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What Drives Changes in Child Labour and Schooling?

Evidence from an exploratory study among children of the Musahar community in Vaishali, Bihar, India

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Executive summary

Improving access to and supply of quality schooling is widely recognized as a key part of an effective strategy to address child labour.[1] Child labour and schooling are indeed closely linked; out-of-school children are more likely to be engaged in child labour.[2]

India has made significant progress in reducing child labour and improving access to and completion of schooling. Various legislative and policy measures have contributed to addressing child labour and improving schooling, including the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Act, 2016; the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009; and integration of the Midday Meal Scheme into the National Food Security Act, 2013.

Despite this progress, child labour persists in India and gaps remain in school attendance, completion and learning. These issues particularly affect children in rural areas, in the poorest households, and in Scheduled Tribe (Adivasi) and Scheduled Caste (Dalit) communities.[3] It is, therefore, crucial to gain a deeper understanding of the factors driving changes in child labour and schooling. Additionally, there is a need to better assess the causal pathways linking schooling and child labour outcomes, including by identifying which specific aspects of education policies and programmes are most relevant in addressing child labour.

This study is part of the broader Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office-funded research project Evidence on Educational Strategies to Address Child Labour in South Asia, which examines the interlinkages between child labour and education, with the aim of identifying education-related policies and programmes to end child labour.[4]

As part of this project, Young Lives India undertook a research study using a Qualitative Impact Protocol (QuIP) survey to explore the drivers and pathways of change in child labour, with a focus on Vaishali, Bihar. The study explored the perspectives of children and caregivers from a Musahar community, one of the most vulnerable and marginalized communities in India, on the factors that they associate with changes in child labour and schooling for children.[5] The study addresses six research questions:

- Compared with previous years, what have been the changes (both positive and negative) in schooling and child labour outcomes among children aged 10 to 13 years?
- What are the main 'drivers of change' or 'influencing factors' that determine the observed changes?
- What are the key 'mechanisms' or 'pathways' through which change is realized?
- Are there any observable differences in the reported causal pathway by gender and schooling status for children who are in school versus those who are out of school?
- What is the role of schooling and school-related factors as drivers of change for child labour outcomes?
- What other factors have supported the reduction of child labour (or blocked it)?

The study followed a conceptual framework outlining the pathways of change from educational policies and programmes to schooling and child labour outcomes.[6] The framework posits that education and child labour are determined by factors operating across five main levels: (i) child level, including a child's health, or a child's awareness of the importance of education and the hazards from child labour; (ii) household level, such as income or caregiver awareness of the relevance of education; (iii) school level, including, among other factors, adoption of specific teaching modalities or availability of schooling infrastructure; (iv) community level, such as prevalent social and gender norms related to children's time use in the community; and (v) system level, such as national policies to support education and address child labour.

This study contributes to a growing body of evidence exploring the role of schooling in eliminating child labour. A recently published rapid evidence assessment of studies undertaken in low- and middle-income countries summarizes that "rigorous evidence on child labour impacts of educational policies and programmes is limited".[7]

Methodology

The study gained an understanding of children's and caregivers' views about changes experienced in the schooling and labour domains, as well as key drivers of change.

Outcomes considered in the study include schooling (attendance, time spent doing homework, academic performance, school dropout), child work (time spent on domestic chores, economic activities within the family enterprise and outside the household) and child labour, defined as exposure to hazardous working conditions (including carrying heavy loads; working with dangerous tools or operating heavy machinery; exposure to dust, fumes or gases; exposure to extreme heat or humidity; exposure to loud noise or vibrations; working at heights; working with chemicals, such as pesticides, glues or similar; or working for long hours, such as for the whole day).[8]

The key drivers of change were identified based on in-depth interviews with 52 respondents (children and caregivers) and focus group discussions with 64 children.

Analysis of the closed-ended questions resulted in descriptive statistics, while responses to the open-ended questions were analysed using causal qualitative data analysis, part of the QuIP methodology (a software application called Causal Map was used for coding). The drivers of change for the considered outcomes were identified at the child level, family level, school level, community level and system level, consistent with the conceptual framework outlined above.

First, to identify the analysis sample for QuIP, a household survey was undertaken across two blocks in the Vaishali districts of Bihar, Garoul and Jandaha, covering 309 households.

After the completion of the household survey, school and classroom observations were undertaken in two upgraded middle schools, with the support of the Department of Education, Bihar. The observations aimed to understand patterns of exclusion and inclusion of Musahar children within schools and examine school characteristics to better interpret QuIP findings.

Below, the findings from the household survey, school and classroom observations, and QuIP are summarized.

Findings from the household survey

- Limited access to schooling: Of the household heads, 72 per cent were not literate and only 12 per cent had educational qualifications above primary level. Further, 37 per cent of Musahar children below 14 years of age had never been enrolled in formal education. Of those who were enrolled, 26 per cent had dropped out before completing Grade 1. When combined with children who had never been enrolled in formal education, this translates to almost half of Musahar children in the sample being out of school.

- Low incomes: The average income was reported to be INR 6,260 per month (roughly $75 per month), which highlights the economic vulnerability and limited opportunities available to members of the Musahar community.[9]

- Poor housing conditions: Almost 70 per cent of the surveyed households lived in *kutcha* (temporary structures), and 81 per cent lacked sanitation facilities. Open defecation was widespread, posing serious health and sanitation risks to Musahar households.

- Persistent shocks and high burden of debt: At least one member from 42 per cent of surveyed households reported an outstanding loan.

- Limited reach of government services: About 35 per cent of the households reported not having a ration card,[10] and 57 per cent of the children below 14 years old did not have a birth certificate, suggesting that government schemes are not reaching the most vulnerable sections of society.

Findings from the school and classroom observations

- No exclusionary or discriminatory practices: Both schools were located within Scheduled Caste colonies and enrolment was predominantly of children from these disadvantaged communities. Less than 10 per cent and about 2 per cent of children respectively belonged to the 'General' category in the two visited schools, with 25 per cent and 11 per cent of teachers also belonging to this category. This means that, in both schools, students and teachers belonging to Scheduled Caste communities were the dominant groups. In this environment, it is indeed not surprising that no exclusion was noticed towards Musahar children.

- Poor school quality: Multi-grade teaching was practised in both schools and all classrooms across the one-week duration of the school observations. Student-centred teaching practices were sorely lacking, and student engagement was limited. The schools were not supported by an adequate number of subject teachers with the requisite educational qualifications, nor did they have adequate learning materials.

- Inadequate school infrastructure: School infrastructure was inadequate in both schools. For example, one of the schools did not even have a boundary wall, despite the existence of a pond adjoining the school. These findings are consistent with the Jan Jagran Shakti Sangathan 2023 survey results covering 81 primary and upper primary government schools in two districts of Bihar, which highlighted that 90 per cent of schools had no proper boundary walls, playground or library.[11]

- Varying attendance rates: School attendance was reported as varying significantly both seasonally and daily, with attendance reducing drastically after the midday meal. The headteacher of one school referred to children drifting in and out of school during the day, with teachers being unable to ensure they attend a full day of schooling, despite efforts.

- Limited parental engagement: Teachers highlighted that Musahar parents' attendance was low during parent–teacher meetings, due to engagement in work and family obligations, illiteracy and, in some cases, perceived low value of education by parents.

Findings from the QuIP study component

Note that all drivers of change appear in **bold** text, while schooling and labour outcomes appear in *italicized* text.

Children combine school and work, and these activities cannot be seen as mutually exclusive.

- Many children combined schooling with domestic chores (averaging about two hours per day), economic activities within the family enterprise (about one hour per day) or economic activities for pay outside the household (about half an hour per day).

- The schooling status of the child (i.e., being in school or out of school) is significantly associated with the nature of work and the time spent working.

    - Out-of-school children spent more time than in-school children on domestic chores and economic activities for pay outside the household.

    - In-school children spent more time than out-of-school children on economic activities within the family enterprise.

- No school-going children noted engagement in work involving hazardous conditions while continuing schooling.

- Compared with boys, girls spent more time on domestic chores and less time on economic activities within the household, reflecting the unequal burden of domestic work – especially on adolescent girls.

These findings are consistent with previous ethnographic research in showing that children's engagement in schooling and work cannot be viewed as mutually exclusive or binary. Schooling and child labour are combined in various ways, with children not seeing their choices in either/or terms.[12]

Accordingly, if education is construed narrowly as being measured by school enrolment alone, education cannot be seen as resolving child labour because in-school children are also working.

There is evidence of children working long hours.

Children's perspectives further revealed that hours spent by out-of-school children on economic activities outside the home cross the International Labour Organization (ILO) and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) thresholds, with more boys approaching the threshold for long hours.

Drivers of improvements in schooling outcomes (in-school children):

- Children reported **a good teacher** (a school-level factor) followed by **own interest in education** (a child-level factor) as the main drivers of improvements in child-level schooling outcomes.

- Parents also reported **a good teacher** (a school-level factor) as a driver of improvements in broader school characteristics, including school safety and infrastructure.

Drivers of school dropout or non-enrolment (out-of-school children):

- **Lower interest in education** (a child-level factor) was reported as the main cause of dropout.

- **Lower parental interest in education** (a family-level factor) as well as **non-issuance of a required government identity card** such as an Aadhaar card (a system-level factor) were the most cited drivers for non-enrolment in school.

So, qualitative insights obtained from both children and parents reveal that children's engagement in work or child labour is not the principal driver guiding their decision to discontinue education or never enrol in school. However, being out of school is clearly established as a significant push factor for children's work. These findings are essential to consider when designing programmes to reduce or eradicate child labour.

Drivers of increased time spent working by children:

- Among children interviewed, the majority reported increased time spent on work (domestic chores, family enterprise, paid work and/or economic work with hazardous conditions) in the past year compared with previous years.

- **Increased age** (a child-level factor) and **higher responsibility** assigned to children by their families (a family-level factor) were reported as the most important factors driving children's increased time spent on household chores or economic activities outside the home.

- **Acquisition of assets** such as land or livestock (a family-level factor) was the main reported driver of increased time spent by children working within the family enterprise.

These findings are consistent with past literature showing that in low- and middle-income countries, financial shocks and hardships are borne by children as well, in contrast to the global model of childhood where adults are seen as the dominant providers in a protectionist adult–child relationship and the child (under 18 years) is a "passive consumer".[13]

Drivers of reduced time spent working by children:

- **Higher parental interest in education** (a family-level factor) followed by **higher interest in education** (a child-level factor) were cited as the most important drivers of reduced time spent on *domestic chores.*

- A **decrease in job opportunities** for child labour (a community-level factor) was reported as largely responsible for reduced time spent on *economic activities outside the household.*

- Parents of in-school children also cited the role of **a good teacher** (a school-level factor) as a driver of reduction in time spent working by children.

- No cases were reported of reduced time spent on economic activities within the family enterprise or those involving hazardous conditions.

Gender differences in child work and child labour:

Social norms strongly affect decisions regarding children's time use, so understanding these norms is vital for devising strategies to address child labour. Findings from the study show that:

- an overwhelming majority of children and parents acknowledged gender differences in the allocation of child work, primarily attributing these to **societal rules and expectations**.

- **physical strength** (of boys versus girls) followed by **security concerns** were also reported as drivers of gender differences in the allocation of work.

Interestingly, both parents and children noted that boys would not participate in domestic chores, highlighting that young children (under 14 years of age) are acutely aware of patriarchal notions of work in the confines of the home being relegated to girls and women.

Perceptions of the value of education:

- Most children found education useful, especially those in school, associating its value primarily with better job opportunities.

- Both boys and girls linked education to better job opportunities, but girls expressed a broader range of benefits, including higher earnings and greater societal respect.

- Regarding parental perspectives, only a minority of parents of out-of-school children viewed education as useful – those who did often linked its value to their children's literacy and improved future prospects.

Changes in knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards education, child labour and child marriage:

- Among parents, the highest positive change in community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour was noted towards child marriage, followed by education, with changes towards child labour featuring last.

- The principal drivers of positive changes in knowledge, attitudes and behaviour regarding *child marriage* were reported as increased **awareness of child marriage** (a community-level factor) and related **laws, policies and schemes** (system-level factors).

- The principal drivers of positive changes in knowledge, attitudes and behaviour regarding *child education* were greater **awareness of child education** (a community-level factor), followed by **government initiatives** (system-level factors).

- The principal drivers of positive changes in knowledge, attitudes and behaviour regarding *child labour* were heightened **awareness of child labour and education** (community-level factors).

Conclusion

Mere enrolment in school does not address child labour

Schooling and work cannot be viewed as mutually exclusive. There are various combinations of school and work trajectories, affected by the family circumstances, prevailing social norms, and the gender and age of the child. Accordingly, one cannot view education alone as preventing a child from working – and so eliminating the risk of child labour – especially if looking exclusively through the lens of enrolment.

Moreover, time-use data collected from parents as part of the study reveal that out-of-school children from the Musahar community are engaged in long hours of work.

Thus, in the context of Musahar communities, all groups of children considered in this study were found to be vulnerable to child labour, including both in-school and out-of-school children and both boys and girls. So, these vulnerable groups must be given attention as part of all child labour and related interventions.

The role of teachers and responsive education systems

While education alone cannot be seen as a panacea for child labour, the results reveal that teachers play a critical role. This holds not only for improvement in the child's school participation and academic performance, but also for overall school improvements at the school or system level (safety, infrastructure and teaching quality).

Despite policy initiatives and legislative measures around free and compulsory primary education in India, the household survey conducted as part of this study revealed that more than half of Musahar children (under 14 years of age) in the sample are being deprived of their fundamental right to education.

Quality education which is responsive to the needs and aspirations of children is required. This is important to support both out-of-school children rejoining school and in-school children who are at risk of dropout. Context-specific vocational and life skills training should also be included in school curricula, to foster skills that can improve the future of the most marginalized children.

Children's and caregivers' awareness of the importance of education

A child's own interest in education plays a critical role in improving her/his schooling outcomes. Family-level factors, such as parental interest in education and family acquisition of productive assets, also play an important role in reducing or increasing the time spent by children working.

Hence, interventions must be implemented to improve both children's and parents' awareness of the relevance of education, which can be achieved, for instance, through sensitization or coaching interventions engaging multiple members of the household.[14]

National identity (Aadhaar) card issuance for children in government schools

Interviewed parents noted that the lack of an Aadhaar card resulted in their children (under 14 years) not being enrolled within a government school. Aadhaar enrolment is widely considered by the public to be mandatory and a precondition for facilitating school enrolment.[15] However, this is not the case. Further, for children who do not have an Aadhaar card, it is the responsibility of schools – under Regulation 12A of Aadhaar (Enrolment and Update) Regulations, 2016 – to provide Aadhaar enrolments and biometric updates of such students. This position was reiterated by the Supreme Court of India when making Aadhaar cards non-compulsory for school admissions.[16]

Social protection measures

The household survey results reveal the adverse circumstances in which members of the Musahar community live. For example, the average salary of the head of a Musahar household was noted to be $75 per month, and 42 per cent of sample households (130 out of 309 households) had an outstanding loan.

Children also reported that a higher level of responsibility (a family-level factor) was an important driver for increased time spent on work.

Given these circumstances, Musahar households must be provided with safety nets in the form of social protection schemes, to ensure that child labour is not used as a coping strategy and therefore that children from the most vulnerable households have access to school.

Interpretation and application of the Child Labour Act

Results from this study show that out-of-school children engage in long hours of work, and even once a child is in school, she/he typically spends a significant amount of time working.

The authors note that based on the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 and its Amendment Rules, 2017, a child is allowed to help her/his family or family enterprise (except any hazardous occupation or processes) after school hours or during vacations. Details further include an express provision stating that children under 14 years of age working in the family enterprise "should not perform any task during school hours and between 7 p.m. and 8 a.m.". A clear reading reveals that the regulatory framework leaves enough room for ambiguity (after school hours and before 7 p.m., and after 8 a.m. but before school) to allow for children under 14 years of age to combine schooling with work, which can impact children's educational trajectories.

This is especially true for children who belong to the most marginalized groups, such as Musahars, because children in disadvantaged groups, including Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Castes, are more likely to be engaged in family enterprises.[17]

In light of the above, it is critical for policymakers to draw on the spirit of international child labour conventions, which view child labour as "work that is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children, and/or interferes with their schooling", and revise laws and policies accordingly.[18]

There is an urgent need to consider the implications of work in domestic chores done by children under 14 years of age. In the data collected for this study, out-of-school children and girls crossed the stipulated threshold of 21 hours per week specified by ILO measurements to qualify as child labour in domestic chores.

Child labour monitoring

While it is encouraging that the Department of School Education and Literacy (DoSEL) under Samagra Shiksha Abhiyan has to identify all out-of-school children, more needs to be done to monitor child labour in India, especially in contexts where the risk of child labour is higher and where there is significant fluidity between children's participation in work and schooling.

Using national data sets (e.g., Census of India, Periodic Labour Force Survey and National Sample Survey) to estimate child labour presents challenges due to definitional inconsistencies and varying indicators. There is an urgent need for a focused national child labour survey that uses standardized definitions and measurement frameworks to estimate rates of child work and child labour, including capturing work within the family enterprise.

Time-use data, with detailed reporting on adolescents' activities, should also be collected and combined with school attendance data.

Programme evaluation

India has a wide array of innovative non-governmental organization and government initiatives, which have demonstrated the value of multi-component strategies to address the vulnerabilities of adolescent children to work, labour and school dropout or poor schooling outcomes.[19] Yet learning from them remains a challenge. At present, many civil society organizations do not have robust management information systems, fully developed theories of change for ongoing programmes or validated tools to track change and the effectiveness of their interventions.

It is critical to develop robust programme monitoring systems and tools to be able to document best practices and conduct rigorous evaluations so that effective programmes can be scaled up and replicated based on documented evidence. Understanding the impact and specific role of education remains an area where evidence is limited and thus needs to be explored.

In summation, education alone cannot resolve child labour when children are found to be combining schooling with work. Instead, reducing child labour requires a multi-sectoral approach which leverages the role of the teachers while also covering other critical determinants including awareness of child rights (including the right to education), social and gender norms, and household poverty.

As Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 8 requires elimination of all forms of child labour by 2025, convergence across government departments, researchers and civil society organizations is imperative. The time to act is now.

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Contents

1. Introduction

This study is part of a Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office-funded four-year research project *Evidence on Educational Strategies to Address Child Labour in South Asia*, which examines the interlinkages between child labour and education, with the aim of identifying education-related policies to end child labour.

To meet the objective of this project, Population Council India completed Stream 1: 'Landscaping secondary data and research and mapping educational strategies' and produced a national report with descriptive statistics on child labour and a literature review which maps potentially scalable and cost-effective educational programmes that can contribute to addressing child labour in India.[20] UNICEF Innocenti additionally produced a rapid evidence assessment on the effects of educational programmes on child labour in low and middle-income countries.[21]

Building on Stream 1, Stream 2 was initially envisaged to include 'Primary and secondary research to identify effective and scalable educational strategies to address child labour'. Stream 2 was, at a later point, modified to explore the drivers and pathways of change in child work and child labour in Vaishali, a district in Bihar, using QuIP. The study focused on children between 10 and 13 years old in the Musahar community (the research study).[22]

Caste hierarchies exist in India, and Dalits are one of the most disadvantaged castes in the country.[23] Caste is a major contributing factor to persisting inequalities in India. Among the Dalits, the Musahars are an extremely vulnerable group, who have remained socially and economically behind and largely "excluded".[24] In Bihar, the Musahars have been categorized as Mahadalit. They live in *tolas* (small settlements) on the outskirts of villages and the majority remain landless, working as daily wage labourers. Unsurprisingly, the literacy level among Musahars in Bihar is dismally low at 29 per cent.[25] Chowdhury emphasized that although the Right to Education Act states that all children under the age of 14 must attend school, most Dalit children in Bihar do not, because of the severe discrimination they encounter from both teachers and upper caste students.[26] Jha observed that instead of going to school, Musahar children go to agricultural fields or nearby water bodies to collect grains (left out during harvesting) and catch fish.[27] There is a high prevalence of child labour in the Musahar community, with the primary cause being the family's need to pay back debt to landlords or moneylenders, coupled with needing to support the family's living costs.[28]

This report is divided into three parts. The first section captures findings from the household survey, which was undertaken to identify the sample for the QuIP study, while the next section captures qualitative findings from the school and classroom observations. The final section highlights findings from the QuIP study.

2. Bihar household survey

As part of the exploratory study, the first step was undertaking the household survey to identify the sample of Musahar children below 14 years of age for the QuIP in Bihar.

The household survey was conducted in 13 Musahar *tolas* situated in the Vaishali district of Bihar, an Eastern state in India. The survey collected information from 13–26 January 2024. Two blocks, namely Goraul and Jandaha, were chosen for the study. About 50.3 per cent of the sample was collected from Goraul block and the remaining 49.7 per cent from Jandaha block (*see Figure 1*). The *tolas* selected for the survey in each block are specified in Table 1 and have been anonymized.

Figure 1: Study area

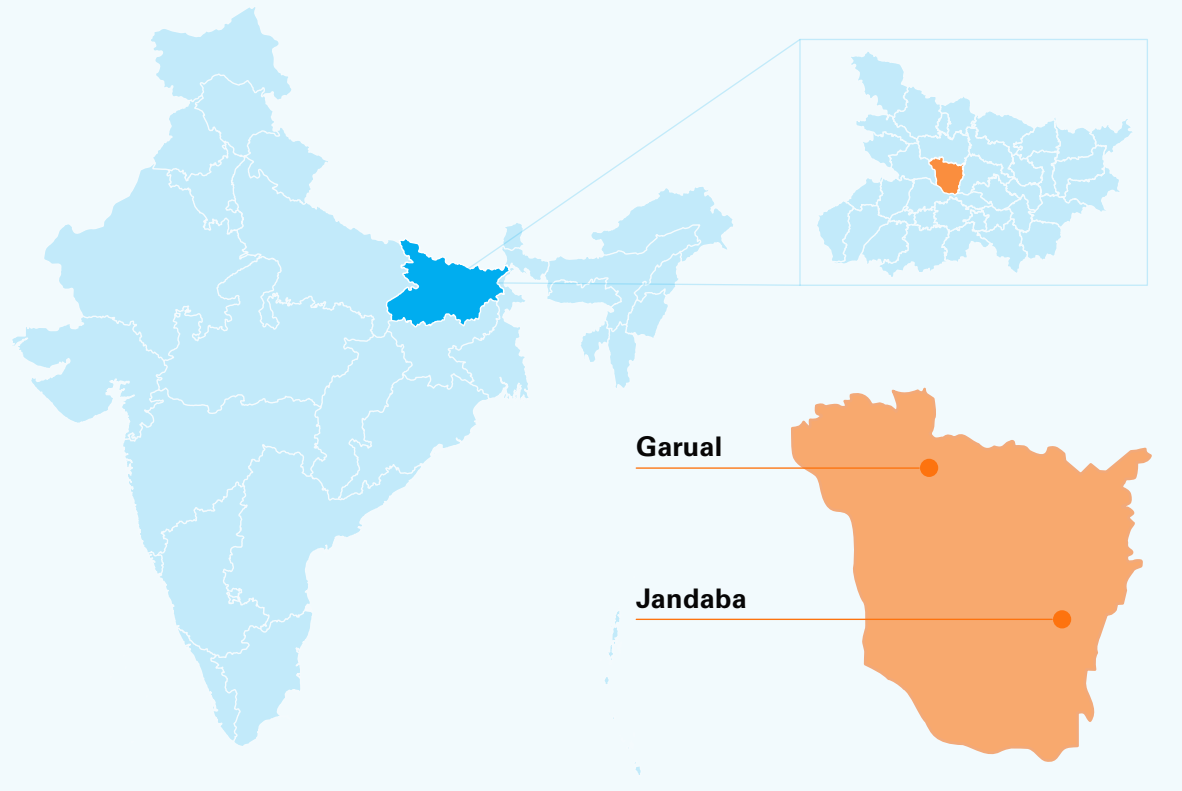
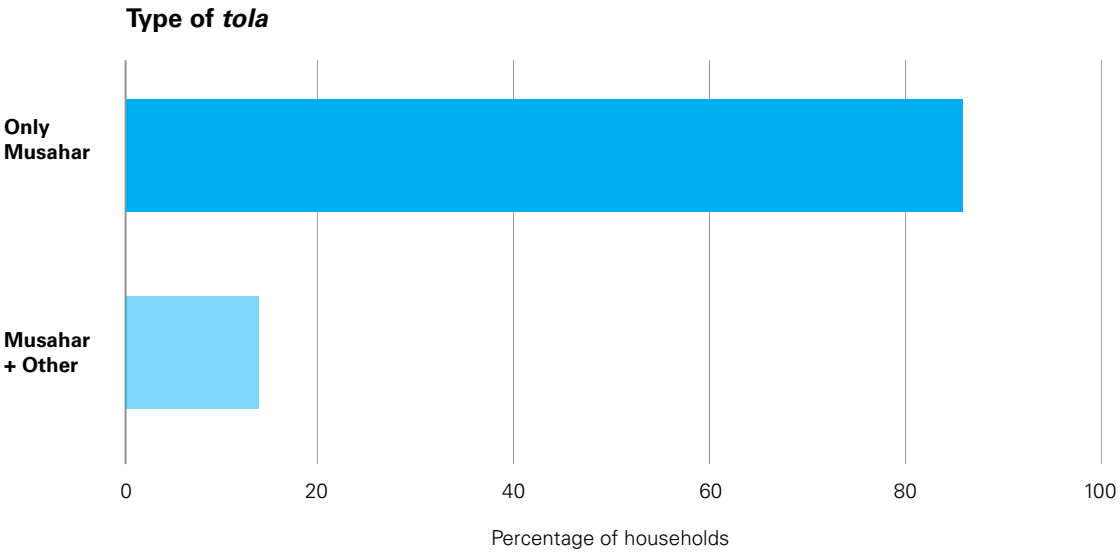


Table 1: Tolas selected for the study

BLOCK NAME	% OF THE SAMPLE COLLECTED FROM THE BLOCK	TOLA NAME
Goraul	50.3	Panchayat A – Village 1 Panchayat A – Village 2 Panchayat B – Village 3 Panchayat B – Village 4 Panchayat C – Village 5 Panchayat D – Village 6 Panchayat D – Village 7 Panchayat D – Village 8
Jandaha	49.7	Panchayat L – Village 9 Panchayat M – Village 10 Panchayat N – Village 11 Panchayat O – Village 12 Panchayat P – Village 13

It is also important to note here that 85 per cent of the surveyed households belonged to *tolas* which were inhabited only by the Musahar community. The remaining 15 per cent of Musahar households were found to coexist with other communities (*see Figure 2*).

