each region. The local consultants then engaged with and sought approval from the relevant community gatekeepers. The local consultants recruited supervisors and data collectors from local and nearby communities. The candidates who had basic qualifications were shortlisted and invited for interviews. The minimum qualifications for data collectors were holding a Bachelor's degree in any discipline and fluency in both English and Krio, plus experience in conducting household studies, supported by recommendation from a researcher.

As previously stated, extensive training was conducted to ensure appropriate data collection techniques and research ethics. The research team leaders carried a letter of introduction that detailed the purpose of the study, along with other key information. Upon reaching a randomly selected household, research assistants introduced themselves and sought permission from the head of the household or the oldest guardian available to conduct the interview with the oldest female of the household who has lived in the household for at least 12 months. Data were collected via the Open Data Kit (ODK) software system using tablets or smartphones. The research assistant read the survey questions to the respondent in the language of the respondent's choice and recorded the survey responses in the ODK system. Once the survey was completed, data were uploaded to a secure data storage cloud.

Appendix H: Child Trafficking – Statistical Definition

Children are classified as victims of child trafficking if, in the last year, they were subject to any of the "worst forms of child labor," per Article 3 of ILO Convention Number 182²²:

a) Exposing children to any form of slavery or practice similar to slavery, including

recruitment of children in armed conflict

b) Using children in prostitution

c) Using children in illicit activities such as the production and trafficking of drugs

d) Having children to perform work which is likely to harm their health, safety or morals, or work in hazardous conditions, which are harmful to their physical and mental development.

These conditions translate into the following observable states:

- 1. Hazardous work outside the home, as defined by either employment sector or labor activity²³
 - a. Sectors²⁴
 - i. fishing
 - ii. mining
 - iii. quarrying
 - iv. construction
 - v. portering
 - vi. manufacturing
 - b. Activities²⁵
 - i. carries heavy loads
 - ii. uses dangerous tools or operates heavy machinery
 - iii. is exposed to dust/fumes/gas
 - iv. is exposed to extreme cold/heat/humidity

https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/ILAB/child_labor_reports/tda2018/Guinea.pdf

International Labor Bureau. 2018. Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor, Sierra Leone

https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/ILAB/child_labor_reports/tda2018/Sierra%20Leone.pdf

²⁵ "How sensitive are estimates of working children and child labour to definitions? A comparative analysis." MICS Methodology Paper, No. 1, 2012. Melton Dayioğlu.

²² <u>https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C182</u>

²³ International Labour Organization. 2008. Report of the 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians.

²⁴ These sectors are defined as hazardous by law in either Guinea or Sierra Leone.

International Labor Bureau. 2018. Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor, Guinea.

- v. is exposed to loud noise or vibration
- 2. Illegal activities (e.g., theft; involvement in the drug trade)
- 3. Forced or coerced labor
- 4. Work experiences that involve violence or restrictions on freedom
- 5. Sex Work [counts toward prevalence estimate of child trafficking, but does **not** count toward prevalence estimate of child labor trafficking]

Child Trafficking – Operational Definition

Classification of Household Children (Sections B2 and B3)

Household children are classified as having been trafficked if "yes" responses are recorded on

any of the following questions:

Section B2, Q3 b, e, f, g, j, 1

Has..... [*name of the child*] been involved in any of the following type of work in the last year?

- a. domestic work
- b. mining/quarrying
- c. agricultural work
- d. trading/vending activities
- e. fishing
- f. portering
- g. sex work (selling or giving any type of sexual service)
- h. begging
- i. motorcycle taxi driving
- j. manufacturing
- k. working in workshops (e.g., crafts, mechanics)
- *l.* construction
- m. Other (specify)

Section B2, Q4 - "yes" to any item

Has [*name of the child*]) performed work away from the home in the last year that involved any of the following:

- a. carrying heavy loads
- b. using dangerous tools or operating heavy machinery
- c. exposure to dust/fumes/gas
- d. exposure to extreme cold/heat/humidity
- e. exposure to loud noise or vibration

Section B3, Q1

was forced to work for someone who is not a member of this household

Section B3, Q2

was forced to work to repay a debt with an employer or recruiter

Section B3, Q3

worked outside the home for little or no wages

Section B3, Q4

performed work that was not agreed upon (e.g., hired for one type of work, but ended up doing another)

Section B3, Q5

was forced or made to beg for alms

Section B3, Q6

performed work that was illegal or immoral (such as stealing, prostitution)

Section B3, Q7

was forced or made to work to pay for their school fees

Section B3, Q8

was not allowed to leave or contact their parents

Classification of Network Children (Section F2)

Network children are classified as having been trafficked if "yes" responses are recorded on any of the following questions:

Section F2, Q16

The child is not allowed to contact his or her family or is otherwise cut off from

family contact by his or her employer.