Figure 2: Study area



2.1 Household survey sampling and methodology

Households with at least one child less than 14 years of age were eligible for the household survey.[29] If the household had more than one child in the considered age group, only the oldest child (below 14 years) in the household was selected to be considered for the QuIP interviews. Based on this sampling strategy, information regarding child education and child labour was gathered from a total of 309 households in the study area.

A face-to-face data collection method was adopted, and data were captured through computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) after ensuring privacy and confidentiality of the respondents.[30] Consent forms were obtained from the respondents prior to the start of the survey.

The collected data were cleaned prior to the analysis in Stata software. Appropriate statistical methods were used to analyse the data and draw meaningful conclusions about the selection of Musahar children for the QuIP survey.

Below, a summary of findings from the household survey data is provided. Detailed findings are available in Annex A.

2.2 Insights from household survey

The household survey conducted in the Vaishali district of Bihar sheds light on the dire living conditions and socioeconomic challenges faced by Musahar communities, particularly concerning their children. The findings underscore several critical issues.

Firstly, 72 per cent of household heads were not literate, and only 12.1 per cent had educational qualifications above primary level. This is corroborated by the 2011 Census, which similarly notes that 78.1 per cent of the total Musahar population were illiterate, with the Musahar community having the lowest literacy rate in Bihar.[31] The average income was reported as INR 6,260 per month (roughly $75 per month), highlighting the economic vulnerability of and limited opportunities available to members of the Musahar community. In the sampled Musahar population, a significant majority (57 per cent) were engaged in unsalaried wage employment. The proportion of self-employed individuals was relatively very low, with only 1.5 per cent working in the agricultural sector and 3 per cent in the non-agricultural sector. Additionally, only 3 per cent of the Musahar population held regular salaried occupations.

Compounding limited earnings, poor education status and poor housing conditions, the household survey highlights the Musahar community's deplorable living conditions, with 69.5 per cent of households being *kutcha* (temporary houses), 81 per cent lacking sanitation facilities and widespread open defecation being practised, posing serious health risks.

Persistent shocks and debt burdens were reported. At least one member from 42 per cent of the households surveyed reported having an outstanding loan.

In addition to these extreme challenges faced by members of the Musahar community, 33 per cent of Musahar children below 14 years of age reported never having been enrolled in formal education, despite the constitutional guarantee of education for all children below 14 years of age under the Right to Education Act, 2009. Further, of the 67 per cent of children who had been enrolled, 24 per cent had dropped out before completing Grade 1. When combined with those children who had never been enrolled, this translates to 49 per cent Musahar children currently being denied their fundamental right to education, which is guaranteed under Article 21-A of the Constitution of India.

Regarding government services, 35 per cent of households reported not having a ration card, and 57 per cent of children under 14 years old did not have a birth certificate. These findings suggest government schemes are not reaching the most vulnerable sections of society.

This evidence highlights significant gaps in access to essential services such as ration cards and high levels of indebtedness, which exacerbate the socioeconomic challenges faced by Musahar families. The income of one or more household members is never enough to cover the costs of the family's education, health care and other needs. This means that the majority of Dalit households are forced to take loans from landlords or moneylenders; as a result, Musahars continue to live in "chronic deficit" and the cycle of bondage never ends.[32]

Overall, the household survey highlights the urgent need for targeted interventions and policy measures to address the multifaceted challenges faced by Musahar communities in Bihar and reveals the dire conditions these children are growing up in.

3. Bihar school observations

3.1 Bihar education system

The education system in Bihar has seen significant initiatives in recent years, aimed at improving access, quality and outcomes. Historically, Bihar has faced challenges such as low literacy rates, high dropout rates and inadequate infrastructure, particularly in terms of teacher shortages and quality of education. While Bihar has made progress in increasing enrolment, the quality of learning outcomes remains a concern.[33]

Table 2 shows the basic metrics of education in Bihar as per UDISE (2021–22) data.[34] Bihar has a total of 93,165 schools across the state, and the total number of students enrolled in these schools is 27,472,692. The state has a total of 582,876 teachers employed in these schools. The pupil–teacher ratio of 47 indicates that there are high number of students for each teacher in Bihar, which could affect the quality of education and the level of individualized attention students receive. The average of six teachers per school suggests that each school has a moderate number of teaching staff. However, the distribution of teachers among schools may vary, with some schools potentially having fewer teachers than others.

Table 2: Basic metrics of education in Bihar, UDISE (2021–22)

INDICATORS	TOTAL
Total number of schools	93,165
Total number of enrolments	27,472,692
Total number of teachers	582,876
Pupil–teacher ratio	47
Teachers per school	6
Enrolment per school	295

Table 3 shows the basic facilities available in schools in Bihar. As per UDISE data (2021–22), out of the total 93,165 schools, less than half (i.e. 49.8 per cent) of schools in Bihar have playgrounds. Meanwhile, the vast majority of schools (99.3 per cent) have functional drinking water facilities and most have functional electricity (87.5 per cent). Moreover, 95.5 per cent and 97.5 per cent of schools have functional boys' and girls' toilets respectively, while 86.4 per cent have handwashing facilities.

Table 3: Availability of basic facilities in schools of Bihar, UDISE (2021–22)

FACILITIES	PERCENTAGE
Playground	49.8
Functional drinking water	99.3
Functional electricity	87.5
Functional boys' toilet	95.5
Functional girls' toilet	97.5
Handwashing facilities	86.4

Bihar has a large student population enrolled in elementary education (Grades 1–8). According to UDISE data (2021–22), the state had 21,433,075 students enrolled in primary and upper primary schools combined. This figure includes both government and private schools. Despite efforts to improve enrolment rates, Bihar continues to face challenges related to dropout rates, particularly among marginalized communities and in rural areas.

According to UDISE data (2021–22), Bihar is facing a significant shortage of teachers in elementary schools. While there has been some improvement in recent years, the pupil–teacher ratio remains high, indicating a need for more qualified teachers. Bihar's pupil–teacher ratio for primary schools is very high (characteristic of large classrooms) at around 54:1; for upper primary schools, it stands at 23:1.

Teacher shortages and inadequate infrastructure pose significant hurdles to quality education delivery in Bihar. According to UDISE data (2021–22), the state faces a deficit of trained teachers. The availability of trained teachers in pre-primary, primary and upper primary schools stand at 50.4 per cent, 79.2 per cent and 77.2 per cent respectively. Moreover, many schools lack basic amenities such as proper sanitation facilities and classrooms. Addressing these infrastructure gaps is crucial to create an environment conducive to learning and academic success.

3.2 Elementary education in Vaishali district

Table 4 provides information on the types of elementary schools in Vaishali district, Bihar, categorized by the grades they cover, along with the number of schools in each category. There are 1,111 primary schools in Vaishali district that cater to students from Grade 1 to Grade 5. There are 869 elementary schools in the district that also offer education up to Grade 8. These schools provide a continuum of education from primary to upper primary levels, covering a broader range of subjects and skills. There are 90 schools in Vaishali district that cover Grades 1 to 12. Only one school in the district caters to students from Grade 6 to Grade 12. These schools typically focus on upper primary education and provide a pathway for students to complete their secondary and higher secondary education in the same institution. There are 13 schools in Vaishali district that offer education from Grade 1 to Grade 10. These schools cover primary, upper primary and secondary levels, providing a comprehensive education up to Grade 10, after which students may transition to higher secondary schools for Grades 11 and 12.

Table 4: Type of elementary schools in Vaishali district, UDISE (2022–23)[35]

SCHOOL CATEGORY	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Primary (Grades 1 to 5)	1,111
Primary with upper primary (Grades 1 to 8)	869
Primary, upper primary with secondary and higher secondary (Grades 1 to 12)	90
Upper primary, secondary and higher secondary (Grades 6 to 12)	1
Primary, upper primary and secondary only (Grades 1 to 10)	13
TOTAL	**2,084**

Table 5 provides information on the management of schools in Vaishali district, Bihar, categorized by the entity responsible for their administration, along with the number of schools managed in each category. The majority of schools in Vaishali district, totalling 2,052, are managed by the Department of Education. These schools are typically government-run and come under the direct purview of the state education department. There is only one government-aided school in the district. Government-aided schools receive financial assistance from the government but are managed by private entities or organizations. In Vaishali district, there are 22 *Buniyadi* schools managed separately from the Department of Education.[36] One school in the district falls under the management of the Social Welfare Department, indicating its focus on providing education to socially disadvantaged groups. There is one *Kendriya Vidyalaya*, or 'Central School', in the district.[37] Similarly, there is one *Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya* in the district.[38] Six schools in Vaishali district are recognized *Madrasas*, managed by either the Waqf board or Madrasa Board.[39]

Table 5: Type of school management for elementary schooling in Vaishali district

SCHOOL MANAGEMENT	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
Department of Education	2,052
Government-aided	1
Buniyadi school	22
Social Welfare Department	1
Kendriya Vidyalaya/Central School	1
Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya	1
Madrasa-recognized (by Waqf board/Madrasa Board)	6
TOTAL	**2,084**

Table 6 provides data on the types of boundary walls in schools across Vaishali district, Bihar, along with the corresponding number of schools in each category. Only 43.7 per cent of schools in Vaishali district have *pucca* boundary walls (walls built of substantial material such as stone, brick or cement). A smaller percentage (i.e., 8.2 per cent) of schools have *pucca* walls, but they are either broken or damaged. While these walls may offer some level of security, their effectiveness may be compromised due to disrepair. A very small percentage (0.4 per cent) of schools have boundary walls made of barbed wire fencing or hedges. While providing some level of demarcation, these walls may offer more limited security than solid walls. But, most importantly, 31.8 per cent of schools in the district have no boundary walls at all, exposing schools to various security risks and compromising the safety of students and staff.

Table 6: Type of boundary walls in schools with elementary grades in Vaishali, UDISE (2022–23)

TYPE OF BOUNDARY WALLS	% OF SCHOOLS
Pucca	43.7
Pucca but broken	8.2
Barbed wire fencing	0.2
Hedges	0.2
No boundary walls	31.8
Others	0.4
Partial	15.1
Under construction	0.4
TOTAL	**100**

Table 7 provides data on the availability of basic facilities in schools across Vaishali district, Bihar, expressed as percentages of schools with and without each facility. Drinking water facilities are widely available in schools in Vaishali district, with 99.3 per cent of schools having access to drinking water. Toilet facilities are also present in 98.8 per cent of schools. However, in terms of handwashing facilities in toilets, 40.5 per cent of schools lack this essential facility which is crucial for promoting hygiene and preventing the spread of diseases.

Table 7: Availability of basic facilities in schools with elementary grades in Vaishali, UDISE (2022–23)

TYPE OF FACILITY	% OF SCHOOLS
Toilet facilities	98.8
Handwashing facilities in toilets	59.5
Drinking water	99.3

3.3 Methodology and sampling

School observations were undertaken as part of the research study to gain a better understanding of the infrastructure, human resources and inclusion or exclusion of Musahar children enrolled in these elementary schools.

At the time of the household survey, two schools were identified and selected with the support of the Department of Education, Bihar, in the Goraul and Jandaha blocks. The two government-run schools selected were UMS School 1 in Garoul block and UMS School 2 in Jandaha block. Both were middle schools (Grades 1 to 8) and had been recently upgraded from primary level to upper primary level. The prefix UMS means *Utkramit Madhya Vidyalaya*, which translates to 'upgraded middle school'. The details of the schools are given below in Table 8.

Table 8: School identification

SCHOOL IDENTIFIERS	UMS SCHOOL 1	UMS SCHOOL 2
Address	Block: Goraul District: Vaishali State: Bihar	Block: Jandaha District: Vaishali State: Bihar
Location	Rural	Rural
Locality	Scheduled Caste colony	Scheduled Caste colony
School management	Department of Education	Department of Education
School category	Primary with upper primary	Primary with upper primary
School type	Co-educational	Co-educational

Prior to conducting the school observations, multiple visits to these schools were undertaken to gain a preliminary understanding of the school environments. The below-mentioned points were followed as part of the school and classroom observations, which had been conducted in a supportive and non-evaluative manner:

1. Pre-observation preparation: The observers conducted discussions with the headteachers of both schools and familiarized themselves with the layout of the schools and classrooms.

2. Observation: This was conducted over three days and included assessment of: (i) the schools and classrooms (physical environment, seating arrangements, displays, etc.); (ii) instructional strategies (teaching methods); (iii) student engagement (level of participation and their interactions); (iv) differentiation (looking for evidence of inclusion or exclusion); (v) feedback (assessment of students and feedback); and (vi) classroom management (how teachers managed classrooms).

In-depth interviews with headteachers and selected caregivers were also conducted on the last day. Moreover, a debriefing session with each headteacher was conducted.

Detailed analysis related to the school and classroom observations is provided in Annex B.

3.4 Insights from school and classroom observations

It is critical to acknowledge that both the schools selected were located within Scheduled Caste colonies and enrolment was predominantly of children from these disadvantaged communities. Notably, only 9.7 per cent and 2.4 per cent of children belonged to the general category in UMS 1 and UMS 2 respectively, with 25 per cent and 11.1 per cent teachers belonging to the general category as well. This means in both schools, students and teachers belonging to disadvantaged groups dominated. In this environment, it is indeed unsurprising that no exclusion was noticed by the Young Lives team towards Musahar children. As illustrated by a Scheduled Caste teacher in UMS1: "Unlike other schools, Musahar children here do not face discrimination as we all belong to the same caste ... there is no exclusion."

Despite no exclusion being witnessed in the schools, the quality of schooling was questionable. Multi-grade teaching was practised in both schools and all classrooms throughout the one-week duration of the school observation. Student-centred teaching practices were sorely lacking, and student engagement was found to be limited. Both schools had recently been upgraded from primary to upper primary schools (covering Grade 5 to Grade 8) but were not supported by an adequate number of subject teachers with the requisite educational qualifications. The schools also did not have the adequate teacher learning materials as prescribed by the Right to Education Act.

Infrastructure was also found lacking in both schools. Alarmingly, UMS1 did not even have a boundary wall, despite the existence of a pond adjoining the school. One teacher interviewed stated: "The lack of a wall is a serious challenge which we have repeatedly spoken about ... the lack of attention has translated to one student drowning in the past year." The Young Lives team also witnessed a snake entering one of the classrooms during the observation – however, the children were not as startled as the observers. One teacher noted that lack of school infrastructure was a significant reason for reduced attendance during the monsoon season, but data on attendance during the monsoons were

not available for corroboration. These findings are consistent with the Jan Jagran Shakti Sangathan 2023 survey results covering 81 primary and upper primary government schools in two districts of Bihar, which highlighted that 90 per cent schools had no proper boundary walls, playground or library.[40]

During the school observations, attendance rates varied significantly each day, ranging from 73.2 per cent in Grade 3 on the second day to 53.7 per cent on the third day in UMS1. In UMS2, the Young Lives team observed significant fluctuation, with 44.4 per cent attendance in Grade 4 on the first day and 50 per cent being the highest attendance in Grade 4 over the course of the whole observation. Changes in attendance were also noted in both schools during the course of the day, with attendance reducing drastically after the midday meal. The headteacher of UMS1 stated:

> "One cannot consider a day in school to be defined as a set number of hours – with children entering the premises at a given hour and staying for the course of the school day ... In reality, children drift in and out of school like butterflies. Depending on their mood and wishes. We as teachers are unable to ensure they attend a full day of schooling in spite of our efforts."

Seasonal variation in attendance was another concern raised by teachers in both schools. During interviews, the teachers explained that these variations were influenced by various factors, including seasonal work and family responsibilities.

Teachers also highlighted that Musahar parents' attendance was low during parent–teacher meetings due to engagement in work, illiteracy or family obligations. One teacher observed: "[Until] such time that parents do not believe education has a value for their child, poor attendance and academic performance will be a constant ... we can only change these children's future if parents see school as more than the safe space to provide their children a meal."

In conclusion, despite the lack of a statistically representative sample, the qualitative observations offer insight into how schools can be reformed in rural districts, specifically schools that cater to marginalized communities. The observations highlight that policies need to address the infrastructural and human resource deficits that exist in these schools. Efforts to enhance school infrastructure, ensuring student attendance, adoption of student-centred pedagogy, and promoting parental involvement and engagement in their children's schooling are vital steps towards providing a safe and conducive learning environment for all students.

4. Bihar QuIP

The rest of the report is divided up as follows: section 4 provides background and the study context, details of the methodology adopted for the research study, quantitative analyses of data collected from the sample of 52 respondents (26 children and their respective parents), and results emerging from the QuIP analysis for children and their parents,[41] respectively; section 5 provides implications for policies, programmes and research; and section 6 concludes.

4.1 Conceptual framework

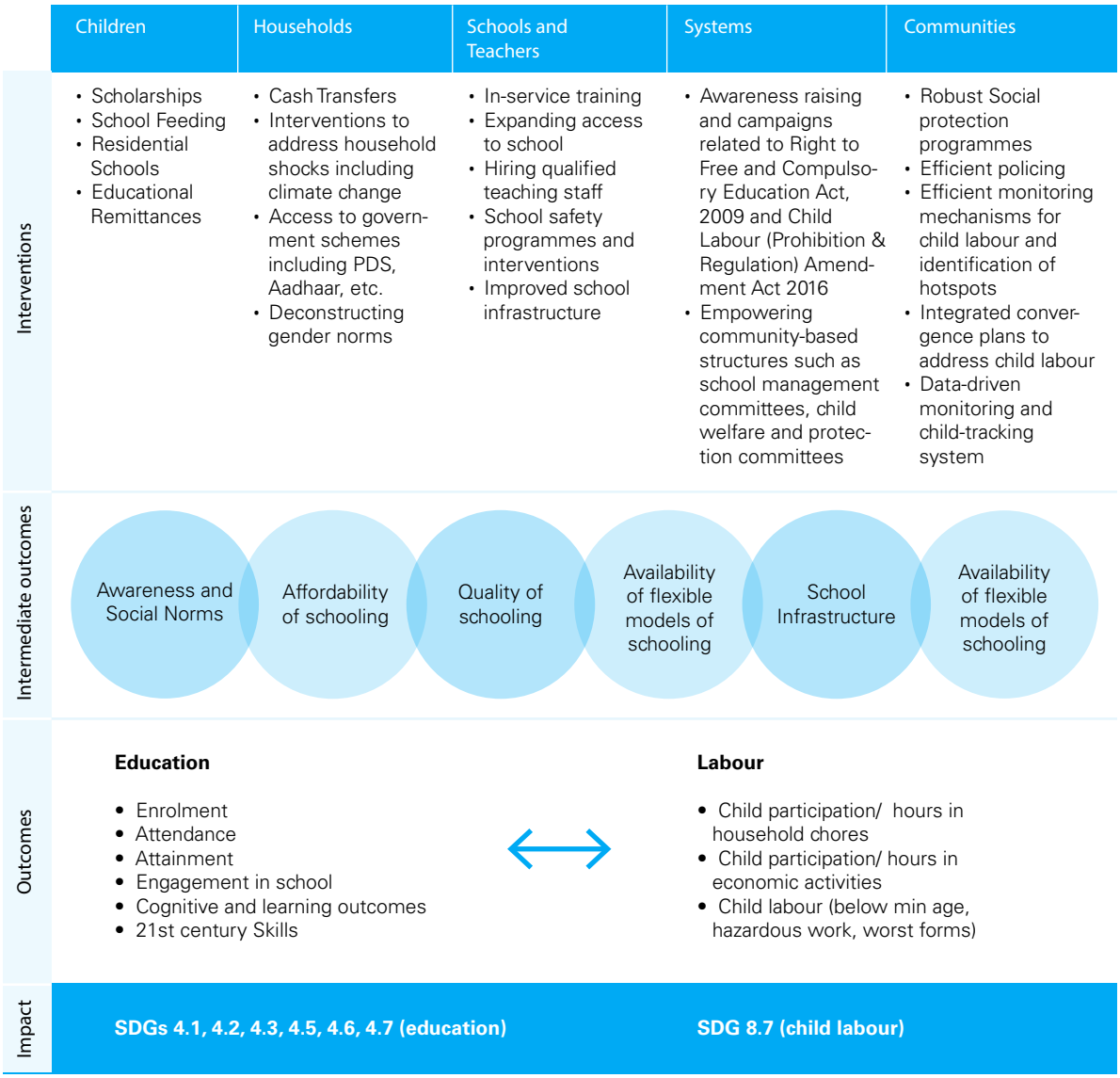
UNICEF Innocenti has developed a conceptual framework outlining the pathways of change from educational policies and programmes to schooling and child labour outcomes (*see Annex C*).[42]

The conceptual framework follows Snilstveit et al.[43] While Snilstveit et al. reviewed 216 educational programmes in 52 low- and middle-income countries to synthesize evidence on the impact of educational programmes on children's school enrolment, attendance, completion and learning, the conceptual framework, on the other hand, outlines the key pathways linking education interventions to child labour impact.

The conceptual framework acknowledges that education and child labour outcomes are determined by factors operating across four main levels (*see Annex D*).

Under Research Stream 2, one of the activities to be undertaken by Young Lives India included validation of the conceptual framework through face validity. For this task, Young Lives undertook in-depth interactions with key state government officials and conducted a state workshop in collaboration with the UNICEF Office in Bihar, leading civil society organizations and academics working in the field of child labour and child protection. During the process of validating the conceptual framework, government officials and representatives from civil society organizations noted that the community and system level drivers should be divided into two distinct groups: community level and systems level. This division is consistent with Bronfenbrenner's ecological model, which distinguishes the macrosystem from the chronosystem.[44] The government and civil society organization interactions were also useful in identifying additional drivers of change for child work or labour observed in Bihar. These are reflected in the modified conceptual framework for Bihar in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: The Modified Framework on linkages between education and child labour



It is important to note that the research study is guided by the Modified Framework to understand the drivers of and pathways of change for child labour and schooling outcomes in Bihar.

4.2 Research questions

The six research questions guiding the research study are:

1. Compared with previous years, what have been the changes (both positive and negative) in schooling and child labour outcomes among adolescents <14 years of age?

2. What are the main 'drivers of change' or 'influencing factors' that determine the observed changes?

3. What are the key 'mechanisms' or 'pathways' through which change is realized?

4. Are there any observable differences in the reported causal pathway by gender and schooling status (in school versus out of school)?

5. What is the role of schooling and school-related factors as drivers of change for child labour outcomes?

6. What other factors have supported the reduction of child labour (or blocked it)?

4.3 Child labour under international conventions and Indian regulations

4.3.1 International definition

The ILO defines child labour as "work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development". A global commitment to address child labour is embodied in SDG Target 8.7, which calls for the end child labour in all of its forms by 2025.

The two main international conventions on child labour are the Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) (Convention No. 138),[45] and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182).[46] It is critical to note that both conventions allow signatory countries to permit "light work"[47] and make their own determination on a list of hazardous sectors and occupations.[48] Given this flexibility, child labour definitions and legislations vary significantly across countries globally, resulting in difficulties in quantifying the prevalence of child labour globally with one yardstick.

4.3.2 Understanding Indian law

India amended the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 with the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Act, 2016 (the Child Labour Act).[49] The Child Labour Act distinguishes between child labour (all employment is prohibited for children under 14 years of age other than entertainment industry and non-hazardous family enterprise) and adolescent labour (all employment and work is permitted for adolescents between 14 and 17 years of age except hazardous occupations which have been identified and listed in a specific schedule).[50] Further, the Child Labour Act aligns with the Right to Education Act, which prescribes the fundamental right to schooling only for children between 6 and 14 years of age.