<u>Section F2, Q19 – "yes" to b, e, f, g, j, or l</u>

You indicated that the child is involved in some kind of work outside of the

household. In the last year, of which of the following kinds of work has the child

bee involved in? (check all that apply)

- a. domestic work for another household
- b. mining/quarrying
- c. agricultural work
- d. trading/vending activities
- e. fishing
- f. portering
- g. sex work (selling or giving any type of sexual service)
- h. begging
- i. motorcycle taxi driving
- j. manufacturing
- k. working in workshops (e.g., crafts, mechanics)
- l. construction
- m. Other (specify)

Section F2, Q20a

performed work that involves carrying heavy loads

Section F2, Q20b

operated heavy machinery or worked with dangerous tools

Section F2, Q20c

performed work that exposes him/her to dust, fumes, or gases

Section F2, Q20d

performed work that exposes him/her to extreme cold, heat, or humidity

Section F2, Q20e

performed work that exposes him/her to loud noise or vibration

Section F2, Q20f

been forced or induced to commit illicit/criminal activities/Petty crime

Section F2, Q20g

been forced or induced to work to work for someone

Section F2, Q20h

been forced or induced to work to repay a debt owed by someone else
Appendix I: Child Labor – Statistical Definition

Child Labor – Conceptual Definition

Child Labor: work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development. In particular: children below 12 years working in any economic activities, children aged 12-14 engaged in more than light work, and all children engaged in the worst forms of child labor (ILO Conventions 138, 182 and UN Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989, Art 32). In addition, children aged 15-17 are considered to be engaged in child labor if they exceed work hour limits established by the ILO (Global Estimates of Child Labor, 2017)²⁶.

Child Labor – Statistical Definition

Per the above definition, all children classified as victims of trafficking are also classified as involved in child labor. Thus, children who meet the statistical definition of child trafficking described in Section I also meet the statistical definition of child labor.

In addition, children who exceed the work hour limits described below are also classified as involved in child labor.

- Children aged 5-11 engaged in economic activity for at least 1 hour in the previous seven days
- Children aged 12-14 engaged in economic activity for at least 14 hours in the previous seven days
- Children aged 15-17 engaged in economic activity for at least 43 hours in the previous seven days

²⁶ International Labour Office. 2017. *Global estimates of child labour: Results and trends, 2012-2016* Geneva.

Child Labor – Operational Definition

Classification of Household Children (Sections B2 and B3)

Household children are classified as having been involved in child labor if they have been classified as a victim of child labor, per Section I.

In addition, household children are classified as having been involved in child labor if the following responses are recorded on Section B2, Q6 ("Approximately how many hours of work did *[name of child]* perform outside the home in the last 7 days?") If child is aged 5-11:

Section B2, $Q6 \Rightarrow 1$ hour

If child is aged 12-14: Section B2, Q6 => 14 hours

If child is aged 15-17

Section B2, $Q6 \Rightarrow 43$

Classification of Network Children (Section F2)

Network children are classified as having been involved in child labor if they have been

classified as a victim of child labor, per Section I.

In addition, network children are classified as having been involved in child labor if "yes" responses are recorded on the following questions:

If child is aged 5-11:

Section F2, Q21a: The child spends at least 1 hour in economic activity in a given week

If child is aged 12-14:

Section F2, Q22a: The child spends at least 14 hours in economic activity in a given week.

If child is aged 15-17

Section F2, Q23: The child spends at least 43 hours in economic activity in a given week.