The Child Labour Act has been criticized for several reasons: Ganotra and Goswami each note that the current law reduces the number of hazardous occupations drastically and allows for children under 14 to undertake economic work within the family enterprise.[51] Moreover, Goswami notes that contractors engage young children in labour under the guise of being a "family enterprise".[52]

The authors note that section 3(2) allows a child to help her/his family or family enterprise (apart from any hazardous occupation or processes) after her/his school hours or during her/his vacation. Meanwhile the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Rules, 2017 provide more details, including an express provision stating that children under 14 years of age working in a family enterprise "should not perform any task during school hours and between 7 p.m. and 8 a.m.". A clear reading reveals that the regulatory framework leaves enough room for ambiguity (after school hours and before 7 p.m., and after 8 a.m. but before school) to allow for children under 14 years of age to combine schooling with work, which can affect their educational trajectories. This is especially true for children belonging to the most marginalized groups. As pointed out by Jha,[53] the majority of children engaged in family enterprises belong to disadvantaged groups including Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes. Jha further notes that through the provisions of the Child Labour Act, which allow for schooling and work, we deprive these children of their human rights. It has been pointed out that Indian policymakers need to draw on the spirit of international child labour regulations, which view child labour as "work that is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children, and/or interferes with their schooling".[54]

4.3.3 Child work and child labour definitions used in this study

Based on the above discussions, the authors note that whether particular forms of "work" undertaken by children can be called "child labour" depends on the national laws, which factor in the child's age, the nature and conditions of the work, and the hours worked.

For the purposes of this research study, both child work and child labour are used. Child work has been further disaggregated into domestic chores, economic activities in the family enterprise and economic activities for pay outside the household.

Regarding child labour, this is defined as economic activities under hazardous conditions, including: carrying heavy loads; working with dangerous tools (such as knives) or operating heavy machinery; exposure to dust, fumes or gases; exposure to extreme heat or humidity; exposure to loud noise or vibrations; working at heights (such as up a tree); working with chemicals, such as pesticides, glues or similar; and working for long hours, such as the whole day.[55]

Both children participating in economic activities within the household and those participating in economic activities outside the household were asked about their exposure to the hazardous conditions listed above. Hence, the child labour definition used in this study is not confined by definitions provided in the Child Labour Act, but instead aligns with the broader definition outlined by international conventions.

4.4 Methodology

The research study applies the QuIP methodology.[56] This is a qualitative impact evaluation approach that draws on contribution analysis.[57] QuIP is avowedly 'qualitative' while explicitly incorporating concerns for rigour, transparency and replicability that have traditionally been associated with quantitative evaluation approaches. QuIP is designed to collect credible information directly from respondents about changes in selected domains of their life and what they perceive to be the main reasons for those changes over a predefined period. Participants are asked to reflect on what might have changed in areas of interest to the research, and why and how these changes have happened (or not) – without any prompting about specific interventions or known drivers. This evaluation methodology is particularly useful in complex contexts where a variety of tangled factors influence the outcomes of an intervention, to identify both anticipated and unexpected drivers of change in evaluation studies.

While QuIP studies have been used extensively to collect credible evidence on the beneficiary-level impacts of a specific intervention, this research study identifies broader narratives about change rather than looking for attributable links to a specific set of interventions. The interview questions were designed to gain an understanding of participants' (children as well as their caregivers) views of changes experienced regarding child work or labour and schooling outcomes (compared with previous years) and key drivers contributing to these changes.

As part of the in-depth interviews, a QuIP questionnaire was administered (covering a different set of questions for both children and their respective caregivers) which included both closed- and open-ended questions. Analysis of the closed-ended questions resulted in descriptive statistics, while responses to open-ended questions were analysed using causal qualitative data analysis, part of the QuIP methodology (a software application called Causal Map was used to do the coding).[58] Based on the Modified Framework outlined above, a broad range of factors can be potential drivers of change in child labour and schooling outcomes, including factors that operate at the level of the child, household, school, community or systems. Further, this exploratory approach acknowledges that drivers of child labour and schooling outcomes can pertain to multiple domains or sectors, including education, social protection and child protection. To be consistent with the focus of the overall project, this report includes reflections on the role of education-related factors as drivers of change in child labour.[59]

The Causal Map app generates quantitative data from the closed-ended questions, which have also been analysed to examine child work and labour by gender and schooling status. In addition, to add depth and dimension to the limited quantitative analysis, t-test has been applied wherever possible.[60]

4.5 QuIP study design and sampling

The QuIP methodology used a combination of purposive sampling (to select the district) followed by random sampling to select the respondents.

Purposive sampling was undertaken to select the district of Vaishali (Bihar) which had the presence of well-known non-governmental organizations working towards eliminating child labour and two *mandals* (small settlements or villages) representing an urban and a rural block. Subsequently, a village (*tola*) survey was undertaken to identify in-school and out-of-school Musahar children below 14 years of age for QuIP. Of the 309 children identified in the household survey, the gender distribution was evenly split, with 50 per cent male and 50 per cent female. The age distribution showed that 31 per cent of the children were between the ages of 6 to 9 years, while the remaining 69 per cent were between the ages of 10 and 13 years. From the 309 children, 26 children under 14 years of age and their respective parents were randomly selected for the in-depth interviews, while eight focus group discussion were conducted with 64 children (*see Table 9*).

Table 9: Details of Bihar survey

STATE	SURVEY TYPE	AGE GROUP	PURPOSE
Bihar (Vaishali)	Household survey	<14	To identify Musahar children for QuIP
	QuIP survey	<14	To explore the factors associated with child labour

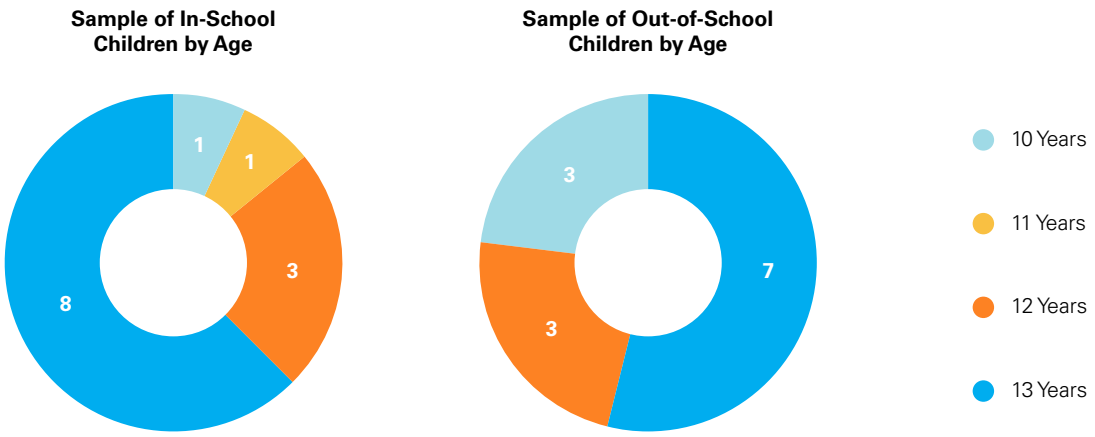
Table 10 provides details of the total sample of 52 respondents (26 children under 14 years of age and their respective caregivers) who participated in the QuIP study component.[61] Of the 26 children who participated, there were equal numbers of in-school and out-of-school children (13 children in each category).

Exact gender balance was maintained with respect to the sample of children, as among the 26 children interviewed there were equal numbers of boys and girls (13 each). Among the sample of 26 parents interviewed there were eight fathers and 18 mothers (13 parents of in-school children and 13 parents of out-of-school children).

Table 10: QuIP sample for Bihar

DIMENSION (STRATIFICATION)	BIHAR		
	NUMBER OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS WITH CHILDREN (EIGHT CHILDREN IN EACH)	NUMBER OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH CHILDREN	NUMBER OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH PARENTS
In-school (boys)	2	6	6
In-school (girls)	2	7	7
Out-of-school (boys)	2	7	7
Out-of-school (girls)	2	6	6
TOTAL	8 (COVERING 64 CHILDREN TOTAL)	26	26

Figure 4: QuIP sample distribution of children by age



4.6 QuIP survey instruments and data collection

4.6.1 Survey instruments

The Bihar QuIP questionnaires were developed by UNICEF Innocenti and Young Lives India, in collaboration with Bath Social & Development Research (Bath SDR).

Two separate QuIP questionnaires were administered in the district of Vaishali in Bihar: child and caregiver questionnaires. Child questionnaires were administered to selected eligible children aged 10 to 13 years old. The parents of the respective children were interviewed using the parent questionnaire.

The QuIP questionnaires captured domains and drivers as mentioned in Modified Framework. The child questionnaire included topics such as domestic chores, family enterprise, work for remuneration outside the household and experience in hazardous conditions, as well as information related to schooling. The parent questionnaire covered topics such as children's engagement in different labour activities as well as schooling, including school quality, school safety, school infrastructure, etc.

The Bihar QuIP survey included in-depth interviews with children and their parents, as well as focus group discussions with children.[62]

Prior to undertaking the surveys in Bihar, approval from Mr Baidya Nath Yadav, IAS, Secretary, Education Department, Bihar was obtained, because formal approval was needed for the research study. For further information, refer to Annex E.

4.6.2 Data collection

Young Lives India collaborated with AN Sinha Institute of Social Studies to undertake the *tola* and QuIP surveys in Bihar. Data collection was carried out by a team of six investigators,[63] two research officers and a project director.

Prior to undertaking the Bihar surveys, each member of the survey team attended an in-depth 14-day training programme with piloting of the questionnaires (2–15 January 2024). As a part of the training, the survey team was: informed of the rationale of the QuIP study component; made aware of the process of identification of the sample; familiarized with the household survey and QuIP questionnaires and participated in discussions related to the questionnaire content; and instructed on the different aspects of field management with a focus on safety protocols and research ethics. As part of the training, simulation exercises were undertaken to ensure that the survey team was familiar with the questionnaire and that all concerns raised by the teams were addressed.

Following the training, a two-day pilot survey was conducted with children and their parents in Patna, Bihar. Subsequently, a debriefing was undertaken with the survey team. The QuIP survey was carried out between 16 January and 7 February 2024.

As part of data collection, consent forms were obtained from each respondent and regular spot checks were conducted for quality assurance and to provide guidance to the survey team on the ground. Standard measures and criteria were followed to analyse and verify the correctness and coherence of information and data through continuous monitoring by experienced supervisors and triangulation.[64]

4.7 Analysis method

4.7.1 QuIP and causal maps

Focus group discussion transcripts were not coded, and causal maps only relate to the in-depth interview transcripts.

Qualitative data were obtained through face-to-face interviews conducted by the survey team (keeping in mind gender matching) in the local language (i.e., Hindi). The recorded interviews were firstly transcribed and subsequently translated and back translated by trained researchers who were adept in both Hindi and English. After this exercise, the detailed transcripts – which varied between 15 and 30 pages – were shared with Bath SDR and then uploaded on the Causal Map app.

To analyse the uploaded data using QuIP methodology, four members of Young Lives India were trained by Bath SDR in qualitative data analysis through a series of workshops. These trained members reviewed the summary transcripts and coded the data, looking for causal claims in the stories of change shared by the sample. The transcripts were coded in a qualitative data analysis software called Causal Map, which is designed specifically to capture and analyse causal mechanisms. Through this methodology, Young Lives was able to use QuIP methodology to identify: respondents' insights (both caregivers and children) to establish the drivers of change that have contributed to resolving or reducing child labour and that have affected schooling outcomes; and the pathway of change that has resulted in reducing or resolving child labour and led to improvements or declines in schooling. Additionally, all non-causal themes were recorded in plain coding (*see Annex F*).[65]

The causal maps used in this report show a visualization of the narrative data collected in the Bihar survey, using a form of causal qualitative data analysis. The maps illustrate where the sample respondents made a causal connection between factors, and how many times each connection was made by different respondents.

To remove doubt, per instructions received from UNICEF Innocenti and Bath SDR, the methodology used a source count of "at least two" when developing the causal maps. This means that drivers of change identified by only one respondent do not appear in the causal maps.[66] This approach facilitates focus on the main drivers of change by obtaining relatively simpler causal maps for interpretation.

In addition, to limit false correlations, the functions of "tracing" and "threads" were adopted across all causal maps contained in this report.[67]

As hierarchical coding has been used, the zoom filter allows one to zoom out to give a simple, more general overview, while for details, the zoom filter at level 3 provides granular details.[68]

Additionally, in this report, certain causal maps were made by applying a focus filter, which allows one to develop a causal map with a specific focus area in mind.[69]

Note every causal map in this report appears with a legend. The legend reflects how many sources are shown within the links on the map to make the causal connection as well as the filters and commands relied upon in the respective causal map.

As the research study is meant to be qualitative in nature, quotes appearing in the Causal Map app that relate to the principal driver of change (related to work or labour, education, social norms etc.) and were cited by a minimum of four respondents have been highlighted in the relevant sections.

4.7.2 Quantitative analysis

All closed-ended questions used in the questionnaire (such as "yes/no" or "increased/decreased" as well as quantifiable time-use data) were developed into an Excel sheet through the Causal Map app and used for the descriptive statistics below. Critically, the Causal Map-generated Excel sheet recorded the initial response by the respondents and, in many instances, this diverges from the subsequent responses provided.

Additionally, given the analysis of data prepared using the Causal Map-generated Excel sheet produced limited results (which appear in the Figures 5 to 19 below), going beyond the QuIP methodology, the closed-ended information along with demographics and schooling status was used for more detailed statistical analysis. Bivariate associations between a variable of interest (child work/labour) and gender (male/female) and schooling status (in-school/out-of-school) were examined. In addition, t-test was conducted to determine if there was a significant difference in time-use data related to different activities between two groups (i.e., boys and girls and in-school and out-of-school children).[70]

4.8 Challenges and limitations

At the time of writing, QuIP methodology has been adopted across over 80 projects across 20 countries, including conjunction with other evaluation methodologies such as randomized controlled trials and process evaluation.[71] Most, but not all, studies have been focused on evaluating interventions, ranging from health care to cash transfers. To date, there are no publicly available reports that use QuIP methodology for exploratory studies, and this research study therefore makes a valuable contribution.

Accordingly, Bath SDR, UNICEF Innocenti and Young Lives India worked together closely to ensure the QuIP methodology was used to the best extent possible to answer the research question listed in section 4.2.

Regarding the limitations of using QuIP with children, while the initial study design was to include children between 6 and 14 years of age, the questions used to understand the drivers for change were entirely unsuccessful for children under 10 during the pilot. Using standardized questionnaires with children under 10 years of age has been found to be problematic by numerous researchers. Vogl acknowledges a guideline minimum age of 10–12 years to undertake "standardized interviews".[72]

Accordingly, for the QuIP in-depth interviews, only children between 10 and 14 years of age were selected. However, for Musahar children (between 10 and 14 years of age) this itself was fraught with difficulties due to the nature of questions focused on understanding change and contribution.

As pointed out by Bath SDR, using QuIP with young children has limitations – notably: "QuIP style interviewing involves people putting together stories about how change has happened, particularly using the idea that something may be different to how it was before – 'before and after'. For younger children, this can be very difficult for them to judge as their lives are continuously changing as they grow up and move through different life stages. Also of concern would be the extent to which they understand the origin of any change. Children tend to take their environment somewhat for granted and tend not to question the way things happen around them until they are a little older. They may not be able to pin-point the drivers of particular changes which is key."[73]

Pearl and Mackenzie refer to this as the ladder of causation or causal understanding.[74]

During the interviews, the Young Lives team was acutely aware of children's inability to make causal connections in numerous circumstances. To address these concerns and ensure meaningful insights were obtained from children, all questions had to be overly simplified with examples to allow children to reflect and share their observations to the maximum extent possible. The language of the QuIP questionnaire therefore required significant rework to ensure children understood the questions being asked.

In terms of methodology limitations, while using QuIP has many benefits,[75] a significant limitation is that akin to other qualitative research methods relying on a limited sample, data findings from the QuIP study are not statistically representative of the wider population. Given the aim of using QuIP is to conduct an in-depth assessment with a purposively selected group of people to understand whether, and if so how, different aspects or 'domains' of their lives have changed in recent years, the research findings cannot be extrapolated across wider target areas. The findings nevertheless offer valuable insight and information.

An additional limitation to flag is that all causal maps developed in the report use the methodology of at least two top links (as discussed in section 2.4.1), and if this filter had not been applied, the causal maps developed would be different. In this scenario, as different causal maps would be generated by the Causal Map app, the interpretation and analysis would differ.

There were also challenges with respect to the survey tool. Another limitation of the research study to be acknowledged was the length and complexity of the questionnaire, including the number of domains covered – work or labour, illness or injury, education outcomes, value of education, vocational skills, change in community views towards child labour, child marriage and education impact of COVID-19. Accordingly, to ensure the interviews were not rushed and detailed information was obtained, the survey team had to take breaks during the interview to allow respondents to undertake their daily activities or duties, and resumed the interviews at their convenience, which resulted in caregiver interviews lasting between 30 minutes and 1.5 hours (maximum).

Additionally, given the consent form expressly allowed respondents to withdraw at any stage of the interview without coercion to complete the questionnaire, the survey team had to delete 11 interviews in total and undertake additional interviews to fulfil the sample (*see section 2.2*). For these interviews, they were unable to complete the full set of questions with the respondents (parents of children), because the respondents (parents of children) had to leave due to work demands.

Respondent fatigue was especially noted among children, and numerous breaks had to be provided to children.

There were also challenges around sampling and data collection.[76] While the survey team was able to meet the sample after considerable time and effort, identification of 309 number of children and their parents in the household survey was vital because only 30 per cent of the parents/children were willing to participate in in-depth interviews and focus group discussions.

4.9 Ethics

The research study followed all the necessary ethical protocols to ensure the strictest adherence to national and international good practices in social science research. Institutional Review Board approval to undertake the research study was obtained from Sri Padmavati Mahila Visvavidyalayam on 19 August 2023. Please see the approval letter in Annex G.

Two critical aspects covered during the training of the survey team were safety protocols (*see Annex H)* and research ethics. The survey team ensured that all respondents gave informed consent and that safeguarding protocols were in place (including referral lists). The Young Lives team was particularly aware of the power imbalance between adult researchers and children as respondents and ensured that rapport-building activities were undertaken prior to administering the children's QuIP questionnaire.

All adults participating in the research study were required to provide consent for themselves as well as for their child (under 18 years of age) to participate in the interviews. Verbal assent was additionally obtained from children. The scripts for the informed consent or assent, depending on the case, were read out to all participants prior to commencing interviews (including providing background information about the study, use of findings, measures taken to ensure confidentiality and consent for use of data and audio recordings). Only post-approval were the interviews initiated. Participants were informed about their right to stop the interview at any stage or avoid answering any questions they were uncomfortable with. Lastly, data security was ensured by anonymizing information prior to sharing interview transcripts with Bath SDR for uploading in the Causal Map app. Safeguards were strictly enforced in the field by the field supervisors and no deviations were reported during the research study.

4.10 Quantitative analysis

Through closed-ended questions, both the child as well as her/his respective parent were asked whether the child participates in: domestic chores; economic activities within the family enterprise; economic activities for pay (outside the household); and economic activities involving hazardous conditions (within the family enterprise or outside the household). Additionally, from the child's perspective, commentary on increased or decreased time spent on work or labour compared with previous years was analysed. Analysis of time-use data of children as reported by parents across these four categories was also examined.

4.10.1 Quantitative analysis of child work and child labour outcomes

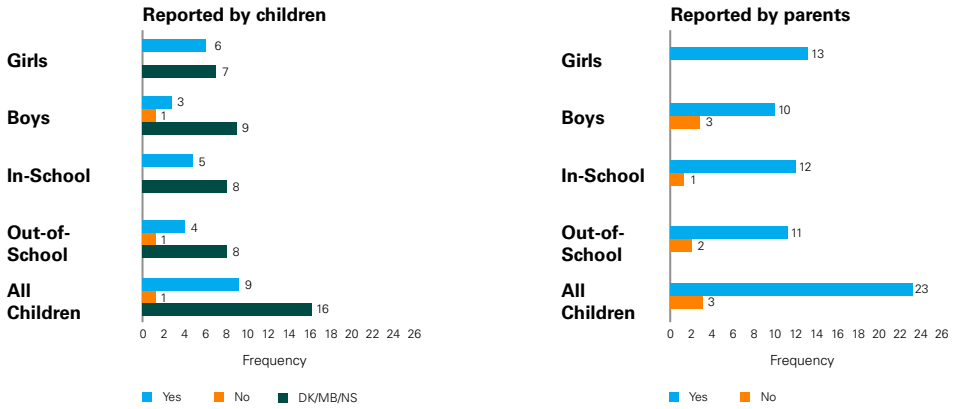
Through closed-ended questions, both the child and her/his respective parent were asked whether the child participates in: domestic chores; economic activities within the family enterprise; economic activities for pay (outside the household); and economic activities involving hazardous conditions (within the family enterprise or outside the household). Additionally, from the child's perspective, commentary on increased or decreased time spent on work or labour compared with previous years was analysed. Analysis of time-use data of children as reported by parents across these four categories was also examined.

Domestic chores

Information shared by both parents and their children shows high levels of participation in domestic chores, with 9 out of 26 children and a higher number (i.e., 23 out of 26) parents stating that the child participates in domestic chores. Figure 5 shows that as reported by parents, there was a slight difference in participation in domestic chores between girls (all 13 girls) and boys (10 out of 13 boys). Given all girls in the sample (both in-school and out-of-school) were engaged in domestic chores, it is relevant to note Costagliola's observation that in Indian society, girls' engagement in domestic chores is believed to enhance their skills for future domestic roles post-marriage.[77]

Interestingly, as per children as well as parents, participation in domestic chores was found to be higher among in-school children than out-of-school children.

Figure 5: Participation in domestic chores during the past year

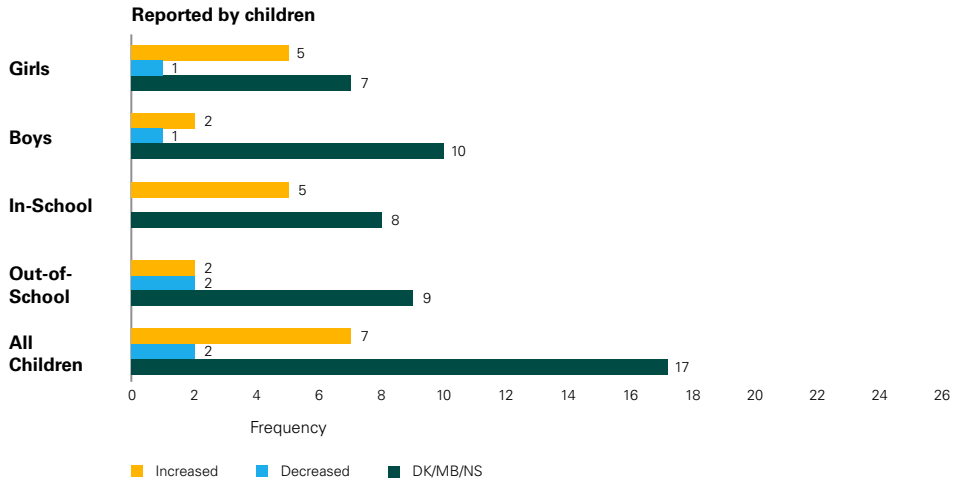


Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

Overall, more children reported increases in time spent on domestic chores in the past year, compared with previous years, than those who reported a decrease in time (*see Figure 6*). Increase in time spent on domestic chores was higher among in-school children (reported by five in-school children compared with two out-of-school children). On the other hand, out-of-school children were more likely to have seen a decrease in domestic chores.

While it appears counterintuitive that in-school children have reported increased time spent on domestic chores than out-of-school children, when you factor in the long hours out-of-school children spend on economic activities (family enterprise and paid work), this finding is understandable. Gender disaggregated analysis reveals more girls (as reported by five girls) experienced an increase in time spent on domestic chores than boys (as reported by two boys) compared with previous years.

Figure 6: Change in time spent on domestic chores



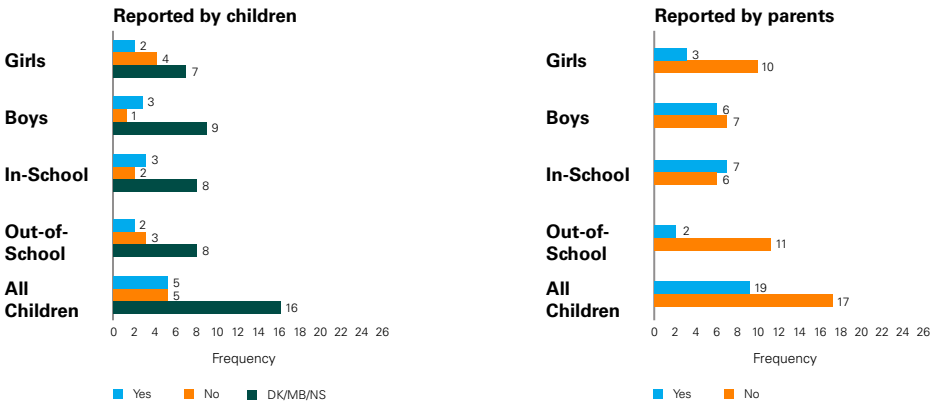
Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

Economic activities within the family enterprise

Information shared by both children and their parents shows children's participation in the family enterprise, with 5 out of 26 children and a higher number of parents (i.e., 9 out of 26) reporting the child's participation in family enterprise.