Appendix J: NSUM Model Specification

The basic NSUM model is specified below (Killworth, McCarty, Bernard, Shelley, & Johnson, 1998; Maltiel, Rafter, McCormick, & Baraff, 2015).

$$\frac{m}{c} = \frac{e}{t} \tag{1}$$

Where

- *m* is the mean number of people known in the target subpopulation;
- *c* is the average personal social network size;
- *e* is the size of target subpopulation;
- *t* is the size of total regional population.

Based on the assumption that the i^{th} participant knowledge of the m_i target subpopulation follows a Binomial distribution:

$$P(m_i) = {\binom{c_i}{m_i}} p^{m_i} (1-p)^{c_i - m_i} p$$
(2)

Where

 c_i is the social network size of the i^{th} participant;

 m_i is the number of people in the subpopulation known by the i^{th} respondent;

p is the probability of people in the subpopulation known by the i^{th} respondent;

A maximum likelihood estimator of the subpopulation size e is given by

$$\hat{e} = t \cdot \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} m_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} c_i}$$
(3)

The \hat{e} requires estimating the social network size c_i , which can be estimated using the chosen reference subpopulations by

$$\frac{\sum_{j=1}^{n} m_{ij}}{c_i} = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^{n} e_j}{t}$$
(4)
$$\hat{c}_i = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^{L} m_{ij}}{\sum_{j=1}^{L} e_j} \cdot t$$
(5)

Where

 m_{ij} is the number of reference subpopulation *j* that participant *i* knows;

 e_i is the known size of the reference subpopulation j;

• *n* is the total number of participants, or the sample size;

L is the number of known subpopulations we chose.

Appendix K: NSUM Biases

First, *transmission bias* occurs when a respondent is unaware that people in their social network are members of the sub-population of interest (Yang & Yang, 2017). For example, the respondent may not realize they are friends with someone who has completed a high school education if this friend has never offered this information or if it is otherwise not known. Here, not knowing facts about people in the network because those people do not communicate that information or because the information is not readily observable is a transmission problem.

Transmission bias often affects collection of information that is not easy to know, because it is unlikely to be communicated (Killworth, McCarty, & Bernard, 1998). For example, stigmatizing information, such as being HIV positive, is unlikely to be revealed in normal conversation. Likewise, unobservable information, such as having diabetes, is less likely to be transmitted than observable information, such as having a broken limb (Killworth, McCarty, & Bernard, 1998).

Transmission bias is reduced by asking known population questions that are more likely to be communicated or observable. Previous literature has shown that information on occupations and education status are typically transmitted through normal conversation (Kadushin, Kilworth, Bernard, & Beveridge, 2006; Killworth, McCarty, & Bernard, 1998). Thus, our known population questions include inquiries about education and occupations.

It is also possible to calculate an adjustment factor to correct for transmission bias by including questions about the respondent's perception of community members' knowledge about the respondent (Yang & Yang, 2017). For example, questions like "out of every 10 people that you know, how many people would you estimate know your level of education/tribe/occupation/smoke cigarettes/religion?" can reveal how often this type of information is transmitted within the respondent's social network. This is known as the "visibility factor" (VF). We utilized several questions of this nature to estimate transmission bias and adjusted by this factor in our models.

Next, *barrier bias* describes the various physical and social barriers that can prevent knowing people in various populations. As an example of a geographic barrier, a person that lives in a homogeneous remote village may not know anyone outside of their religious group. In this case, estimating network size via known population questions about religious identification may not be feasible. Social barriers also exist, as people tend to know people that are similar to them such as being the same sex, having similar education status, and being of the same race (Maltiel, et al., 2015). Representative random sampling can help ameliorate barrier bias. For this reason, households were randomly selected in each site.

Finally, *recall bias* occurs when the respondent does not accurately recall the number of people that they know in the relevant subpopulations. For example, if the person actually knows ten people who are primary school teachers but only recalls knowing eight when answering the question then this would introduce recall

bias. As others have suggested (Coughlin, 1990; Yang & Yang, 2017) recall bias is not so much a modelling issue as it is a measurement issue. Thus, the primary way to reduce recall bias is through careful consideration of measurement operations. Here, known population group estimators should represent very small proportions total population to avoid the difficulty in recalling a massive amount of known information (McCormick, Salganik, & Zheng, 2010). For example, asking someone to recall how many women they know would give an unreliable estimate. Next, asking too many questions about known populations can introduce recall bias via cognitive burden. Finally, questions should be clearly defined so that respondents are not confused about what the qualifications of "knowing" someone are in the context of the survey (Yang & Yang, 2017). We include a clear definition and examples of what "knowing" someone means and trained interviewers carefully on his issue.