Figure 7 shows that based on parents' reporting, gender differences can be observed – three girls participated in the family enterprise compared with six boys. Interestingly, as per both children and parents, participation in family enterprise was found to be higher among in-school children than out-of-school children.

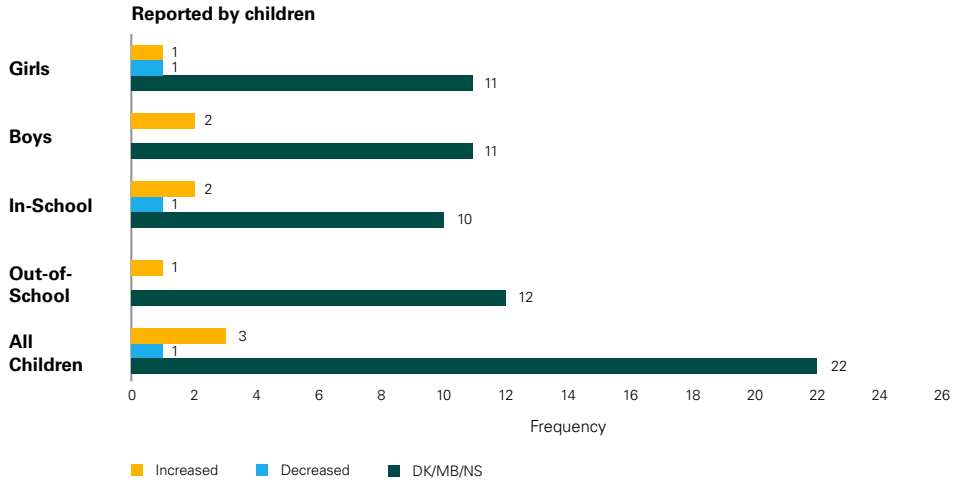
Figure 7: Participation in economic activities within the family enterprise during the past year



Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

Overall, Figure 8 highlights that compared with previous years, relatively more children had experienced an increase in time spent on the family enterprise than those who had experienced a decrease. Increase in time spent on family enterprise was reported more by in-school children (two children) than out-of-school children (one child). Gender analysis shows that one girl reported an increase in time spent on family enterprise, compared with two boys.

Figure 8: Change in time spent on family enterprise during the past year

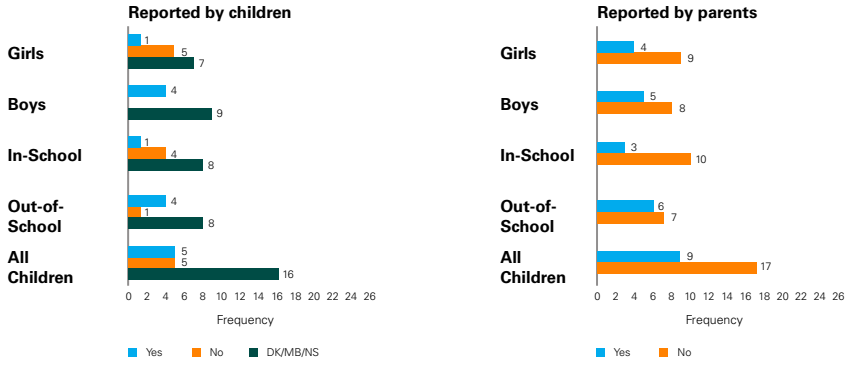


Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

Economic activities for pay – outside household

Information shared by both children and their parents shows that participation in economic paid work was similar to participation in family enterprise but lesser than participation in domestic chores. Five out of 26 children and a higher number of parents (i.e. 9 out of 26) noted children's participation in paid work. Figure 9 shows that based on children's self-reporting, a higher number of boys (four boys) participated in paid work compared with girls (one girl). Not surprisingly, participation in paid work was found to be higher among out-of-school children than in-school children, according to both children and parents.

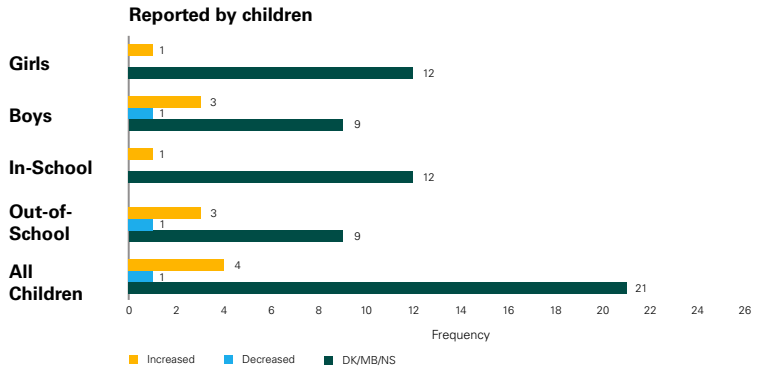
Figure 9: Participation in economic activities for pay – outside household during the past year



Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

Overall, Figure 10 highlights that four children reported experiencing increased time spent on paid work compared with previous years, with one child reporting decreased time. It is important to acknowledge that a majority of the sample (i.e., 21 children of the 26) were unsure whether the amount of time spent by them on paid work had increased or decreased. The trend of increase in time spent on working for pay was more pronounced among out-of-school children (reported by three children) than in-school children (one child), as well as among boys (reported by three children) than girls (reported by one child).

Figure 10: Change in time spent on economic activities for pay – outside household



Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

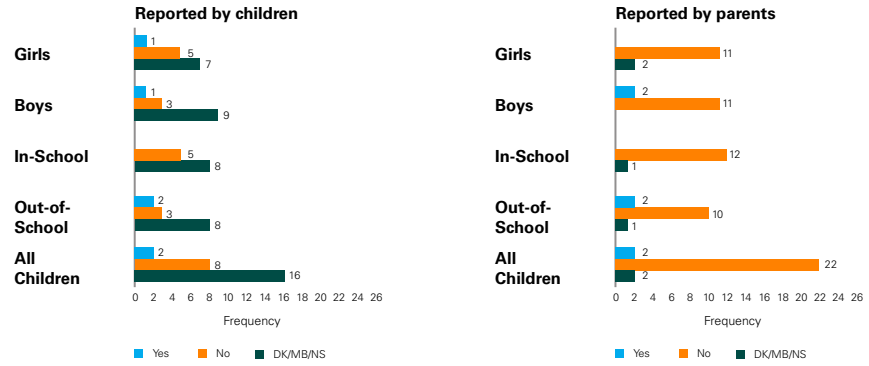
Hazardous conditions

Across all categories of work, the lowest participation (noted by two children as well as two parents) was in work involving hazardous conditions (compared with 23 children in domestic work, 9 children in family and 9 in paid work as reported by parents).

Equal numbers of boys and girls (one each) reported participating in work involving hazardous conditions. Both children and parents reported participation in work involving hazardous conditions to be higher among out-of-school children than in-school children (no instances reported for in-school children).

Unlike the other three categories of work, the parent QuIP questionnaire asks parents to note whether there has been an increase or decrease in time spent by their child on work involving hazardous conditions. This allows comparison of the findings with children's reporting on this category of work.

Figure 11: Participation in work involving hazardous conditions during the past year

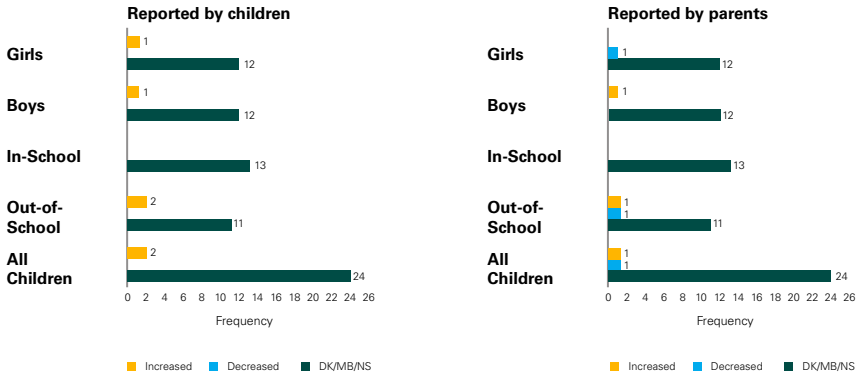


Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

In Figure 12, analysis of data shared by parents shows equal numbers of children who experienced increased time spent on work involving hazardous conditions and children who experienced a decrease (one case each). Meanwhile, more children reported increased time spent on work involving hazardous conditions (two children), with no children reporting a decrease. This could be due to variations in children's versus parents' understanding of what constitutes hazardous conditions.

The disaggregated analysis in Figure 12 highlights that the increase in time spent on work involving hazardous conditions can be seen among out-of-school children but not in-school children, as per both children's and parents' reporting.

Figure 12: Changes in time spent on economic work involving hazardous conditions during the past year



Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

Analysis of time-use data

Table 11 indicates that as per both children and their respective parents, the greatest amount of time spent per day by the child related to domestic chores. According to the children interviewed, they spent an average of 2.5 hours per day on domestic chores. Parents reported an average of 2.7 hours.

From the parents' perspectives, in-school children spent significantly less time on domestic chores as well as paid work compared with out-of-school children. However, in-school children spent significantly more time on work within the family enterprise compared with out-of-school children.

These differences in time allocation are statistically significant, indicating that schooling is greatly associated with how children spend their time on work, and that in-school children are less likely to do domestic chores and paid work.

T-test also reveals statistically significant gender differences in domestic chores and work within the family enterprise. Compared with boys, girls spent relatively more time on domestic chores but less time on work within the family enterprise. These differences reflect the gendered roles and responsibilities assigned to boys and girls during their teenage years (Table 3).

As per age-specific thresholds for child labour by ILO and UNICEF,[78] long hours spent on domestic chores for the age group 5–14 years is defined as 21 hours or more per week and, for the age group 12–14 years, long hours spent on economic activities is defined as 14 hours or more per week. After converting the daily average time use into weekly data as given by parents, the data reveal that out-

of-school children were engaged in domestic chores and paid work crossing the threshold of long hours (23.1 and 16.1 hours in a week, respectively). Girls were also found to be crossing the threshold of long hours for time spent on domestic chores (i.e., 28 hours in a week). This requires particular attention because Indian law does not prohibit domestic chores or provide a specific threshold for long hours in relation to domestic chores or work within the family enterprise.

Table 11: Time-use analysis from Bihar QuIP data

TYPE OF ACTIVITY	AVERAGE TIME SPENT (IN HOURS) IN A DAY BY						
	ALL CHILDREN	SCHOOLING STATUS			GENDER		
		IN-SCHOOL	OUT-OF-SCHOOL	T-TEST	BOYS	GIRLS	T-TEST
Reported by parents							
Domestic chores	2.7	2.2	3.3	*	1.5	4.0	***
Economic activity within family enterprise	0.6	0.9	0.3	*	0.9	0.4	*
Economic activity for pay (outside household)	1.3	0.3	2.3	**	1.2	1.4	
Reported by children							
Domestic chores	2.5	2.2	2.9		1.2	3.8	***
Economic activity within family enterprise	0.6	0.9	0.3	*	0.9	0.3	*
Economic activity for pay (outside household)	1.3	0.3	2.2	***	1.4	1.2	

T-test significance level: ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1

From children's perspectives, Table 3 further reveals that out-of-school children were statistically more likely to engage in paid work (significant at 1 per cent). However, in-school children were statistically more likely to be engaged in economic activity within the family enterprise (significant at 10 per cent).

Gender disaggregated analysis reveals that on average, girls spent significantly more time on domestic chores (significant at 1 per cent), translating to 2.6 hours per day, compared with boys. However, boys were significantly more engaged in economic activity within the family enterprise (significant at 10 per cent).

After converting the daily average time use into weekly data (as given by the children), the data reveal that out-of-school children were engaged in paid work crossing the ILO and UNICEF threshold of long hours (i.e., 15.4 hours in a week). Girls were also found to be crossing the threshold of long hours for domestic chores (i.e., 26.6 hours in a week).

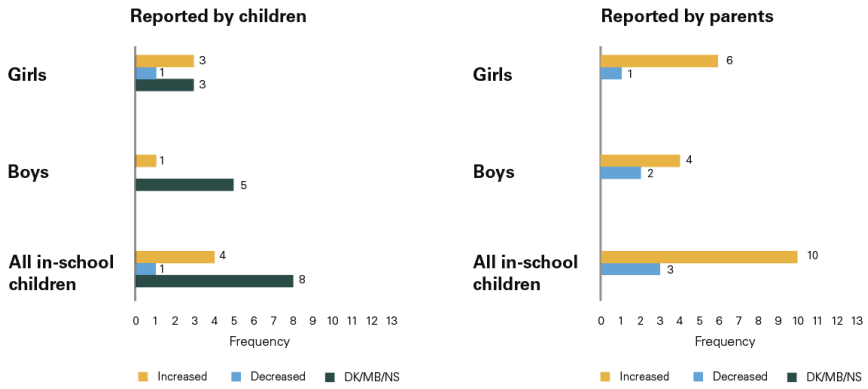
4.10.2 Quantitative analysis of schooling outcomes

Child-level schooling outcomes

Quantitative analysis of schooling outcomes relies on data collected from a sample of 13 children in school and their respective parents. Schooling outcomes at the child level have been defined to include attendance, time doing homework and academic performance.

Figure 13 indicates disparity in how changes in attendance are perceived by children and their parents. Increased attendance was reported by four children, compared with 10 parents noting this change. Gender disaggregated analysis reveals that one out of six boys noted an increase in attendance compared with three out of seven girls.

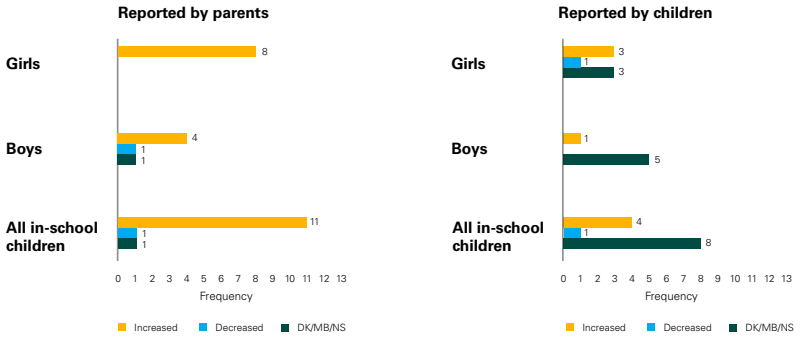
Figure 13: Changes in attendance compared with previous year



Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

Figure 14 indicates disparities in how changes in homework compared with the previous year are perceived by children and their parents. An increase in homework was reported by four children, while only 11 parents noted this change. Gender disaggregated analysis of parents' views reveals that all seven girls noted an increase in homework, compared with only four boys.

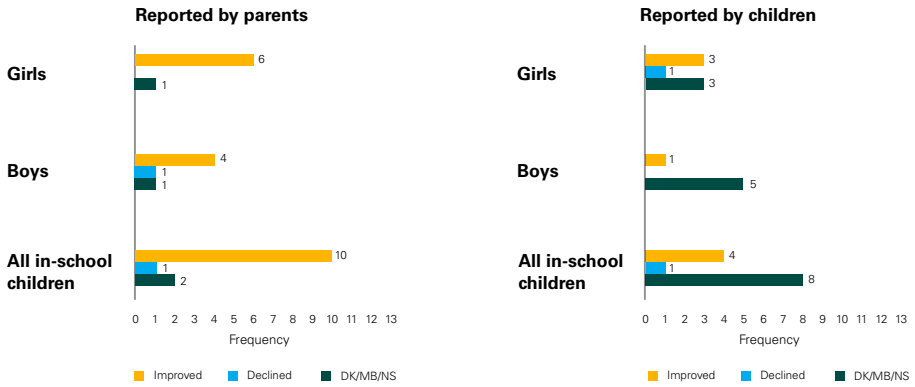
Figure 14: Changes in homework compared with previous year



Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

Figure 15 indicates disparities in how changes in children's academic performance compared with the previous year are perceived by children and their parents. An improvement in academics was reported by four children, compared with 10 parents. Gender disaggregated analysis reveals one boy compared with three girls noted an improvement.

Figure 15: Changes in academic performance compared with previous year



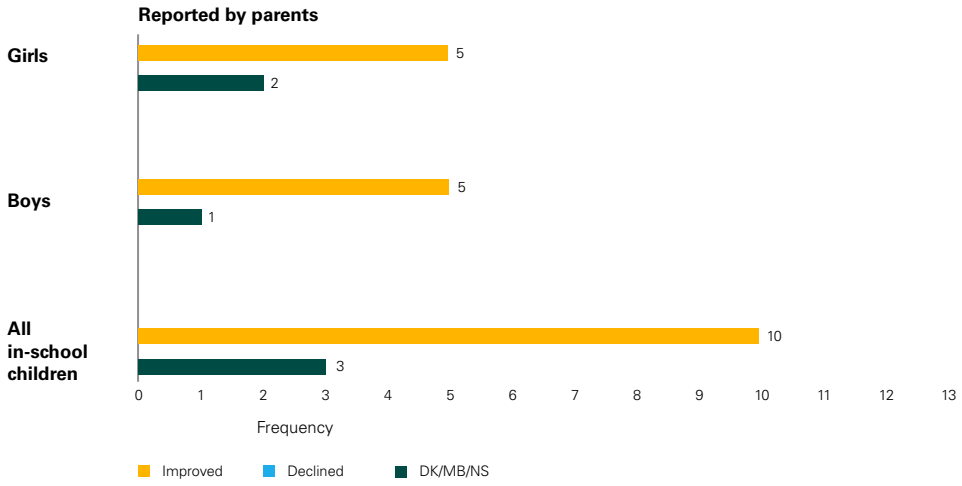
Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

School-level characteristics

Questions pertaining to changes in schooling outcomes at the school level (in contrast with the individual child level discussed above) were only asked to parents of in-school children. This includes changes in teaching quality, school infrastructure and school safety.

Figure 16 indicates a positive perception among parents regarding changes in teaching quality, with 10 parents reporting an improvement in teaching quality, no parents mentioning a decline and three not giving any specific response.

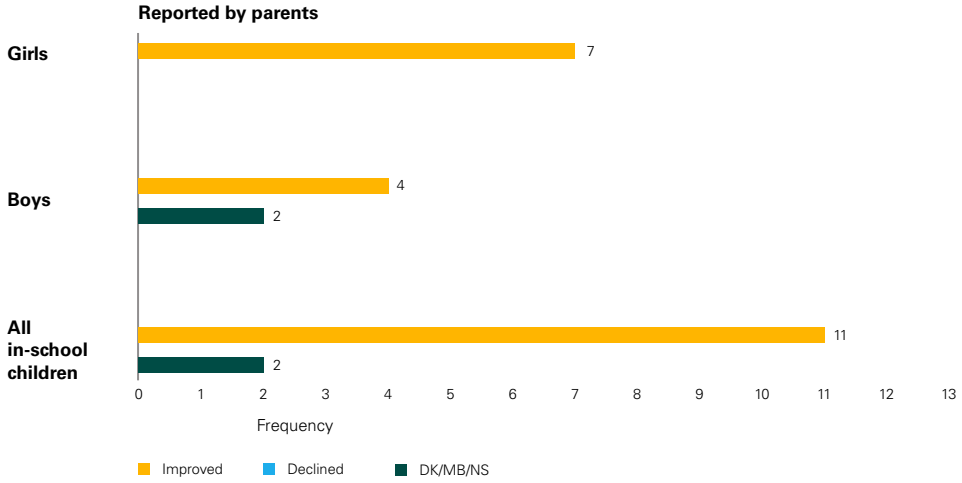
Figure 16: Changes in teaching quality compared with previous year



Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

Figure 17 indicates a positive perception among parents regarding changes in school infrastructure as well, with 11 parents highlighting improvements and none reporting a decline.

Figure 17: Changes in quality of school infrastructure compared with previous year



Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

Figure 18 indicates a fairly positive perception among parents regarding changes in school safety, with four parents reporting an improvement in school safety, one parent reporting a decline and eight giving no specific response.

Figure 18: Changes in school safety compared with previous year

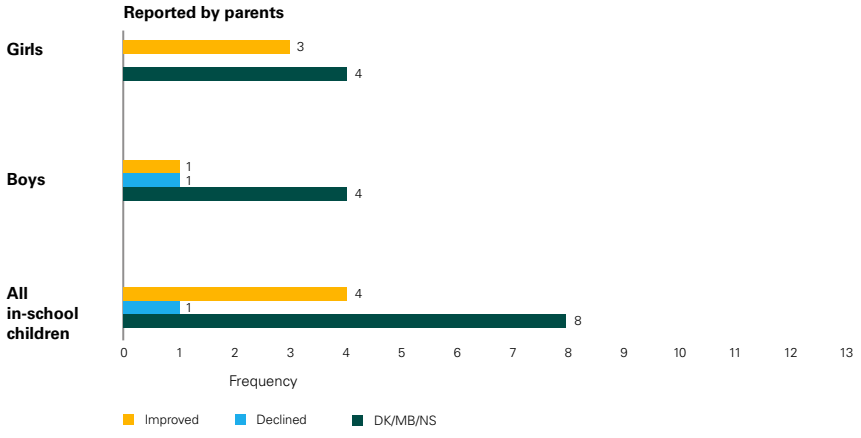
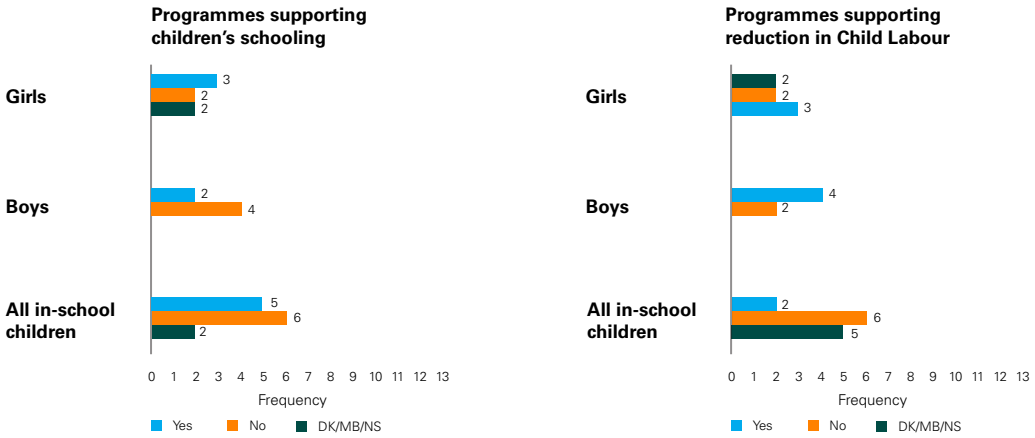


Figure 19 highlights that while five parents noted a positive impact of programmes and interventions supporting children's schooling,[79] only two parents acknowledged programmes or interventions leading to reductions in child labour in their respective communities.[80] Critically, six parents explicitly noted that programmes had no impact on supporting children's schooling or reducing child labour.

Figure 19: Parents' views on programmes and interventions supporting children's schooling and reducing child labour



Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

4.11 Summary of quantitative analysis

At the outset, children were unable to understand the questions related to changes in work or schooling. In spite of interviewers simplifying these questions, a significant number of children were unable to provide a categorical "Yes/No" response – over 60 per cent children were unable to give definitive answers regarding their participation in work or labour and changes in schooling. Furthermore, children were unable to articulate changes in their work or labour with respect to previous years. This is represented by the sample's responses overwhelmingly falling in the "Don't know/Maybe/Not sure" category.

The summary presented below is based on analysis of the responses provided by children and their caregivers.

Combining school and work

As per a report published by the Population Council and UNICEF, relying on analysis of National Sample Survey data (2011–12), "hardly any children were reported to combine school and work (0.6 per cent)".[81] Due to the limited qualitative sample, the data collected during the research study are not comparable to the National Sample Survey. However, the insights gained show a grim reality that is contrary to National Sample Survey data. Both in-school children and their parents reported children combining schooling with domestic chores (averaging 2.2 hours per day), economic activities within the family enterprise (averaging 0.9 hours per day) and economic activities for pay outside the household (averaging 0.3 hours per day). These findings are consistent with the insights shared by children in the eight focus group discussions, where children observed combining school and work as a common occurrence for adolescent children (<14 years of age) in the Musahar community.

These research findings are consistent with numerous ethnographic research studies, which reveal that the relationship between children's schooling and work cannot be viewed as a binary – instead it is rather complex, with children not seeing their choices only in either/or terms.[82]

Accordingly, a mixed method longitudinal study covering children's time-use data is vital to understand the interlinkages between schooling and various forms of work or labour, along with the impact on children's well-being.

Variations between perspectives of children and parents: Inclusion of both is necessary

National data sets globally on children's engagement in work or labour are based on reporting by an adult member in the household which, as per Lichand and Wolf,[83] has led to under-reporting of children's engagement in work or labour. Further, children and adults may differ in what they consider 'risky' behaviour or the value of school versus economic activity, as well as on the decisions they consider to be in children's best interests.[84] This is demonstrated by the variation in responses received from children and their parents when discussing the child's participation as well as engagement (through time-use data), with children <14 of age not understanding the concept of changes over time and therefore under-reporting the phenomenon of work or labour.