Appendix L: Overview of the Topcoding Procedure

Many network scale-up studies have topcoded the responses to the aggregate relational data questions to reduce the effects of outliers on estimations of network size (McCarty et al. 2001; Zheng et al. 2006). Researchers define the topcode as the maximum value of responses that seems to be plausible. Any responses above the topcoded value are considered implausible and substituted by the topcode. Many studies utilizing NSUM use 30 as the topcode for the sub-population questions that are used to calculate the size of the personal network. (Zheng et al. 2006). However, there is no single, accepted cut-off for topcoding across studies. Given the real differences in the distributions of the selected characteristics in the population, it may not be possible for all of the reference questions to have a single topcode. Instead, decisions should be made on a case-by-case basis, determined by the distribution of responses. Our strategy is to develop a sophisticated top-coding rule for the reference subpopulations based on Dunbar's number (Dunbar 2011). Dunbar's number suggests that the average number of alters at a given time in personal, or ego-centric, network is 150, with a natural range of approximately 100-250 (Hill and Dunbar, 2003, Zhou et al., 2005, Roberts et al., 2009). We set a value of 2 times Dunbar's number 2*D=300 as the maximum cut-off for personal network size. By doing so, we aimed to have a distribution of actual ego networks, while not biasing against individuals who have naturally small networks. We also adopt the assumption of a log normal distribution for the personal network degrees, which is utilized in the broader literature (Mac Carron, Kaski, & Dunbar, 2016; Martiel et al. 2015; Salganik et al., 2011). Specifically, we use a truncated log normal distribution with the domain range from 0 to 2 times Dunbar's number.

The procedure of topcoding is elaborated in the context of NSUM here. Recall that the personal social network size is estimated by , given and are known constants, the constraint of personal network degree being less than 2 times Dunbar's number, i.e., , is equivalent to the summation of known subpopulation question to be less than a cutoff value, i.e., . We denote to be the set of sampled household respondents, and to be the samples satisfying the condition of Dunbar's number. Then, a random value is generated from a lognormal distribution, i.e., $\nu \sim Lognormal(a, b)$, where *a* is estimated from samples satisfying 2*Dunbar's condition, i.e., $\hat{a} = log \ log \left(\sum_{k=1}^{K-1} y_{ik}\right)$ with $i \in S_D$ and *b* is set to be the same as the log normal distribution by Martiel's (2015), i.e., $\hat{b} = 0.225$. Then $y_{ik}(i \in S \setminus S_D)$ is multiplied by a rescaling constant $\nu / \sum_{k=1}^{K-1} y_{ik}$, the new y_{ik} 's can be denoted by $\widehat{y_{ik}}$ ($i \in S \setminus S_D$), and it satisfies $\sum_{k=1}^{K-1} \widehat{y_{ik}} = \nu$. Based on the above topcoding strategy, the estimates of the personal network degrees $\widehat{d_{ik}}$ ($i \in S$) and the size of target populations can be obtained by equations (1) and (2), which is implemented in both NSUM and network reporting R packages. Then the values were rounded to integers to adhere to their nature of population counts.

Implementation of Topcoding to Estimate Social Network Degree

Network size was estimated using the topcoding procedure described above. Average network sizes after topcoding are illustrated in Figure S1-S3. They all follow log normal distributions as expected and consistent with the existing studies. The range and 95% CI of the personal social network degree are comparable in the three hotspots. Specifically, the ranges are 0-294, 0-276 and 0-294 and 95% CI are 0-279, 0-262 and 0-281 for Kailahun, Kenema and Kono. However, the average personal network degrees vary across the three regions, which are 130, 80 and 99, respectively. This means on average, people in Kenema tend to know fewer people than in Kono, while people in Kailahun have the largest number of social connections.