Quantitative findings related to participation in work or labour

Participation in domestic chores is high among children, with 23 out of 26 parents reporting children's involvement. According to parents, girls are more involved than boys, with all 13 girls participating in domestic chores compared with 10 boys. Time-use data show that girls spent four hours on average per day on domestic chores, compared with only 1.5 hours for boys. In-school children reported more engagement in domestic chores than out-of-school children, since the latter were more involved in economic activities like paid work. Parents of girls reported an increase in time spent on chores over previous years compared with parents of boys.

Regarding participation in paid work, five children and nine parents noted engagement. Boys reported higher participation than girls and, unsurprisingly, out-of-school children reported higher engagement than in-school children. Hazardous work had the lowest participation, with equal numbers of boys and girls (one each) reporting participating in work involving hazardous conditions. Only out-of-school children and their parents noted participation in work involving hazardous conditions.

Time-use data collected from children reveal that out-of-school children spent more time than in-school children on domestic chores (averaging 2.9 hours per day compared with 2.2 hours)[85] and economic activities for pay outside the household (averaging 2.2 hours per day compared with 0.3 hours),[86] even though the children were below 14 years of age. Surprisingly, in-school children reported spending more time than out-of-school children on economic activities within the family enterprise (averaging 0.9 hours per day compared with 0.3 hours).[87]

The gender variation in work among children (<14 years) was also reported by both parents and children, who noted that girls spent longer hours on domestic chores than boys.[88] On the other hand, boys reported spending more time on economic activities within the family enterprise than girls.[89] Time-use data regarding economic activities for pay outside the household were contradictory among parents and children.

These differences in time use, especially the glaring differences with respect to domestic chores, reflect the gendered roles and responsibilities assigned to boys and girls which start during middle childhood.

According to ILO and UNICEF, long hours spent on domestic chores for children aged 5–14 years are defined as 21 hours or more per week and, for economic activities, 14 hours or more per week for

ages 12–14.[90] After converting daily time use as reported by children into weekly data, out-of-school children were found to exceed these thresholds for paid work (averaging 15.4 hours per week) and girls for domestic chores (averaging 26.6 hours per week). This necessitates attention under Indian law.

Quantitative analysis of schooling outcomes for 13 children and their parents shows disparities in perceptions. More parents than children reported increased attendance (10 compared with 4), homework (11 compared with 4) and academic performance (10 compared with 4). Girls reported more improvements in attendance, homework and academic performance than boys.

4.12 QuIP results: Children's perspective

4.12.1 Changes in schooling outcomes and main pathways of change

In the in-school children's QuIP questionnaire, schooling outcomes were defined to include changes in attendance, time doing homework and academic performance. In cases where a change was reported, a follow-up question asked whether there had been an increase or decrease with respect to attendance and time doing homework, and improvement or decline with respect to academic performance. Since changes in schooling outcomes and main pathways of change were only discussed with children who were in school at the time, the analysis was limited to a sample of 13 children (seven girls and six boys).

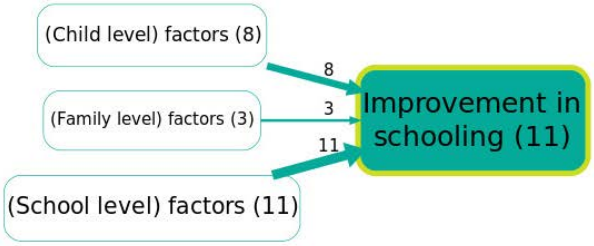
In the out-of-school children's QuIP questionnaire, schooling outcome questions were not included because the children interviewed were no longer part of the school system (school dropouts) or had never been part of the school system (never enrolled). The questionnaire enquired about the causes for dropout/non-enrolment, as the case may be.

Since reasons for dropout were only discussed with children who were no longer in school, the analysis is limited to a sample of seven children (four girls and three boys). As reasons for never enrolment were only discussed with children who had never been enrolled in school, the analysis is limited to a sample of six children (two girls and four boys).

In-school children

In Bihar, 11 of the 13 children reported improvements in schooling outcomes compared with previous years. Figure 20 shows that these were mostly driven by school-level factors (cited by 11 children), followed by child-level factors (cited by 8). Box 1 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 20.

Figure 20: Factors affecting schooling outcomes (zoom 1)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 2.4%: 61 of 2493 total citations and 11 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 1 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Improvement in schooling` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 1: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(School-level) factors; midday meal >> Improvement in schooling; attendance

"Now they are variety of food served in school. Previously they just served *Khichdi* now they serve *Roti-Sabji* fruits and eggs. [Probe: Is this a reason why you are attending school more?] Yes, I like the food there; therefore, I go to school regularly." – ID-Ch102; in-school boy, aged 12

(School-level) factors; good teachers >> Improvement in schooling; academic performance

"Now, teachers are encouraging and putting in more effort. [Probe: What kind of efforts are the teachers putting in nowadays?] They are teaching us in a way that we develop interest and come regularly to school." – ID-Ch202; in-school girl, aged 13

(School-level) factors; good teachers >> Improvement in schooling; attendance

"I like my class teacher this year. So, I do not miss school and try to go every day." – ID-Ch303; in-school boy, aged 10

(School-level) factors; higher number of teachers >> Improvement in schooling; time doing homework

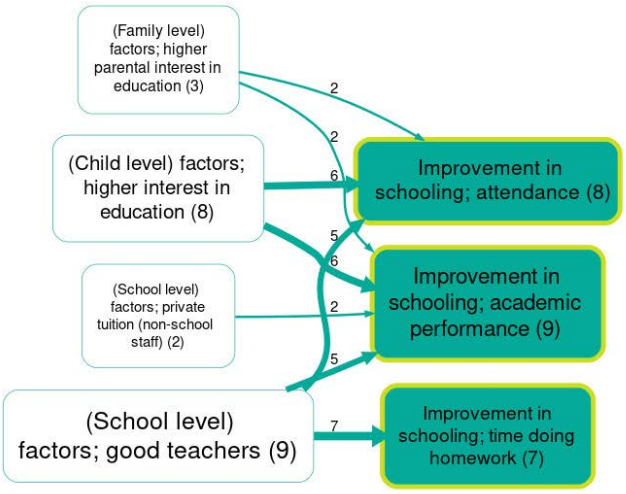
"Earlier there were not many teachers in the school. [Probe: And now?] Now more teachers are there in the school, more classes are going on and that is why I do more homework." – ID-Ch702; in-school boy, aged 11)

(School-level) factors; good teachers >> Improvement in schooling; time doing homework

"Now teachers give more homework. So, we have to study more." – ID-Ch801; in-school girl, aged 12

Figure 21 is based on a zoom 3 filter that provides more detailed insights on the driver of change using hierarchical coding. Good teachers (a school-level factor, cited by nine children) emerge as the most important driver of improvements in schooling. The child's incrased interest in education (cited by eight) emerges as the second most important factor. Box 2 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 21.

Figure 21: Factors affecting schooling outcomes (zoom 3)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 2%: 50 of 2493 total citations and 11 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Improvement in schooling` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 2: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(School-level) factors; good teachers >> Improvement in schooling; time doing homework

"Teachers are giving more homework to us now and we must do it, otherwise they give us punishment and bad marks." – ID-Ch601; in-school girl, aged 13

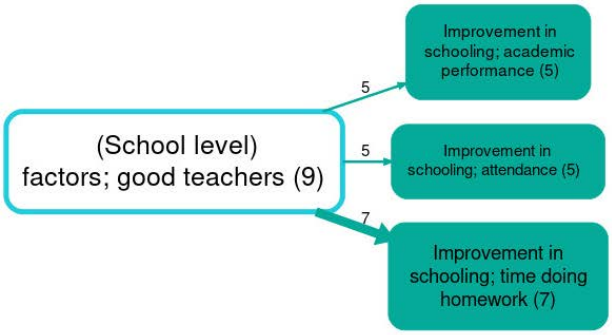
Analysis by the child's gender (*see Annex I*) shows that for girls, their own interest in education (cited by five) was more important than the role of the good teachers (cited by four) in improving schooling outcomes. For boys, this hierarchy differs, with good teachers (cited by five) being the most important factor followed by their own interest in education (cited by two).

Considering each schooling outcome separately, the primary influencing factor leading to improvements in both academic performance and attendance was attributed by children to their own individual interest in education (cited by six each), while the role of the teacher was secondary (cited by five each). For time spent doing homework, the role of the good teacher was the only cited factor (cited by seven). These findings suggest the role of the teacher and ensuring the child's own interest in education are critical to improve child schooling outcomes.

Causal maps were explored to ascertain whether improvement or decline in schooling led to reduction or increase in time spent on work. No maps were generated because no causality was established between changes in schooling outcomes and changes in work outcomes.

As the role of the teacher clearly has a significant impact on schooling outcomes, Figure 22 examines the consequences of having a good teacher, as reported by in-school children, by using a focus filter on this factor.[91] Figure 22 highlights that a good teacher caused improvements in time spent doing homework (cited by seven), academic performance and attendance (cited by five each).

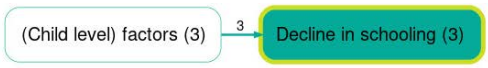
Figure 22: Focus on good teachers



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 1%: 26 of 2494 total citations and 9 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Figure 23 highlights that child-level factors are the drivers of change for decline in schooling outcomes. Box 3 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 23.

Figure 23: Factors causing decline in schooling outcomes (zoom 1)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.48%: 12 of 2493 total citations and 3 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 1 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Decline in schooling` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 3: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Child-level) factors; increased time spent on work; chores >> Decline in schooling; attendance

"Nowadays I have more household work to do. So, I am tired. Because of this I sometimes miss school and my attendance has decreased."– ID-Ch301; in-school girl, aged 13

(Child-level) factors; lower interest in education >> Decline in schooling; attendance

"I am more interest in household work than school. [Probe: Why is this?] I prefer being at home. [Probe: Do you like school?] Not so much." – ID-Ch301; in-school girl, aged 13

"It is because I am less interested in going to school than before." – ID-Ch502; in-school boy, aged 13

(Child-level) factors; increased time spent on work; chores >> Decline in schooling; time doing homework

"I am spending more time in doing household chores. When I come back from school, I need to prepare food for everyone and then wash utensils. I don't get enough time for homework." – ID-Ch301; in-school girl, aged 13

(Child-level) factors; increased time spent on work; chores >> Decline in schooling; academic performance

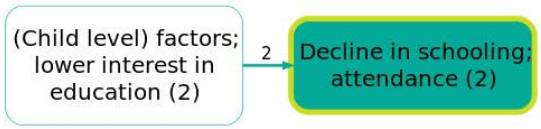
"Since I am spending more time on household chores and less on homework, my academic performance has been affected." – ID-Ch301; in-school girl, aged 13

(Child-level) factors; increased time spent on work; economic; family >> Decline in schooling; attendance

"I spend a little more time in taking care of the animals in the household. This is the reason I focus less on studies now." – ID-Ch502; in-school boy, aged 13

Figure 24, which applies a zoom 3 filter, reveals further insights that the child-level factor of lower interest in education caused decline in schooling outcomes at the individual level, namely in school attendance.

Figure 24: Factors causing decline in schooling outcomes (zoom 3)



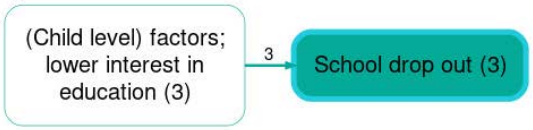
Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.12%: 3 of 2493 total citations and 2 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Decline in schooling` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Out-of-school children

Figure 25 was developed by applying a focus filter on school dropout to understand the causes and consequences of school dropout. Of the seven out-of-school children (who had dropped out), three cited lower interest in education (a child-level factor) as a driver of dropout. No secondary factor was reported.

Figure 25 clearly suggests that strategies to reduce school dropout must focus on the child level. Box 4 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 25.

Figure 25: Factors causing school dropout and its consequences (zoom 3)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.2%: 5 of 2494 total citations and 3 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 4: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Child-level) factors; lower interest in education >> School dropout

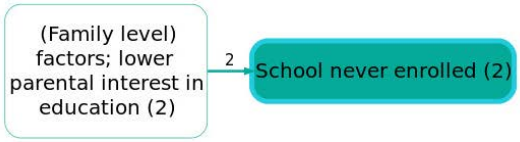
"I was never interested in studying; I liked staying at home and cooking." – ID-Ch104; out-of-school girl, aged 13

"I have no interest in studying. [Probe: Don't you miss going to school and meeting your friends?] I miss my friends but not school. I never liked going to school." – ID-Ch304; out-of-school boy, aged 12

"I dropped because I was not enjoying studies and I wanted to earn money and help my family." – ID-Ch802; out-of-school boy, aged 13

Figure 26 shows that out of the six out-of-school children (who had never enrolled), two cited that lower parental interest in education (a family-level factor) led to school never enrolment. This suggests that strategies to increase school enrolment must focus on the family level, to ensure parents are made aware of the benefits of schooling so that they will support their children's education trajectories. Box 5 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 26.

Figure 26: Factors causing never enrolment and its consequences (zoom 3)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.16%: 4 of 2494 total citations and 2 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 5: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Family-level) factors; lower parental interest in education >> School never enrolment

"My mother didn't allow me to enrol in school, therefore, I never went to school." – ID-Ch203; never enrolled girl, aged 13

"My mother does not want me to go to school. [Probe: Why?] I do not know; she just shows no interest in sending me to school. [Probe: Have you tried to convince your parents to send you to school?] Yes, but my mother does not want to send me."– ID-Ch604; never enrolled boy, aged 12

4.12.2 Factors increasing time spent by children working

All children

This section covers instances where children noted an increased time spent on work compared with previous years and the drivers and pathways of change for this increase. Three types of work were considered: household chores, economic activities within the family and economic activities outside the family.

Figure 27 shows that across all three work types, an increase in age (a child-level factor) and more responsibilities (a family-level factor) were the main causes for increased time spent working by children.

The most important factors causing increased time are provided below by category of work:

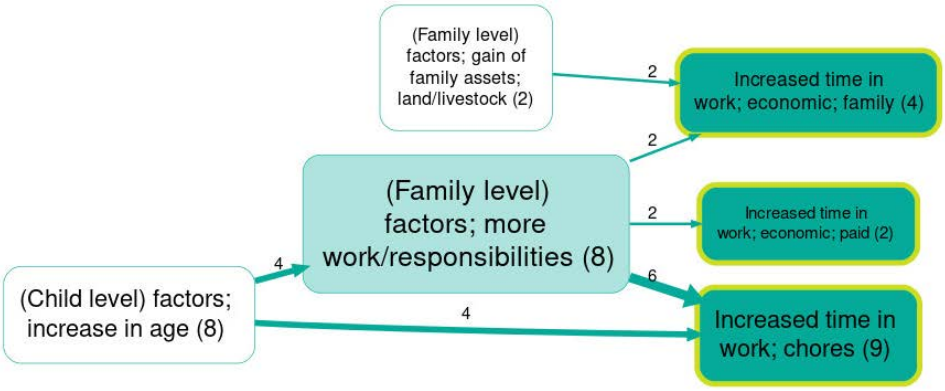
- The most important factors causing increased time spent working in the family enterprise were gains in family assets, such as land or livestock, and more responsibilities (both family-level factors, cited by two children each).

- More responsibilities (a family-level factor) was the only factor causing increased time spent on economic activities outside the home (cited by two).

- The most cited factor causing increased time spent on domestic chores was more responsibilities (a family-level factor, cited by six) followed by increase in age (a child-level factor, cited by four).

The most relevant pathway of change emerging in Figure 27 clearly links an increase in age (a child-level factor) to more responsibilities (a family-level factor) which, in turn, causes increased time spent on work in the family enterprise, paid work and domestic chores. This is alarming because the children interviewed were under 14 years of age and believe, even at such a young age, that they are required to undertake work. Box 6 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 27.

Figure 27: Factors causing increased time spent on work (zoom 3)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 1.1%: 28 of 2494 total citations and 11 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Increased time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 6: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Family-level) factors; more work/responsibilities >> Increased time spent on work; chores

"My mother says that I am getting older, so I should learn how to do household chores." – ID-Ch201; in-school girl, aged 13

"My mother now sends me to fetch rations/ supplies for the home." – ID-Ch702; in-school boy, aged 11

(Family-level) factors; more work/responsibilities >> Increased time spent on work; economic; paid

"Same reason, I am growing up and understanding the family economic conditions as well. So, I understand the need to work and earn money to help my mother." – ID-Ch203; never enrolled girl, aged 13

(Family-level) factors; more work/responsibilities >> Increased time spent on work; economic; family

"My grandfather passed away. After which my mother was burdened with lots of work. So, she asked me to help her in looking after the animals." – ID-Ch301; in-school girl, aged 13

"Earlier, I did not have to bring the grass for the household, but now I do that as well." – ID-Ch502; in-school boy, aged 13

(Child-level) factors; increase in age >> Increased time spent on work; chores

"Since I have grown up, I am doing more work now and I am spending more time on household chores." – ID-Ch301; in-school girl, aged 13

By gender

Figures 28 and 29 enable comparison of the causes for increased time spent on work between girls and boys. The gender variation in work appears clearly, with only boys noting increased time spent on work in the family enterprise, while girls only noted increased time spent on chores.

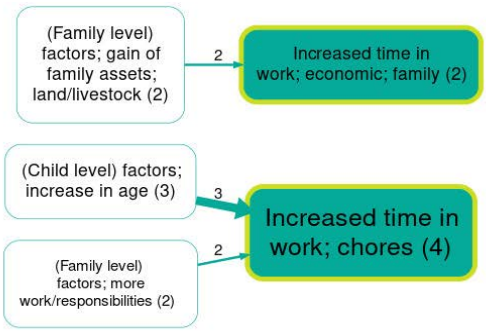
Figure 28 shows that for girls, more responsibilities (a family-level factor, cited by four) led to increased time spent on domestic chores. An important pathway emerging in Figure 28 is that increased age led to more responsibilities which, in turn, led to increased time spent on domestic chores.

Similarly, Figure 29 shows that for boys, the most important drivers of increased time spent on chores were an increase in age (a child-level factor, cited by three each) followed by more responsibilities (a family-level factor, cited by two). Interestingly, the most relevant driver of higher time spent working in the family enterprise was a gain in family assets such as land or livestock (a family-level factor, cited by two).

Figure 28: Factors causing increased time spent on work (girls)

Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.4%: 10 of 2494 total citations and 4 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Increased time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Figure 29: Factors causing increased time spent on work (boys)



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Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Increased time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

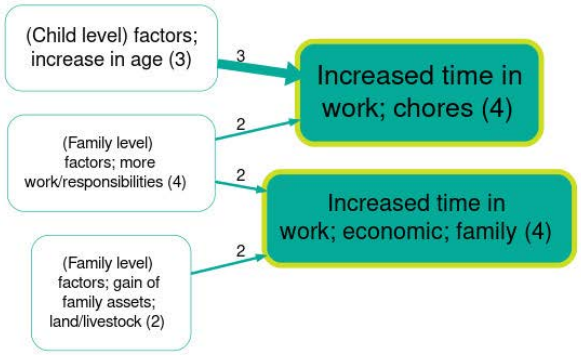
By school-going status

Figure 30 (in-school children) and Figure 31 (out-of-school children) show that both groups reported increased time spent on household chores. Further, paid work outside the home was only reported by out-of-school children, while in-school children reported increased time working in the family enterprise.

The figures show that for both in-school and out-of-school children, more responsibilities (a family-level factor, cited by four children in each group) increased time spent on work.

Figure 30 further shows that for in-school children, gain of household assets determined more time spent working on the household enterprise. Only one pathway of change appears in Figure 31: For out-of-school children, increase in age (cited by three) led to more responsibilities which, in turn, increased time spent on domestic chores and paid work.

Figure 30: Factors causing increased time spent on work (in-school children)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.52%: 13 of 2494 total citations and 6 of 108 total coded sources are shown
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Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Increased time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Figure 31: Factors causing increased time spent on work (out-of-school children)

Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.48%: 12 of 2494 total citations and 4 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Increased time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

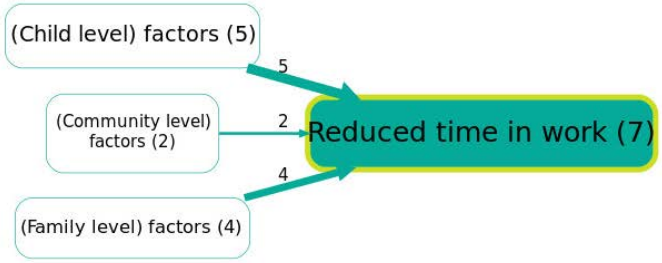
4.12.3 Factors reducing time spent by children working

All children

While the section above, which details the causes for increased time spent on work, is vital for designing effective policies and programmes, it is equally critical to understand the factors that lead to reduced child work or labour.

Of the 26 children interviewed in Bihar, only seven recorded reduced time spent on work compared with previous years. Figure 32 shows that among all the factors cited as causing reduced time spent on work, child-level factors were the most commonly reported (cited by five), followed by family-level factors (cited by four). Box 7 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 32.

Figure 32: Factors causing reduced time spent on work (zoom 1)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.68%: 17 of 2493 total citations and 7 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 1 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Reduced time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 7: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Child-level) factors; lower interest in work; chores >> Reduced time spent on work; chores

"I am more interested in playing games outside, so I do less work now. I play more often." – ID-Ch604; never enrolled boy, aged 12

(Child-level) factors; higher interest in education >> Reduced time spent on work; chores

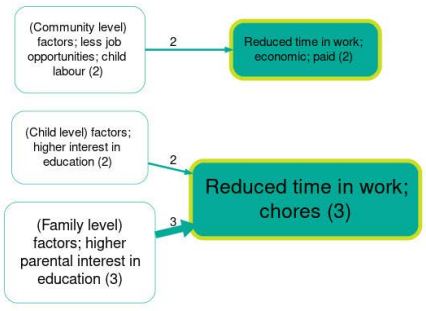
"Now, I study more and spend lesser time in the household chores." – ID-Ch801; in-school girl, aged 12

Figure 33, which applies a zoom 3 filter, reveals insights on the drivers and pathways leading to reduced time spent on work. Interestingly, two children reported reduced time spent on paid work outside the house, while three reported reduced time spent on domestic chores compared with previous years. Analysis of the most cited factors by category of work is given below:

- Fewer job opportunities (a community-level factor, cited by two) was the only factor cited for reduced time spent on economic activities for pay outside the home.

- The most important factors causing reduced time spent on domestic chores were higher parental interest in education (a family-level factor, cited by three) and higher interest in education (a child-level factor, cited by two).

Figure 33: Factors causing reduced time spent on work (zoom 3)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.28%: 7 of 2494 total citations and 5 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Reduced time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Based on Figure 33, there were no cases of reduced time spent on economic activities within the family enterprise or involving hazardous conditions. Box 8 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 33.

BOX 8: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

"My parents … they have encouraged and given me enough time to spend on my studies." – ID-Ch501; in-school girl, aged 13

"My parents. [Probe: Please explain.] My parents support me and tell me that I can take as much time as I want in doing homework." – ID-Ch601; in-school girl, aged 13

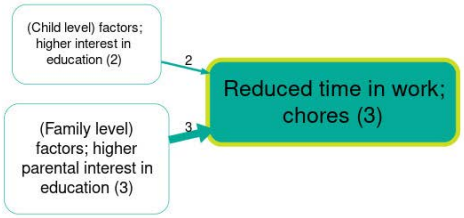
"My parents. They encourage me to study hard and do well in studies." – ID-Ch801; in-school girl, aged 12

By school-going status

Comparison of Figure 34 (in-school) and Figure 35 (out-of-school) highlights that in-school respondents reported reduced time spent on domestic chores (cited by three) while out-of-school children reported reduced time spent on paid work outside the home (cited by two).

For in-school children, the most cited factor causing reduced time spent on chores was higher parental interest in education (a family-level factor, cited by three) followed by higher interest in education (a child-level factor, cited by two). On the other hand, for out-of-school children, fewer job opportunities for children (a community-level factor, cited by two) was the only reported reason for reduced time spent on economic activities for pay outside the household.

Figure 34: Factors causing reduced time spent on work (in-school children)



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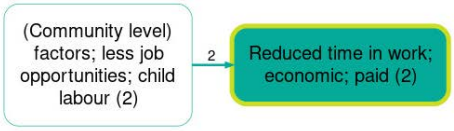
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Reduced time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Figure 35: Factors causing reduced time spent on work (out-of-school children)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.08%: 2 of 2494 total citations and 2 of 108 total coded sources are shown
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Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Reduced time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

4.12.4 Exploring gendered variations in work based on a hypothetical scenario

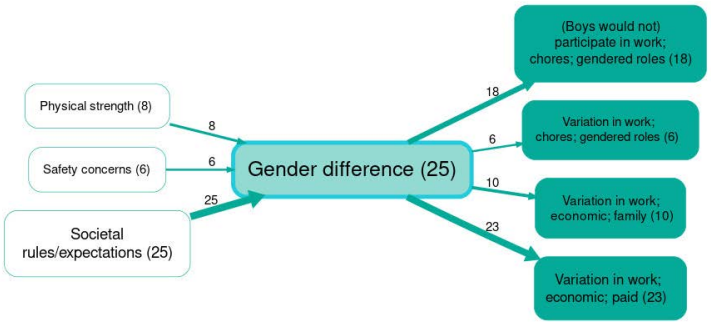
As a hypothetical scenario, children were asked: If they were born the opposite sex, would there be a difference in the kind of work (domestic chores, economic activities within the family enterprise and economic activities outside the home) undertaken by them? If the answer was "Yes", they were asked to describe possible changes in the work undertaken by them. Through probe questions, the reasons for these gendered variations in work were also captured. These appear in the causal maps discussed below.

The analysis is based on the total sample of 26 children (13 girls and 13 boys), also disaggregated by gender and school-going status.

All children

Figure 36 shows that 25 children (out of the 26 children interviewed) asserted that there would be a difference in the work undertaken by them if they were born the opposite sex. The most important factor causing gender difference was societal rules and expectations (cited by 25), followed by physical strength (cited by eight). Gender differences translated to variations in paid work (cited by 23) and domestic chores (cited by 18). Children categorically stated that boys would not participate in domestic chores. Variations in work in the family enterprise were less common (cited by 10). Figure 36 clearly indicates that there is gendered variation across work and labour and that this is most strongly influenced by societal rules and expectations. Box 9 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 36.

Figure 36: Variations in work or labour based on the hypothetical scenario



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Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 9: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

Societal rules/expectations >> Gender difference [Boys – in school]

"If I were a girl, I would sweep the floor, wash dishes and also do cooking. [Probe: So, as a boy, you don't do sweeping, washing and cooking?] Yes, I do this but only if my mother is ill. [Probe: So according to you sweeping, washing and cooking is only to be done by girls? Is that correct?] Yes, sir. Basically, girls only do this work."– ID-Ch100; in-school boy, aged 13

"If I were a girl, I would have participated more in household chores. [Probe: Can you explain?] Since I am a boy, I sometimes wash the utensils, but if I were a girl, I would have regularly done all the household chores daily." – ID-Ch303; in-school boy, aged 10

"Girls look after the household work while boys go outside and earn money for the family. People will only pay boys for doing work." – ID-Ch602; in-school boy, aged 12

"If I were a girl, I would have done cooking, cleaning and washing the dishes. [Probe: So, you are a boy, that is why you cannot do this?] Yes. [Probe: Why can't boys do all this?] My father would not let a boy do all this. A girl would not go to get things from the shop as I do. [Probe: Why?] My father will not allow a girl to go alone to shop and buy things. A girl has to stay inside the home." – ID-Ch702; in-school boy, aged 11

Societal rules/expectations >> Gender difference [Boys – out of school]

"If I were a girl, I would wash clothes, but since I am a boy, I do not do that. [Probe: Why do boys not wash clothes?] No, boys don't wash clothes. [Probe: Why is this?] Have you ever seen a boy washing clothes? It is not common. This is work for girls." – ID-Ch204; never enrolled boy, aged 12

"If I was a girl, I would do all the household chores such as cleaning, cooking and washing. Girls work in the house, boys work outside. [Probe: Why is this?] I don't know why, but this is what I see in all households." – ID-Ch304; out-of-school boy, aged 12

"Girls work at home only while boys engage in the agricultural and outside work. Boys have the responsibility to earn money. Boys should do all the outside work and earn for the family while girls should take care of all the household activities. They also should take care of the elderly members. [Probe: Why do you think there are these differences?] This is basic. Girls and boys are different. They cannot do the same work." – ID-Ch604; never enrolled boy, aged 12

"I would not be sent outside for paid work if I were born a girl. For example, in the brick-kiln, there are no girls who are employed. It is only teenage boys and men. Sometimes, older women help but this is very rare." – ID-Ch802; out-of-school boy, aged 13

Societal rules/expectations >> Gender difference [Girls – in school]

"If I were a boy, I would have done the job of a contractor or my father's job. As a boy, I would have been allowed to work outside. [Probe: What is your father's job?] He goes for work sometimes in the nearby village. He earns money but I do not know what work he does." – ID-Ch801; in-school girl, aged 12

"If I was a boy, I wouldn't need to do any household chores. I would just attend school and study. [Probe: Why are these differences between boys and girls?] These are the rules we all have to follow in the community." – ID-Ch202; in-school girl, aged 13

"If I were a boy, I wouldn't do any household chores. [Probe: Why wouldn't you participate in household chores?] Boys typically aren't asked to do household chores; if they work, it's outside the home." – ID-Ch201; in-school girl, aged 13

"If I was a boy, I would just play and not do any household chores. I have a brother who never does household work; instead, he asks me to do his work. I wash his plates and wash his clothes as well. [Probe: What other differences would be there?] My brother just goes to school and does not do any household work. If I were a boy, I would also focus only on school. Girls have to do both. [Probe: By both, what do you mean?] Both work and studies." – ID-Ch301; in-school girl, aged 13

"I would have done labour work at construction sites. [Probe: How do you know about this work?] Most boys of my community do this job when they finish school or do not go to school." – ID-Ch501; in-school girl, aged 13

"Boys would be employed as labourers. [Probe: Can you explain?] Yes, they would be engaged in brick making industry. They would have also done other work in and outside the village." – ID-Ch601; in-school girl, aged 13

"If I were a boy, I would have gone out with my father and become a labourer and worked in construction of houses (raj mistri). [Probe: And girls, can they do this?] No only boys. [Probe: Why is this?] Girls do not have the strength that boys have." – ID-Ch701; in-school girl, aged 13

Societal rules/expectations >> Gender difference [Girls – out of school]

"If I were a boy, I wouldn't have done any household chores at all. I would have just played games and remained idle. [Probe: Does your brother do any household chores?] No, he doesn't; he just plays games all day. [Probe: Why is there such a difference between you doing the household chores and him not doing anything at all?] Elders in the house don't ask boys to do household work, but they definitely ask girls." – ID-Ch104; out-of-school girl, aged 13

"If I were a boy, I wouldn't have to do the household chores that I am doing currently. But since I am a girl, I have to do them. [Probe: Who tells you to do the household chores?] My mother asks me to do the household chores, but she doesn't ask my brother to do any of these tasks. [Probe: Do any boys in your community participate in household chores?] Some boys help with household chores, if they do not [have] a sister. However, in my home, as I am there, my brother doesn't do any work. No one also expects him to do this work." – ID-Ch302; out-of-school girl, aged 13

"Boys do not do any work at home and all the household work is given to the girls. [Probe: What is this difference?] I do not know. [Probe: Is this specific to your home or is this common in your tola?] It is common, it is not only about boys and girls. All the mothers do the household work while fathers do not do any work in the house." – ID-Ch803; out-of-school girl, aged 13

"If I were a boy, I would roam around and play with my friends in the tola. Also, my parents will not stop me from going outside the tola with my friends to roam around. [Probe: Why is this?] This is because boys are allowed to roam around in the tola and nobody has any problem with this. Girls are always told to do household work instead." – ID-Ch804; out-of-school girl, aged 13

By gender

Figures 37 and 38 show that girls and boys reported differences in the type of work they would have undertaken if they were born the opposite sex. Societal rules and expectations were the most cited factor leading to gender differences in work (cited by 13 girls and 12 boys). Girls reported the second most important factor as safety concerns, while boys reported physical strength.

Figure 37: Variations in work and labour based on the hypothetical scenario (girls)

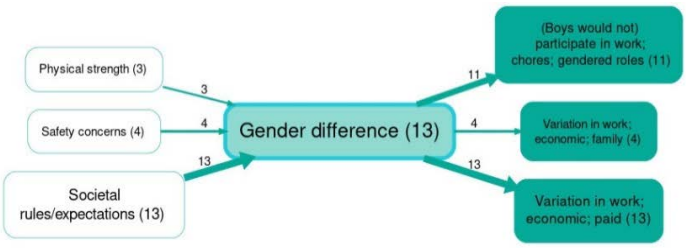

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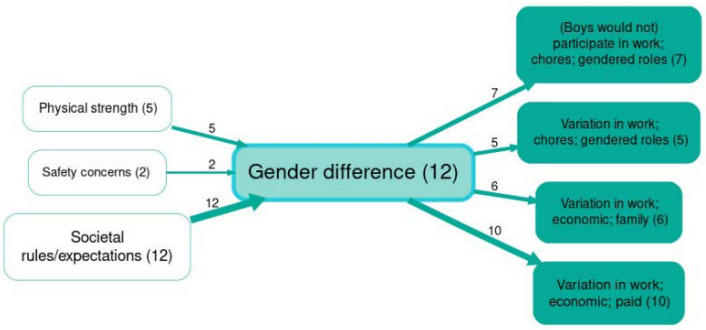
Figure 38: Variations in work and labour based on the hypothetical scenario (boys)



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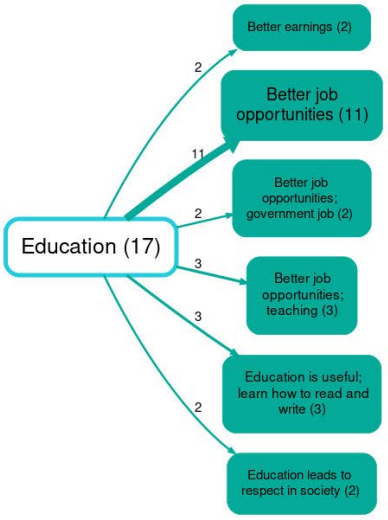
4.12.5 Value of education

Children were asked whether they think school education is useful for their future. If they answered "Yes", they were then asked to describe how it is useful. The analysis is based on a total sample of 26 children (13 girls and 13 boys).

All children

Figure 39 shows that 17 out of 26 children noted the importance of education offered in schools. Better job opportunities was the most cited benefit of education (cited by 11), followed by literacy – learning how to read and write (cited by three). Of the children who reported education leading to better job opportunities, three referred to opportunities in the teaching field and two referred to government jobs. Box 10 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 39.

Figure 39: Usefulness of education



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Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 10: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

"I have realized that when you are educated, you can do any kind of work and earn more money." – ID-Ch104; out-of-school girl, aged 13

"I will be able to read and write, so I would have pursued some kind of job in Patna." – ID-Ch203; never enrolled girl, aged 13

"Teachers tell us that we can do very well in life, if we study well. We can get good jobs in future." – ID-Ch601; in-school girl, aged 13

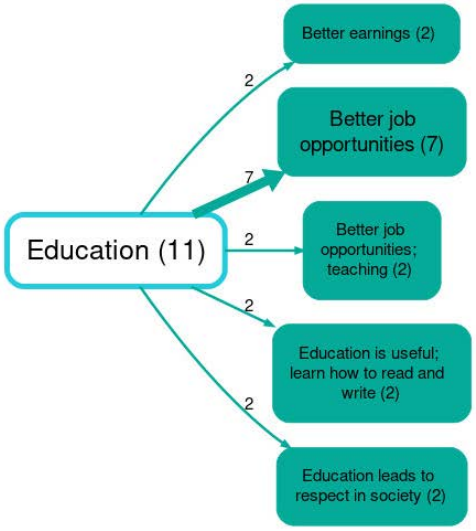
"If I get education, getting a good job would be easier and I would get paid more." – ID-Ch103; out-of-school boy, aged 13

"When I will get enrolled in school, I will become successful in life by having a job and leading a good life." – ID-Ch604; never enrolled boy, aged 12

By gender

Figures 40 and 41 illustrate the usefulness of education described by 11 girls and 4 boys respectively. While both boys and girls cited better job opportunities and better futures, girls cited many more consequences of education compared with boys, such as better earnings, learning how to read and write, and gaining respect in society.

Figure 40: Usefulness of education (girls)



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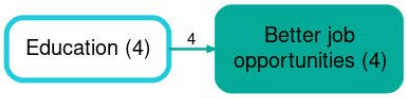
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Figure 41: Usefulness of education (boys)



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Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

By school-going status

Figures 42 and 43 describe the usefulness of education according to 10 in-school children and 7 out-of-school children. In both groups, most children reported that education is useful for better job opportunities. Out-of-school children specifically mentioned learning how to read and write as a consequence of education, while no in-school children stated this.

Figure 42: Usefulness of education (in-school children)

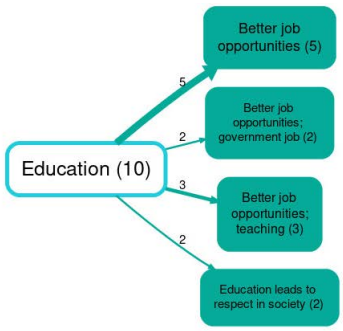

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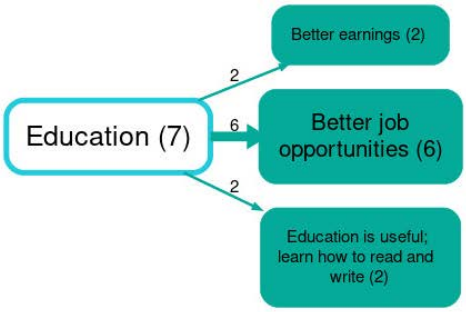
Figure 43: Usefulness of education (out-of-school children)



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4.13 Summary of findings from child QuIP

Schooling outcomes

- As per children, a good teacher was the most important factor, with many children highlighting this as a reason for their *improvement in schooling. A child-level factor – higher interest in education – emerged as the second most important factor leading to improvement in schooling.*

- Of the seven out-of-school children, few cited that the child-level factor of lower interest in education led to school dropout. Moreover, of the six never enrolled children, a limited number of cited that a family-level factor – lower parental interest in education – led to school non-enrolment.

Increased time spent on work

- The most important factors causing *increased time spent on the family enterprise* were family-level factors: gain in family asset, such as land or livestock, and more work or responsibilities. A family-level factor – more work or responsibilities (i.e., work assigned to the child by the family) – was the only factor causing *increased time spent on paid work outside home.* The most cited factor causing *increased time spent on domestic* chores was a family-level factor – more work or responsibilities,

followed by a child-level factor – increase in age. The child-level factor of increase in age led to a family-level factor of more work or responsibilities, which in turn caused *increased time doing work in the family enterprise, paid work as well as domestic chores.*

- For girls, a family-level factor – more work or responsibilities – led to *increased time spent on domestic chores,* whereas for boys this was caused by a child-level factor – increase in age – followed by a family-level factor – more work or responsibilities.

- For both in-school and out-of-school children, a family-level factor – more work or responsibilities – caused *increased time spent on work or labour.*

- Only one pathway of change appears: For out-of-school children, increase in age led to the family-level factor of more work or responsibilities, which in turn caused *increased time spent on domestic chores and paid work or labour.*

Reduced time spent on work

- A community-level factor – fewer job opportunities – was the only factor cited for *reduced time spent on paid work.*

- The most important factor causing *reduced time spent on domestic chores* was a family-level factor – higher parental interest in education. Apart from this, the child-level factor of higher interest in education was the second most important cause cited for children's reduced time spent on domestic chores.

- The causal map for girls clearly highlights that reduction in time spent on work was limited to domestic chores for girls.

- In-school children reported reduced time spent on domestic chores and out-of-school children reported reduced time spent on paid work or labour outside the home. For in-school children, the most cited factor causing reduced time spent on domestic chores was a family-level factor – higher parental interest in work – followed by a child-level factor – higher interest in education. On the other hand, for out-of-school children, a community-level factor – fewer job opportunities – was the only cited reason for reduced time spent on paid work or labour.

Gender difference

- The most important factors causing gender difference were societal rules and expectations followed by physical strength. The gender differences, according to the children, translate to variations in paid work and domestic chores, with children (both boys and girls) categorically stating that boys would not participate in domestic chores.

- According to girls, the second most important factor causing gender difference in work was safety concerns, whereas according to boys it was physical strength.

Value of education

- The majority of the children interviewed noted the importance of education offered in schools. With respect to the value of education, the most cited answer was better job opportunities.

- While both boys and girls cited better job opportunities and a better future, it is interesting to note that girls cited many more consequences of education compared with boys, such as better earnings, learning how to read and write, and receiving respect in society.

- Interestingly, out-of-school children specifically mentioned learning how to read and write as a consequence of education, while no in-school children stated this.

4.14 QuIP results: Parental perspectives

4.14.1 Changes in schooling outcomes and main pathways of change

In the QuIP questionnaire for parents of in-school children, schooling outcomes were defined to include outcomes at the child level as well as at the overall school level.

At the child level, schooling outcomes were defined to include changes in attendance, time doing homework and academic performance. In cases where there had been a change, a follow-up question asked whether there had been an increase or decrease in attendance and time doing homework and an improvement or decline in academic performance.

At the school level, the QuIP questionnaire included questions on changes in teaching quality, school infrastructure and school safety. In cases where there had been a change, a follow-up question asked whether there had been an improvement or decline in school level outcomes. Furthermore, the impact of school-level improvement or decline on individual level schooling outcomes was assessed and is noted in plain coding.

Since changes in schooling outcomes and main pathways of change were only discussed with parents of in-school children, the analysis is limited to a sample of 13 parents.

In the QuIP questionnaire for parents whose child had dropped out or never enrolled, schooling outcome questions were not included because the child was no longer or had never been a part of school system. Instead, the questionnaire enquired about the causes for the child being out of school (dropout and never enrolment).

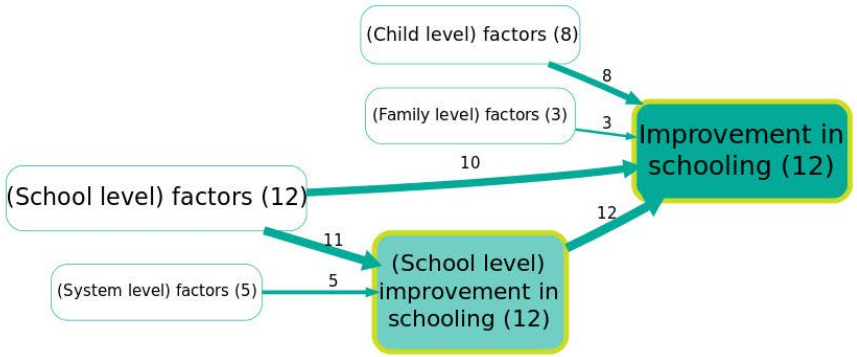
Parents were also asked questions about what could have assisted in their child staying or being enrolled in school.

Since reasons for being out of school were only discussed with parents of out-of-school children, the analysis is limited to a sample of 13 parents.

Parents of in-school children

Figure 44 shows changes and related drivers of change in child-level schooling outcomes and school-level outcomes. Of the 13 interviewed parents of in-school children, 12 reported improvements in their child's schooling outcomes as well as improvements in school-level outcomes.

Figure 44: Factors causing improvement in schooling outcomes (zoom 1)



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Zooming in to level 1 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Improvement in schooling` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

The most importance factor causing improvements in child schooling was cited as school-level improvements (cited by 12) followed by school-level factors (cited by 10). Regarding overall school-level improvement, the most importance factors causing this positive change were cited as school-level factors (cited by 11) followed by system-level factors (cited by five). Box 11 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 44.

BOX 11: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(School-level) improvement in schooling; teaching quality >> Improvement in schooling; attendance

"He is very regular in school now, doing homework, teachers come regularly. This is impacting his education positively." – ID-Ca102; parent of in-school boy

(School-level) improvement in schooling; teaching quality >> Improvement in schooling; time doing homework

"Now the efforts from teachers have increased, they are giving students more homework. That's why she has to study for longer hours." – ID-Ca201; parent of in-school girl

(School-level) improvement in schooling; school infrastructure >> Improvement in schooling; attendance

"Since there is a new gate at the school now, during recess time, students do not leave the school. Now they have started staying in school the whole day." – ID-Ca201; parent of in-school girl

"Yes, she is doing better than before. I feel that since school has better infrastructure, she likes to go to school and stays there longer." – ID-Ca202; parent of in-school girl

"Children want to go to school more because of good infrastructure, like good toilets and clean classrooms." – ID-Ca801; parent of in-school girl

(School-level) improvement in schooling; teaching quality >> Improvement in schooling; academic performance

"The school is different now with better teachers. I am seeing the results, and he is doing better this year." – ID-Ca303; parent of in-school boy

"Teachers are teaching nicely which has increased the students' interest towards studies. Also, teachers are giving more homework." – ID-Ca602; parent of in-school boy

(School-level) improvement in schooling; school safety >> Improvement in schooling; attendance

"Since there is a good toilet in school, she can spend the entire day in the school. This has helped in making the school safer as she can use the toilet in the school and does not need to go to the fields." – ID-Ca201; parent of in-school girl

"Yes, now there is a boundary wall, so no outsider can enter the school and the children are also forced to be in the school through the day and not wander around in the village." – ID-Ca601; parent of in-school girl

(School-level) factors; good teachers >> (School-level) improvement in schooling; teaching quality

"Now, teachers are more regular in school. They sometimes go to students' houses when students remain absent and take them back to school. If parents have [a] mobile phone, teachers call them and ask them to send children to school regularly. But since it's winter, teachers also do not visit our homes and children don't attend school due to the cold weather as well." – ID-Ca100; parent of in-school boy

(School-level) factors; shifting to a new school >> (School-level) improvement in schooling; school safety

"This school is bigger than his previous school and has a boundary wall surrounding the school, so children are safer now." – ID-Ca303; parent of in-school boy

(School-level) factors; higher number of teachers >> (School-level) improvement in schooling; teaching quality

"Now there are more teachers and they come on time. This has been a big reason for the change." – ID-Ca602; parent of in-school boy

Figure 45 reveals further insights on the drivers and pathways of improvement in child schooling outcomes and school-level outcomes.

At the child level, the most important drivers of change vary by outcomes such as academic performance, time doing homework and attendance:

- The most important factor causing improvement in child academic performance was higher child interest in education (a child-level factor, cited by eight). The second most cited factor was improvement in teaching quality (a school-level factor, cited by six).

- The most important factor causing increased time spent doing homework was the presence of good teachers (a school-level factor, cited by six). The second most cited factor was higher child interest in education (a child-level, cited by three).

- The most important factor causing improvement in child attendance was improvement in school infrastructure (a school-level factor, cited by nine). Five causes appeared as the second most cited drivers of improvements in attendance (cited by three children each): higher interest in education (a child-level factor), better teaching quality (a school-level factor), higher parental interest in education (a family-level factor), good education institutes (a school-level factor) and good teachers (a school-level factor).

The causes for improvement in school-level outcomes are listed below, for teaching quality, school infrastructure and school safety:

- The most cited factor causing improvement in teaching quality was good teachers (a school-level factor, cited by seven) followed by higher number of teachers (a school-level factor, cited by four).

- While the most cited factor causing improvement in school infrastructure was the presence of good teachers, particularly headteachers (a school-level factor, cited by seven), the second most cited factor was government initiatives (a system-level factor, cited by three).

- The most cited factor causing improvement in school safety was again the presence of good teachers, particularly headteachers (a school-level factor, cited by two).

Multiple key pathways of change appear in Figure 45. The overall critical role played by teachers (as discussed in section 4.12.1 on children's perceptions) is reinforced from the parent interviews.

The most stated pathway of change shows that the presence of good teachers as well as a higher number of teachers (school-level factors) led to improvements in overall teaching quality which, in turn, affects child academic performance, time doing homework and attendance.

Another relevant pathway of change shows that good teachers, particularly headteachers, led to overall improvements in school infrastructure as well as school safety. These improvements, in turn, lead to higher school attendance.

Lastly, government initiatives (a system-level factor) are shown to improve overall school infrastructure which, in turn, leads to improvements in child school attendance.

Figure 45: Factors causing improvement in schooling outcomes (zoom 3)

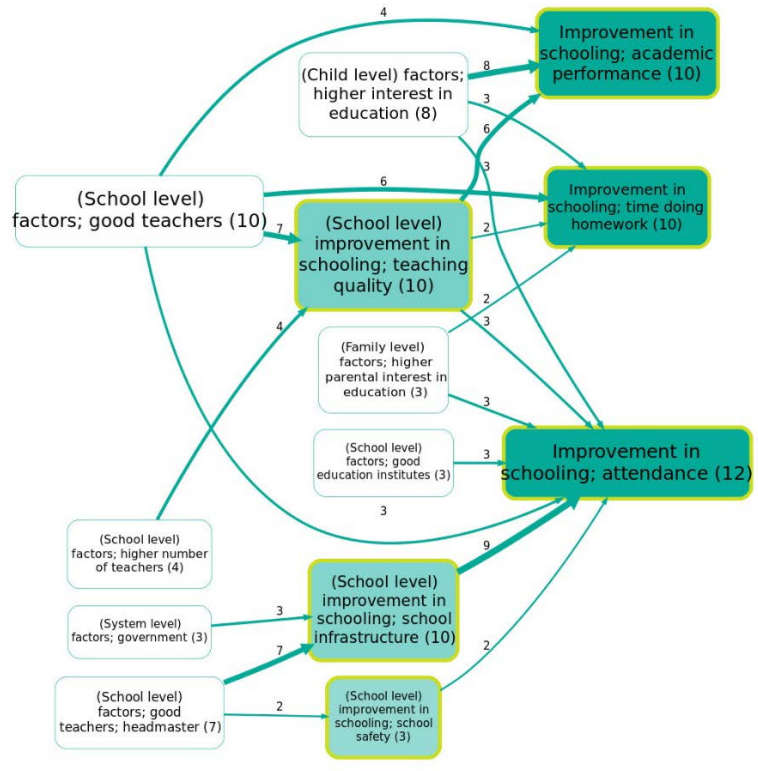
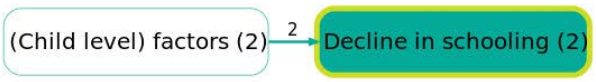


Figure 46 highlights that child-level factors were noted by two parents as leading to decline in schooling at the child level. Box 12 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 46.