From the results of Direct Estimation (Table 4), the prevalence of CT and CL in people's network are in the same order with the average network degrees people have in the three regions. In Kenema, the number and prevalence rate of CT and CL from network is roughly a quarter of that of the households, and in Kono, the CT and CL in the network are about half of the households. That being said, the larger people's network size is, the more reports of CT and CL in their network are observed.

Visibility Factor

In the implementation of the NSUM, we took strategies to mitigate transmission bias by adjusting for the likely visibility of exploitative child labor practices. The transmission bias, or equivalently, visibility factor, is assessed by the five subpopulations included in the questionnaire, which are "out of every 10 people that you know, how many people would you

estimate know your level of education/tribe/occupation/smoke cigarettes/religion". The lowest value of visibility among the five subpopulations is used as an estimate for the visibility factor (VF) of the characteristic of interest, i.e., CT and CL in our context.

We choose to base the calculation of VF on the subset of samples that are not subject to topcoding due to the belief that samples satisfying the topcoding criteria, i.e., the personal social network in the range from 0 to 300, have more plausible responses while samples that do not meet the criteria are prone to errors, and thus topcoding is needed. Among the five subpopulations, level of education yields the lowest VF value, which are 0.716, 0.766, and 0.650 for Kailahun, Kenema and Kono, respectively (Table S1). This may be because most people have a low level of education in the three hotspots of SL, and so education is not discussed. For instance, among the children falling into the classification of household CT, the level of education is 299 in primary, 153 in JSS, and 85 in none out of a total number of 573 household CT in Kailahun, 413 in primary, 231 in JSS, and 82 in none out of a total number of 807 household CT in Kenema, and 349 in primary, 218 in JSS, and 74 in none out of a total number of 702 household CT in Kono.

Overview of Extrapolation Techniques

Zamanian et al. (2019)'s proportion-based method is used to extrapolate the values obtained from the sampled households to the general population of the region. Recall that the NSUM assumes that the prevalence of a behavior in the network of a randomly selected sample (m_i/c_i) can be generalized to the whole population (e/t) presuming that the distribution of the respondents' network size is the same as that of the general population, where m_i is the number of individuals in the subpopulation of interest known by the i^{th} respondent, c_i is the social network size of the i^{th} respondent, e is the size of the subpopulation of interest and t is the size of total population.

To apply this to our scenario, the subpopulation of interest is children aged 5-17 who fall into the classification of CT and CL (e) and correspondingly, the total population is children aged 5-17 (t). This being said, the NSUM yields the number of CT or CL in the region (\hat{e}), which is

divided by the number of children aged 5-17 in the region (t) rather than the number of population in the region, giving rise to the prevalence estimate of CT and CL in the region.

The numbers of children aged 5-17 in each region are obtained from the Sierra Leone Statistics Report (2017). The approximation is necessary because the population is reported in five-year age ranges, starting from 0-4, 5-9 and so on. We estimate that the size of the population aged 15-17 is 3/5 of the size of the population aged 15-19. There are approximately 185,148 children out of a total population of 625,500 in Kailahun, 194,985 children out of a total population of 658,734 in Kenema, and 168,202 children out of a total population of 568,249 in Kono.

Region	Level of Education	Tribe	Occupation	Smoke Cigarettes	Religion
Kailahun	0.716	0.940	0.914	0.742	0.847
Kenema	0.766	0.888	0.855	0.826	0.910
Kono	0.650	0.782	0.763	0.717	0.787

Table L1. Visibility Factor of the five subpopulations using samples that are not subject to the topcoding procedure.



Figure L1. The distribution of personal network degrees of the respondents after applying topcoding strategy in Kailahun, SL. The histogram and the fitted lognormal density curve are presented. The goodness-of-fit of the fitted lognormal density curve is tested with p-values<0.05, indicating a good fit.



Figure L2. The distribution of personal network degrees of the respondents after applying topcoding strategy in Kenema, SL. The histogram and the fitted lognormal density curve are presented. The goodness-of-fit of the fitted lognormal density curve is tested with p-values<0.05, indicating a good fit.



Figure L3. The distribution of personal network degrees of the respondents after applying topcoding strategy in Kono, SL. The histogram and the fitted lognormal density curve are presented. The goodness-of-fit of the fitted lognormal density curve is tested with p-values<0.05, indicating a good fit.

END OF REPORT