Figure 46: Factors causing decline in schooling outcomes (zoom 1)



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Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 12: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Child-level) factors; increased time spent on work >> Decline in schooling; attendance

"Yes, this year, her grandfather also died, so we had a lot of work in the household. Hence, I didn't send her to school for some days." – ID-Ca301; parent of in-school girl

(Child-level) factors; lower interest in education >> Decline in schooling; attendance

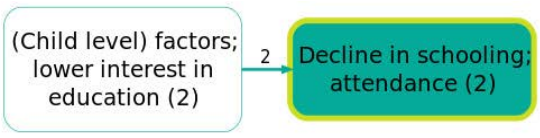
"I struggled to send her back to school after the days off, as she started losing interest in school." – ID-Ca301; parent of in-school girl

(Child-level) factors; increased time spent on work >> Decline in schooling; time doing homework

"He does not go daily. But he has work for whole day because he has to finish homework of many days." – ID-Ca502; parent of in-school boy

Figure 47 reveals insights on the drivers causing decline in schooling outcomes at the child level. It shows that lower interest in education (a child-level factor, cited by two) led to a decline in attendance (cited by two).

Figure 47: Factors causing decline in schooling outcomes (zoom 3)



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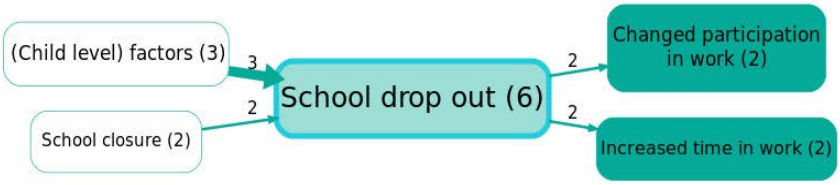
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Decline in schooling` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Parents of out-of-school children

Figure 48 was developed using a focus filter on school dropout and zoom 1, to facilitate understanding of both the causes and consequences of school dropout. Out of the seven parents interviewed, six provided reasons for their child's dropout, with the most cited drivers being child-level factors (cited by three) followed by school closure (cited by two). School dropout, in turn, increased work participation and time spent working (cited by two each). The figure clearly highlights the link between school dropout and child work. Box 13 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 48.

Figure 48: Factors causing school dropout and its consequences (zoom 1)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.52%: 13 of 2494 total citations and 6 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 1 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 13: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Child-level) factors; lower interest in education >> School dropout; pandemic (2020–22)

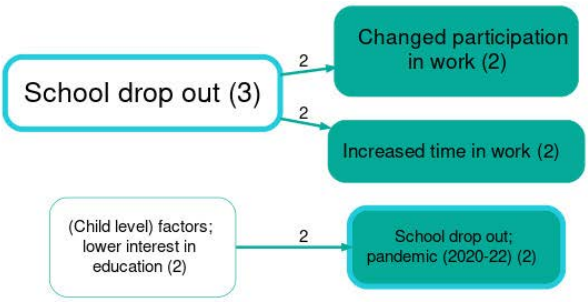
"We have not enrolled him again because he does not attend school at all. [Probe: Why is this?] He is not interested in studies, in spite of our efforts to send him to school. [Probe: Why do you say, he is not interested in studies?] He used to fail very often in exams and the teachers told us he has no interest in studies." – ID-Ca103; parent of out-of-school boy

(Child-level) factors; decline in health conditions >> School dropout; pandemic (2020–22)

"She was ill and had swelling in her liver. We had to take her for treatment to the hospital and because of her illness and overall weakness, I told her to not to go to school." – ID-Ca302; parent of out-of-school girl

Figure 49, which applies a focus filter on dropout and zoom 3, offers additional insight, highlighting that lower interest in education (a child-level factor) led to school dropout during the pandemic (2020–22), as noted by two parents. Box 14 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 49.

Figure 49: Factors causing school dropout and its consequences (zoom 3)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.36%: 9 of 2493 total citations and 4 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 14: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

School dropout >> Increased time spent on work

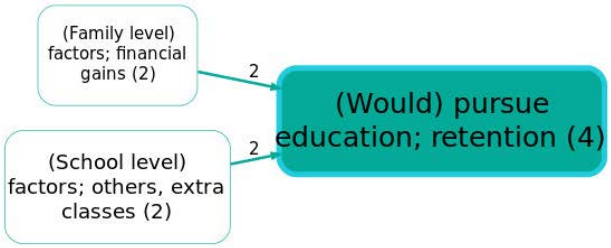
"Last year, he was enrolled in school. However, this year, he left school and began working. Since he left school, he needs to work." – ID-Ca304; parent of out-of-school boy

"As he left school, he is free now, he can work and support the family." – ID-Ca304; parent of out-of-school boy

"She is no longer in school, so she has time to do this work." – ID-Ca804; parent of out-of-school girl

For parents whose children dropped out of school, Figure 50 highlights financial gains (a family-level factor) and extra classes (a school-level factor) as measures that could have assisted in their child's retention in school. Interestingly, improvements in the schooling system were not cited by parents as a strategy that could have ensured their child's school retention.

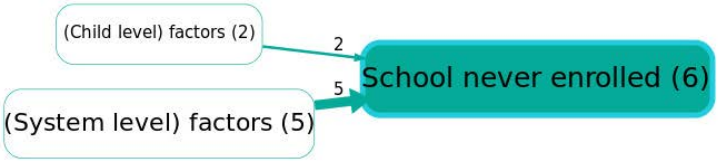
Figure 50: Factors which could assist in children's retention in school



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.2%: 5 of 2494 total citations and 4 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Figure 51 was developed using a focus filter on school dropout and zoom 1, to facilitate understanding of the causes of never enrolment. Among the seven parents of never enrolled children, the most cited drivers of never enrolment were system-level factors (cited by five) followed by child-level factors (cited by two). Box 15 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 51.

Figure 51: Factors causing school never enrolment (zoom 1)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.52%: 13 of 2493 total citations and 6 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 1 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 15: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(System-level) factors; non-issuance of Aadhaar (government ID) >> School never enrolled

"She does not possess an Aadhaar card. Therefore, she was not enrolled in school." – ID-Ca203; parent of never enrolled girl

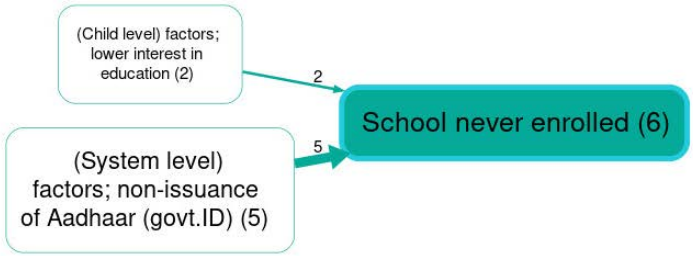
"Brother, like we were discussing, the government school is free, but they ask for a lot of documents before we can enrol the child in school. We do not have these documents, which is why our daughter is not enrolled. [Probe: What are these documents?] Mainly, they want an Aadhaar card and birth certificate. I have neither of these. [Probe: Why don't you make her Aadhaar card now?] We have tried but it did not happen. Now the process of Aadhaar card generation is over in our village. There are local contractors who come to the village and tell us that Aadhaar cards could be made by them, but we are doubtful. They also ask for money, so we are waiting for the government to make our children's Aadhaar card again." – ID-Ca503; parent of never enrolled girl

"He does not have Aadhaar card. [Probe: Why?] We have tried to make it, but we could not. People ask for bribes, and we do not have the money to pay." – ID-Ca604; parent of never enrolled boy

"I do not trust people who take money and make Aadhaar card in minutes. There have been many cases of making fake Aadhaar cards in the community. So, I am waiting for the right time to make an Aadhaar card for him. [Probe: What will be the right time, as per your understanding?] I am waiting for government to launch a scheme for making Aadhaar cards for our children. When it will be launched, I will surely make his Aadhaar card." – ID-Ca703; parent of never enrolled boy

Figure 52, which applies a focus filter on school dropout (zoom 3), highlights that system-level factors, such as non-issuance of Aadhaar cards (government ID), led to children's non-enrolment in school (cited by five), as well as child-level factors such as lower interest in education (cited by two). This has clear policy implications because ensuring issuance of government identification cards (e.g., Aadhaar) is imperative for all children, as schools will not give admission without this requirement being complied with.

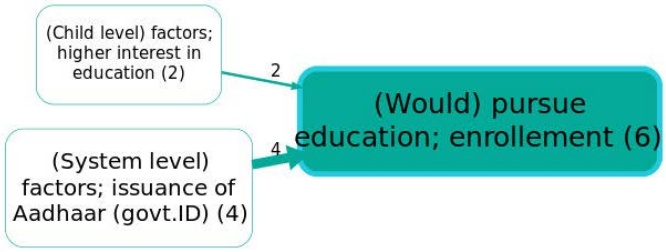
Figure 52: Factors causing never enrolment (zoom 3)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.48%: 12 of 2493 total citations and 6 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Figure 53 shows that parents of never enrolled children noted system-level factors, such as issuance of Aadhaar cards (cited by four), and child-level factors, such as higher interest in education (cited by two), as measures that could have assisted in their child's enrolment in school.

Figure 53: Factors that could assist in children's retention in school



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.24%: 6 of 2494 total citations and 6 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

4.14.2 Changes in child work and labour outcomes and main pathways of change

Parents of interviewed children were asked how many hours their child had worked, on average, in a typical day in the past year. This question was asked about different types of work: household chores, economic activities within the household and economic activities for pay outside the household. If a positive number of hours was reported in any of these types of work, a follow-up question was asked about changes (increases or reductions) in the time spent by the child working, and the associated drivers and pathways of change.

If parents noted that their child was participating in economic activities (within or outside the household), they were asked a supplementary question about whether any of the child's working conditions could be considered hazardous (and so classified as child labour). If hazardous working conditions were reported, a follow-up question was asked about changes in time spent on hazardous work and the reasons for these changes, if any.

Unlike the child QuIP questionnaire, which delved into the drivers and pathways of change separately for four categories of work (i.e. domestic chores, economic activities within the family enterprise, economic activities for pay outside the home and work involving hazardous conditions), the parent QuIP questionnaire only covered changes in time spent working (other than school and leisure activities) and changes in time spent working in hazardous conditions.

Changes in child work and child labour outcomes and main pathways of change were discussed with 26 parents (13 parents of in-school children, 13 parents of out-of-school children). Analysis of the overall sample and disaggregated analysis by school status were also undertaken and are set out below.

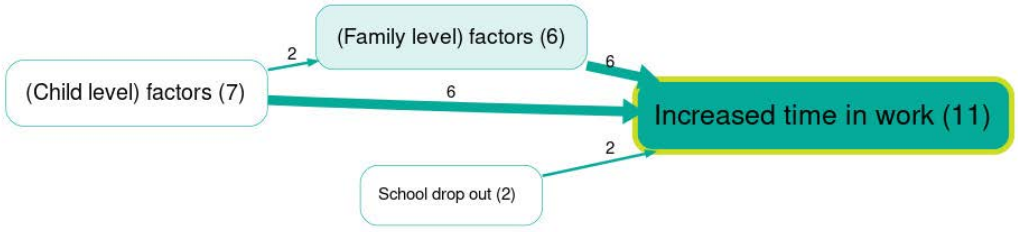
4.14.3 Increased time spent on work or labour

This section covers instances where parents noted increased time spent by their child on work and the drivers and pathways of change for this increase.

All parents

In Bihar, of the 26 parents, 11 reported increased time spent by their child on work or labour compared with previous years. Figure 54 shows that among all the factors causing increased time spent on work or labour, family-level and child-level factors were the most important (cited by six), followed by school dropout (cited by two). Box 16 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 54.

Figure 54: Factors causing increased time spent on work (zoom 1)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 1%: 26 of 2494 total citations and 11 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 1 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Increased time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 16: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Child-level) factors; increase in age >> Increased time spent on work

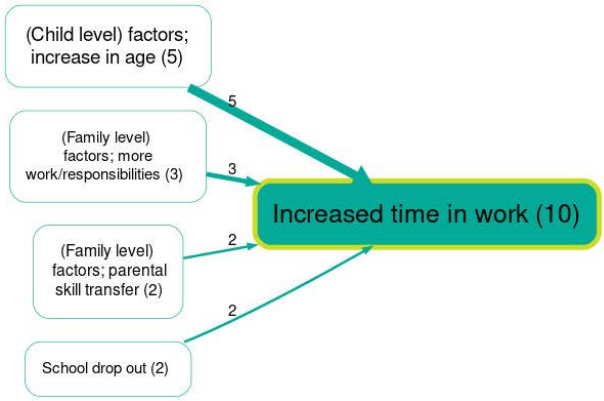
"Now she does more work as she is older." – ID-Ca503; parent of never enrolled girl

"It is due to her age; she has become older now. She has to be responsible and take up work at home." – ID-Ca701; parent of in-school girl

"Now he has learnt to bring the groceries from a shop nearby. He is 11 years now, he has grown up now. He can handle these little tasks by himself now." – ID-Ca703; parent of never enrolled boy

Figure 55, which applies a zoom 3 filter, reveals further insights on the drivers leading to children's increased time spent on work or labour as reported by their parents. The most important factor causing increased time doing work or labour was increase in age (a child-level factor, cited by five), followed by more work or responsibilities (a family-level factor, cited by three).

Figure 55: Factors causing increased time spent on work (zoom 3)

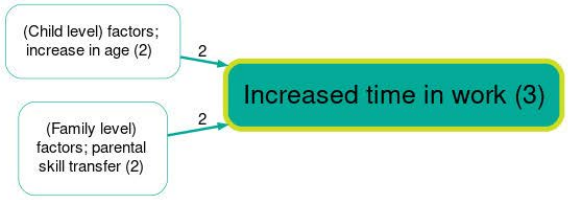


Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.76%: 19 of 2494 total citations and 10 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Increased time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

By school-going status

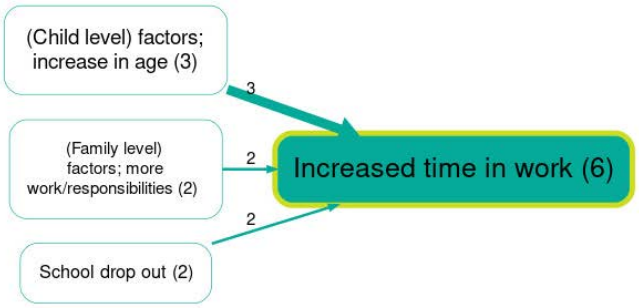
Figure 56 and Figure 57, developed on the basis of school-going status of the child, shows significant variation in the drivers for increased time spent on work or labour. Parents of in-school children (*see Figure 56*), reported that increase in age (a child-level factor, cited by two) and parental skill transfer (a family-level factor, cited by two) cause an increased time spent on work or labour. In contrast, for parents of children who had dropped out or never enrolled (*see Figure 57*), increase in age (a child-level factor, cited by three) was the most important factor, followed by more work or responsibilities (a family-level factor). School dropout (cited by two) also emerged as an important reason in this category leading to increased time spent on work or labour.

Figure 56: Factors causing increased time spent on work or labour for all in-school children



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.32%: 8 of 2494 total citations and 3 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Increased time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Figure 57: Factors causing increased time spent on work or labour for all out-of-school children



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.4%: 10 of 2494 total citations and 6 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Increased time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

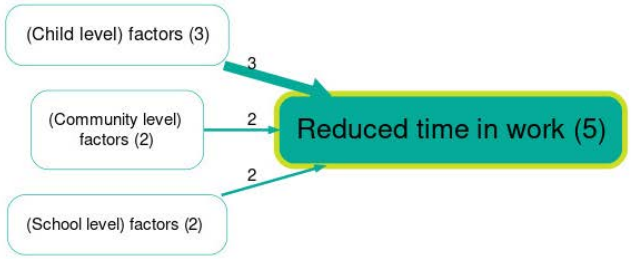
4.14.4 Reduced time spent on work or labour

While understanding the causes of children spending increased time on work or labour is vital when designing effective policies and programmes, examining the factors that have led to children spending less time on work or labour is equally critical to understanding what works to reduce children's time spent on work or labour.

Parents of all children

In Bihar, of the 26 parents, only five noted reduced time spent by their child on work or labour compared with previous years. Figure 58 shows that among all the factors causing reduced time spent on work or labour, child-level factors (cited by three) were of the most importance, followed by community-level factors and school-level factors (cited by two each). Box 17 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 58.

Figure 58: Factors causing reduced time spent on work or labour (zoom 1)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.4%: 10 of 2494 total citations and 5 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 1 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Reduced time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 17: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Child-level) factors; higher grade >> Reduced time spent on work

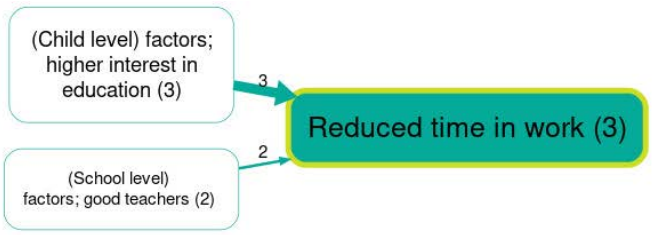
"Because he is in upper grade and getting homework from teacher." – ID-Ca100; parent of in-school boy

(Child-level) factors; higher interest in education >> Reduced time spent on work

"Earlier, she was not very serious about her studies. Now she is taking it more seriously." – ID-Ca501; parent of in-school girl

Figure 59, which applies a zoom 3 filter, reveals further insights on the drivers reducing time spent by children on work. The most important factor causing reduced time spent working was higher interest in education (a child-level factor, cited by three), followed by good teachers (a school-level factor, cited by two). This implies that teachers and children's interest in education need to be factored in when designing interventions or programmes to reduce child labour.

Figure 59: Factors causing reduced time spent on work or labour (zoom 3)

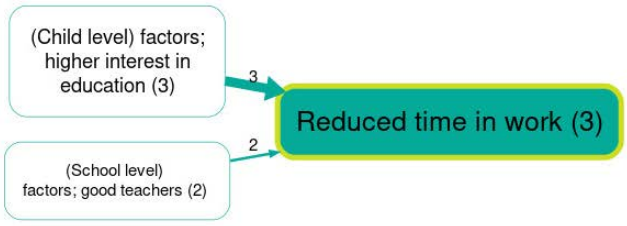


Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.2%: 5 of 2494 total citations and 3 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Reduced time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Parents of in-school children compared with parents of out-of-school children

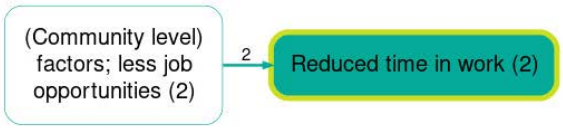
Figures 60 and 61, with an 'at least two' top links filter and zoom 3 filter, are based on responses provided by parents of in-school and out-of-school children respectively. The main factor causing reduced time spent on work or labour for in-school children, according to their parents, was higher interest in education (a child-level factor, cited by three) followed by good teachers (a school-level factor, cited by two). Fewer job opportunities (a community-level factor, cited by two) was the principal cause for reduced time spent by children on work or labour cited by parents of out-of-school children.

Figure 60: Factors causing reduced time spent on work or labour (in-school children)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.2%: 5 of 2494 total citations and 3 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Reduced time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Figure 61: Factors causing reduced time spent on work or labour (out-of-school children)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.12%: 3 of 2494 total citations and 2 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 2 of the hierarchy. Tracing threads: 4 steps from anywhere to `Reduced time in work` (yellow borders).
Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

4.14.5 Exploring gendered variations in child work based on a hypothetical scenario

As a hypothetical scenario, parents were asked: If their child was born the opposite sex, would there be a difference in the kind of work undertaken by the child? Parents who said there would be a difference were then asked to describe the possible changes in work undertaken. Through probe questions, the reasons for these gendered variations in child work were also captured.

The analysis is based on a total sample of 26 parents.

Many parents noted there would be a difference in the work undertaken by their children if they were born the opposite sex. As with the findings in Figure 36, the most important cause for gender difference in work was societal rules and expectations, followed by physical strength and biological differences. The gender difference in the hypothetical scenario translated to parents believing they would assign different work to their child based on their child being born the opposite sex. Parents noted in particular that domestic work would be assigned to girls alone and not boys.

4.14.6 Changes in community knowledge, attitude and behaviour towards children's education, child labour and child marriage and their role as drivers of change

Parents were asked whether there had been changes in community knowledge, attitude and behaviour towards child education, child labour and child marriage. If they reported changes, follow-up questions were asked about how these community views had changed and the causes for these changes.

The analysis is based on a sample of 26 parents of 13 in-school and 13 out-of-school children. Disaggregated analysis of parents' views by school status of their children was also undertaken.

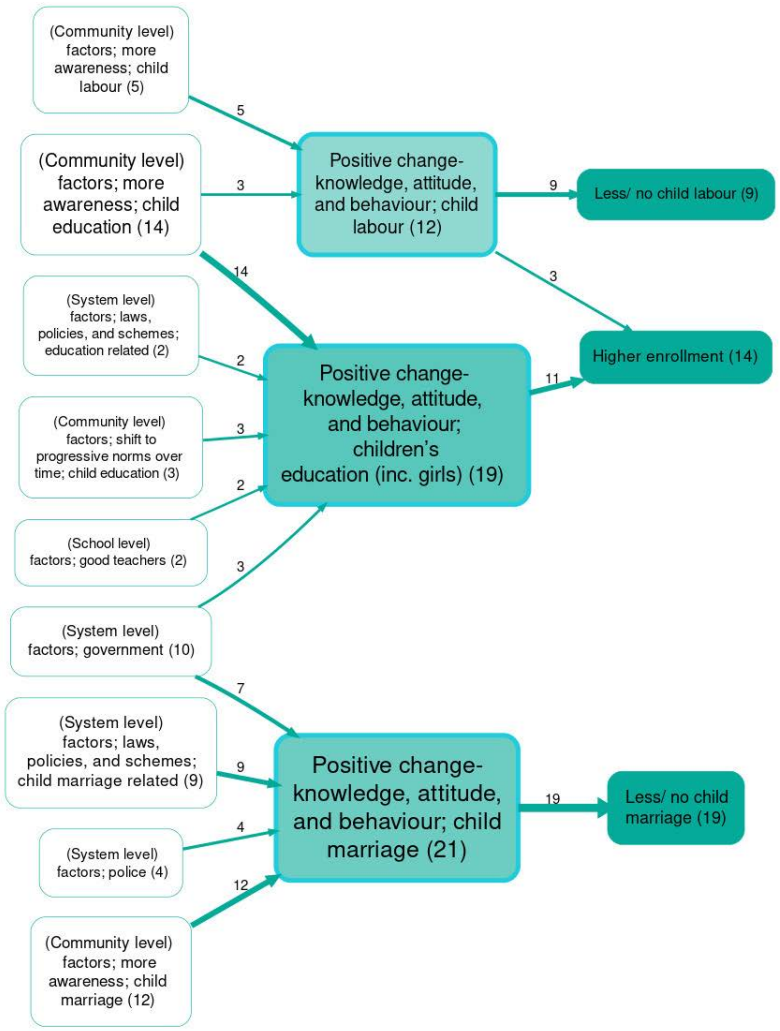
All parents

The most common positive change in community knowledge, attitude and behaviour was noted towards child marriage (cited by 21), followed by children's education, including girls (cited by 19). Changes related to community knowledge, attitudes and beliefs around child labour were less commonly reported (cited by 12).

The main driver of changes in knowledge, attitude and behaviour towards child marriage was more awareness related to child marriage (a community-level factor, cited by 12), followed by laws, policies and schemes related to child marriage (a system-level factor, cited by nine).

Of the 21 parents who noted this change, 19 stated this translated to fewer or no child marriages in the community. The key takeaway from Figure 62 is that more awareness, as well as the existing regulatory framework, has translated to positive changes in community knowledge, attitude and behaviour towards child marriage. Box 18 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 62.

Figure 62: Factors causing changes in community knowledge, attitude and behaviour towards children's education, child labour and child marriage



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 5.1%: 127 of 2494 total citations and 23 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 18: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Community-level) factors; more awareness; child marriage >> Positive change – knowledge, attitude and behaviour; child marriage

"People have become more aware of the child marriage laws." – ID-Ca103; parent of out-of-school boy

"Now people have become more aware and understood that they should not marry off their children at very young age." – ID-Ca104; parent of out-of-school girl

"Now, people are more aware of laws that one should not marry off their children at a young age." – ID-Ca203; parent of never enrolled girl

"Nowadays, people have become more aware of the laws regarding child marriage. Police are also very strict." – ID-Ca302; parent of out-of-school girl

"Nowadays, people are more aware that they should allow their children to mature before marrying them off." – ID-Ca304; parent of out-of-school boy

"Nowadays, the community is becoming more aware. So those who are literate and more aware." – ID-Ca703; parent of never enrolled boy

The most cited drivers of positive change in knowledge, attitude and behaviours toward child education were higher awareness regarding child education (a community-level factor, cited by 14 each), a shift in progressive norms regarding education over time (a community-level factor, cited by 3) and government initiatives (a system-level factor, cited by 3). According to 11 parents, this positive change observed by respondents at the community level has translated to higher school enrolment. Box 19 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 62.

BOX 19: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Community-level) factors; more awareness; child education; community members being aware of benefits of education >> Positive change – knowledge, attitude and behaviour; children's education (including girls)

"Now people have understood the importance of being able to read and write. There is awareness." – ID-Ca100; parent of in-school boy

"Parents who have at least elementary education, understand the value of education and therefore, they send their children to school." – ID-Ca102; parent of in-school boy

"Nowadays, people have understood the importance of schooling because of more awareness." – ID-Ca103; parent of out-of-school boy

"Now everybody thinks they should send children to school for a better future. Hence, the number of children going to school has increased." – ID-Ca201; parent of in-school girl

"People have become more aware of the importance of education. People are able to link better jobs with completion of schooling and that is why parents now want to send their children to school." – ID-Ca302; parent of out-of-school girl

"There have been a lot of changes. Nowadays, people are very aware of the benefits of education. Parents can observe the difference between children who go to school and those who do not. So, almost everyone is sending their kids to school now. [Probe: What is the difference between students who go to school and who do not?] School-going children are more likely to get good jobs. [Probe: Why do you think education is important?] Our children should learn and be literate. I have seen cases where illiterate people from our community have gone to the cities to earn money and have been misled and taken advantage, because they cannot read and write. These cases occur only with illiterate people. Therefore, education is important." – ID-Ca303; parent of in-school boy

"Nowadays, everything depends on the parents of the child. If they are strict enough to make their kids study, the children follow the same. Some parents make their children study, and some do not. Overall, [the] community has started valuing education." – ID-Ca703; parent of never enrolled boy

(Community-level) factors; more awareness; child education >> Positive change – knowledge, attitude and behaviour; children's education (including girls)

"I exactly don't know why, but people learn by observing each other. If [a] few kids go to school, other people also follow that and send their kids to school." – ID-Ca104; parent of out-of-school girl

"Parents are more aware nowadays; they scold and sometimes even punish their children if they don't go to school." – ID-Ca301; parent of in-school girl

"It is because of the government officers. [Probe: What have they done?] They have made people more aware." – ID-Ca602; parent of in-school boy

"Time has changed madam. People see each other and copy each other now. So, there has been a change in thinking among the community. After seeing one parent send their child to school, especially daughters, other also follow the lead and send their daughters to school." – ID-Ca701; parent of in-school girl

"People in my community think that children should be educated, they should be sent to school. [Probe: Do all think that way in your community?] Yes, majority of the people think this way and send their children to school." – ID-Ca702; parent of in-school boy

The most cited factor for positive changes in knowledge, attitude and behaviour toward child labour was higher awareness regarding child labour (a community-level factor, cited by five), followed by higher awareness regarding child education (a community-level factor, cited by three). This, in turn, resulted in nine parents stating there was less/no child labour and three parents noting higher enrolment in school. Box 20 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 62.

BOX 20: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Community-level) factors; more awareness; child labour >> Positive change – knowledge, attitude and behaviour; child labour

"Nowadays, people think that children should not be engaged in labour when they are very young." – ID-Ca103; parent of out-of-school boy

"Yes, there is a change in the thinking of people. They now believe that children should not be sent to work until a certain age. Over time, people are becoming more aware." – ID-Ca201; parent of in-school girl

"Now, people are becoming more aware that kids shouldn't be sent to do paid work. Once they reach a certain age and can handle working outside, they can be sent to do paid work. [Probe: At what age?] After 18 years." – ID-Ca204; parent of never enrolled boy

"Now people know that if we send children to work, we will be put into jail." – ID-Ca703; parent of never enrolled boy

Interestingly, the role of laws, policies and schemes, as well as police, was not identified as a driver of change for community views on child labour, although it was critical for influencing community views on child marriage. This is consistent with weak enforcement by the police with respect to child labour, evidenced clearly by the National Crime Records Bureau report showing only 476 cases registered under the Child Labour Act in 2020.[92]

Further, regarding the inefficacy of laws, policies and schemes in reducing child labour, it is critical to acknowledge Bharadwaj et al., who observed the effects of Indian child labour laws and regulations and noted that the child labour ban had no overall effect on either children's schooling status or child labour rates. Alarmingly, they observed that the likelihood of child employment relative to non-child employment increased by about two percentage points (which implied that child labour increased by 12.5 per cent over the pre-ban mean).[93]

Parents of in-school children compared with out-of-school children

Figures 63 and 64 show drivers of changes in knowledge, attitudes and behaviours towards education, child labour and child marriage, for in-school and out-of-school children respectively.

More parents of in-school children reported positive changes in community views towards child labour (cited by seven), child education (cited by 12) and child marriage (cited by 11) than parents of out-of-school children (cited by 5, 7 and 10 respectively).

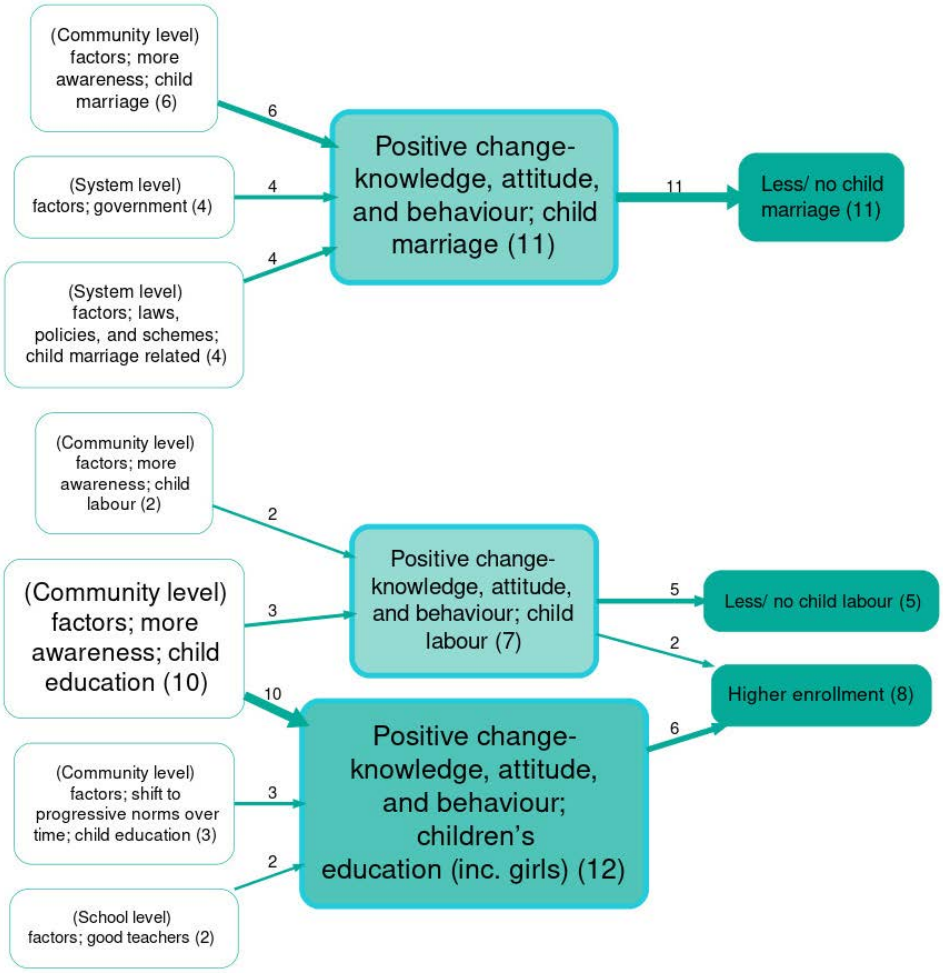
Comparison of Figure 63 (parents of in-school children) and Figure 64 (parents of out-of-school children) highlights that for parents of in-school children, the most common change in community views related to children's education (cited by 12), while parents of out-of-school children most commonly cited changes in community views towards child marriage (cited by 10).

- Both parents of in-school and out-of-school children considered more awareness regarding child marriage (a community-level factor) to be the key reason for positive changes in community knowledge, attitude and behaviour toward child marriage. These changes in views further resulted in fewer or no child marriages.

- The most cited driver of positive change in knowledge, attitude and behaviour toward education by parents of in-school children was more awareness regarding child education (a community-level factor, cited by 10), followed by a shift towards progressive norms regarding child education over time (a community-level factor, cited by three). For parents of out-of-school children, more awareness regarding child education (cited by four) was the most important factor, followed by government (a system-level factor, cited by three). Both groups noted that positive changes in community views on education result in higher enrolment.

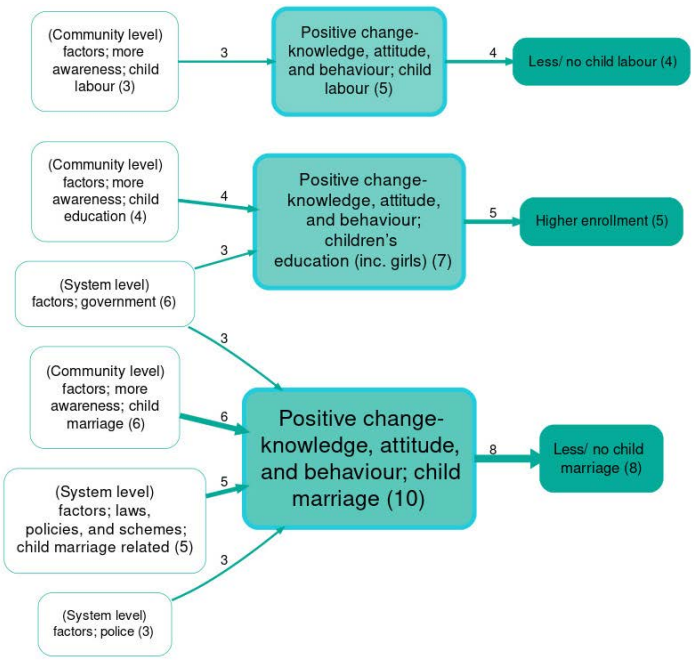
- The most cited factor for positive change in knowledge, attitude and behaviour toward child labour by parents of in-school children was more awareness regarding children's education, followed by more awareness regarding child labour (community-level factors, cited by three and two parents, respectively). For parents of out-of-school children, more awareness regarding child labour was the only factor cited (by three).

Figure 63: Factors causing changes in community knowledge, attitude and behaviour towards child education, child labour and child marriage (parents of in-school children)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 2.8%: 69 of 2494 total citations and 12 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Figure 64: Factors causing changes in community knowledge, attitude and behaviour towards child education, child labour and child marriage (parents of out-of-school children)



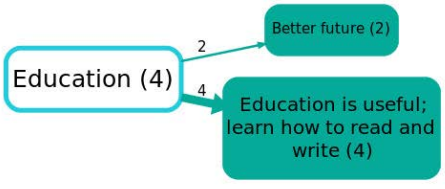
Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 2.2%: 54 of 2494 total citations and 11 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

4.14.7 Exploring the value of education

Parents of out-of-school children were asked whether they believed the schooling offered in their community was useful for their children's future. Parents were also asked to describe the usefulness of education. The analysis is based on a sample of 13 parents of seven children who had dropped out and six never enrolled children.

Figure 65 highlights that only four parents of out-of-school children noted the importance of education offered in schools in their community. A majority of the parents cited education being useful for learning how to read and write (cited by four) while two parents said that education was useful for a better future. Box 21 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 65.

Figure 65: Usefulness of education



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.24%: 6 of 2494 total citations and 4 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 21: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

Education >> Education is useful; learn how to read and write

"My daughter can read and write. I definitely think this is very useful in today's world and think the education offered to our children is very good. This will help them in the future." – ID-Ca302; parent of out-of-school girl

"Yes, education is useful for learning how to read and write." – ID-Ca304; parent of out-of-school boy

"Education is very important to be literate today." – ID-Ca204; parent of never enrolled boy

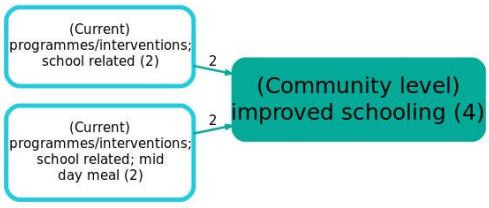
4.14.8 Current programmes, interventions and proposed initiatives regarding child labour and child education

Parents of in-school children were asked to identify current programmes as well as proposed initiatives which have led/could lead to: community-level improvement in schooling; and community-level reduction in child labour.

The analysis is based on a total sample of 13 parents of in-school children.

Figure 66 highlights that 4 out of 13 parents reported that current school-related programmes and interventions (cited by four) such as the midday meal (cited by two) led to improvement in schooling in their community. The causal map in Figure 66 does not show any proposed initiatives due to the 'at least two' filters. Box 22 contains a subset of quotations generated from this causal map.

Figure 66: Current programmes, interventions and proposed initiatives related to education



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.16%: 4 of 2494 total citations and 4 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 22: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Current) programmes/interventions; school-related >> (Community-level) improved schooling

"I do not know the details about these programmes, I have just heard about them from some people in the community." – ID-Ca801; parent of in-school girl

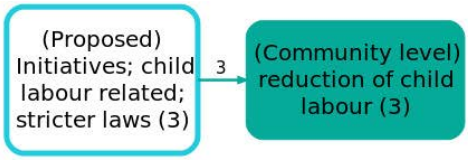
(Current) programmes/interventions; school-related; midday meal >> (Community-level) improved schooling

"Teachers call children for lunch even if they miss school. [Probe: So how does calling the children when they miss school help in schooling?] It helps because we know the teachers are concerned about our children. Also, many poor parents send their children to school because of the free food." – ID-Ca100; parent of in-school boy

"Government programmes like providing free food." – ID-Ca202; parent of in-school girl

Figure 67 reveals that only three parents shared their views on proposed initiatives which could reduce child labour. They felt that stricter laws on child labour would help in reducing it. Figure 67 does not show any current programmes and interventions on account of the at least two filters. Box 23 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 67.

Figure 67: Current programmes, interventions and proposed initiatives related to child labour



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.12%: 3 of 2494 total citations and 3 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

BOX 23: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Proposed) Initiatives; child labour-related; stricter laws >> (Community-level) reduction of child labour

"Strict actions by police." – ID-Ca303; parent of in-school boy

"I think stricter laws are needed. This could help. [Probe: Why do you think so?] Children should not be made to work in factories and for this you need strict laws." – ID-Ca602; parent of in-school boy

4.14.9 Impact of COVID-19 on child labour and child education

Parents were asked whether the COVID-19 pandemic affected their child's education and work or labour. If parents said "Yes", they were asked to explain the impact of the pandemic on their child's education and/or work or labour.

A total sample of 26 parents (13 in-school and 13 out-of-school children's parents) was used for this section. Disaggregated analysis by schooling status was also undertaken.

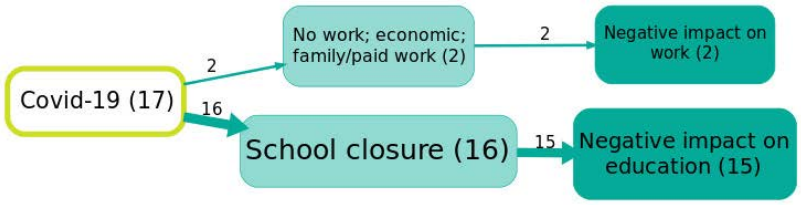
All parents

Figure 68 shows the impact of COVID-19 on children's education and work according to their parents.

- Decline in child work: Two parents reported that COVID-19 reduced their child's work due to a lower availability of work opportunities within or outside the family.

- Negative impact on education: 16 parents noted that COVID-19 had a negative impact on their child's education, with 15 highlighting that school closures led to ineffective online classes.

Figure 68: Understanding the impact of COVID-19 on child work and education



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 1.4%: 35 of 2494 total citations and 17 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Parents of in-school children compared with out-of-school children

Interestingly, Figures 69 and 70, which are based on responses of parents according to their child's schooling status, show that both in-school and out-of-school children were negatively affected by COVID-19 in terms of education. Figures 69 and 70 do not show information relating to work or labour.

Figure 69: Understanding the impact of COVID-19 on child work and education (parents of in-school children)

Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.76%: 19 of 2494 total citations and 10 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Figure 70: Understanding the impact of COVID-19 on children's work and education (parents of out-of-school children)

Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.48%: 12 of 2494 total citations and 6 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

4.17 Summary of parent QuIP findings

Schooling outcomes

- According to parents, the most important factor causing *improvement in the child's academic performance* was a child-level factor: higher interest in education. The second most cited factor was a school-level factor: improvement in teaching quality. The most important factor causing *improvement in time spent doing homework* was a school-level factor: good teachers. The second most cited factor was a child-level factor: higher interest in education. The most important factor causing *improvement in child's attendance* was a school-level factor: improvement in school infrastructure. Five causes appeared as the second most cited factors leading to *improvement in attendance*: a child-level factor – higher interest in education; a school-level factor – teaching quality; a family-level factor – higher parental interest in education; and school-level factors – good education institutes and good teachers.

- The most cited factor causing *improvement in teaching quality* was a school-level factor: good teachers, followed by a school-level factor: higher number of teachers. While the most cited factor causing *improvement in school infrastructure* was a school-level factor: good teachers, particularly headteachers, the second most cited factor was a system-level factor: government. The most cited factor causing *improvement in school safety* was school-level factor – good teachers, particularly headteachers.

- The most stated pathway of change shows that the school-level factors of good teacher and higher number of teachers led to *improvement in overall teaching quality*, which in turn affected the individual child's *academic performance, time doing homework and attendance*. With respect to the headteacher, a pathway of change shows that the school-level factor of good teacher (particularly headteacher) led to *overall improvement in school infrastructure* at the school level, which in turn lead to *improvement in attendance* of the child as well as *improvement in overall school safety*, which then led to *improved attendance* at the individual level. Lastly, the system-level factor of government led to *improvement in overall school infrastructure*, which in turn led to *improvement in attendance* at the individual level.

- A child-level factor – lower interest in education – led to *decline in attendance* as well as *school dropout* during the COVID-19 pandemic (2020–22). Parents whose children had dropped out of school noted the family-level factor of financial gains and the school-level factor of extra classes as measures that could have assisted in their child's *retention in school*.

- Parents whose children had not been enrolled in school noted that a system-level factor – non-issuance of Aadhaar card (government ID) – led to children's non-enrolment in school, followed by the child-level factor of lower interest in education. Parents also noted a system-level factor – issuance of Aadhaar card – and a child-level factor – higher interest in education – as measures that could have assisted in their child's *enrolment in school*.

Increased time spent on work or labour

- The most important factor causing *increased time doing work or labour* was a child-level factor: increase in age, followed by a family-level factor: more work or responsibilities (i.e., work assigned to the child by the family).

- According to parents of in-school children, the child-level factor of increase in age and the family-level factor of parental skill transfer were drivers for *increased time spent on work or labour*. In contrast, for parents of children who had dropped out or never enrolled, a child-level factor – increase in age – was the most important factor, followed by a family-level factor – more work or responsibilities. School dropout emerged as an important reason in this category leading to *increased time spent on work or labour*.

Reduced time spent on work or labour

- The most important factor causing *reduced time spent on work or labour* was a child-level factor: higher interest in education, followed by a school-level factor: good teachers.

- The most important factor causing *reduced time spent on work or labour* for in-school children according to their parents was a child-level factor: higher interest in education, followed by a school-level factor: good teachers. However, the community-level factor of fewer job opportunities was the principal cause *for reduced time spent on work or labour* according to parents of out-of-school children.

Gender difference

- The most important factor emerging as a cause for *gender difference* in work or labour was societal rules and expectations, followed by physical strength and biological differences. The *gender difference* in turn translated (in a hypothetical scenario) to parents believing they would assign different work to their child based on their child being born the opposite sex. Interestingly, several parents noted that domestic work would be assigned to girls alone and not boys.

Changes in community knowledge, attitude and behaviour

- The most cited factor for *positive changes in knowledge, attitude and behaviour towards child marriage* was a community-level factor: more awareness around child marriage, followed by a system-level factor: laws, policies and schemes related to child marriage.

- Changes in community *knowledge, attitude and behaviour toward child education* was cited as caused by community-level factors – more awareness regarding child education and a shift in progressive norms over time regarding child education, and a system-level factor – government.

- The most cited factor for positive change in community *knowledge, attitude and behaviour toward child labour* was a community-level factor – more awareness regarding child labour. The second most cited factor was another community-level factor – more awareness regarding child education.

Value of education

- More than one quarter of the parents of out-of-school children noted that education was valuable to a child's future. Parents said that education was useful for learning how to read, as well as leading to a better future.

Current programmes, interventions and proposed initiatives

- Of parents of in-school children who were asked questions pertaining to current and proposed programmes and interventions related to children's education and labour, some parents offered insights on education-related aspects while others spoke about child labour-related aspects. Parents reported current school-related programmes and interventions, such as midday meals, leading to *improvement in schooling in their community*. Regarding child labour, parents proposed that initiatives related to child labour, such as stricter laws, would help in *reduction of child labour*.

The impact of COVID-19 on work and education

- A limited number of parents reported COVID-19 having a negative impact on their children's work or labour due to limited availability of paid work or work within the family enterprise. Parents also reported that school closures due to COVID-19 led to a negative impact on their children's education.

5. Implications for policies, programmes and research

5.1 Mere enrolment in school does not address child labour

Child labour is a multidimensional problem which results from a multitude of factors that influence a family's decision to engage children in work, including socioeconomic inequity, poverty and social norms, as well as returns to work and education.

A recently published rapid evidence assessment of studies undertaken in low- and middle-income countries by Emezue et al. concludes that "rigorous evidence on child labour impacts of educational policies and programmes is limited".[94] In the context of India, Santhya notes that "there is far too little evidence to draw any lessons from the effects of educational and related strategies on reductions in children's work".[95] Meanwhile, Jha substantiates this point further by acknowledging that evidence around the effectiveness of education-related strategies and schemes in influencing the practice of child labour is at best "sketchy and therefore full of gaps".[96] Both authors cite limited evaluations focusing on specific impacts related to children's work trajectories.

Another systematic review notes that evidence of the impact of supply-side education interventions (like better access to schools or improved quality of education) on child labour is "limited".[97] This view is also held by other researchers, who note that evidence of a causal relationship between child labour and education is "mixed", with causality being difficult to establish.[98]

While reviewing the relationship between child labour and education, the ILO and UNICEF have similarly highlighted difficulties in establishing causality, pointing out the problem of accurate measurement of both variables (i.e., child labour and education).[99] Like child labour, education is indeed multifaceted and can be measured in the form of school attendance, achievement levels or skills learnt by students, for example.

Findings from this study are consistent with ethnographic research studies which reveal that the relationship between children's schooling and work cannot be viewed as mutually exclusive. Rather, this relationship is complex, with children not seeing their choices only in 'either/or' terms.[100] This, in turn, translates to various combinations of school and work trajectories, affected by family circumstances, prevailing social norms, and the gender and age of the child.

Accordingly, because this study finds that child work is undertaken by both in-school and out-of-school children (*see section 4*), education (as seen through the lens of enrolment alone) cannot be viewed as a solution to child labour. These findings are further substantiated by insights from the eight focus group discussions, in which most children (aged 10–13) observed combining school and work to be a common occurrence.

Moreover, time-use data collected from parents as part of this study reveal that out-of-school children from the Musahar community were engaged in domestic chores for 23 hours per week and in paid work for 16 hours per week, thus crossing the thresholds for long hours as prescribed by the ILO and UNICEF (20 and 14 hours per week, respectively).[101] While their hours did not cross the long-hour

threshold, in-school children spent an average of about 15 hours per week on domestic chores and two hours per week on paid work. By gender, girls were also found to cross the threshold of long hours for time spent on domestic chores.

These findings show that while out-of-school children engage in long hours of work, it would be misleading to assume that once a child is in school, she/he is not working. Thus, child labour-related interventions need to focus on all the groups of children considered in this study – both in-school and out-of-school children and both boys and girls – as they were all found to be vulnerable to child labour in the context of Musahar communities.

Previous research has shown that out-of-school children are more likely to engage in child labour.[102] However, the literature also highlighted that children who work are more likely to abandon school.[103] So, achieving the two fundamental goals of education for all and elimination of child labour requires understanding of the interplay between school dropout and child labour in the specific considered contexts.

Implications

It is imperative that we challenge the view among researchers and civil society organizations that "all children not attending school are child labourers", as clearly in-school children are engaged in work as well. There is an urgent need to broaden the scope of ongoing programmes undertaken by government agencies and civil society organizations to address both in-school and out-of-school children who are 'at risk' on account of their engagement in child work or child labour.

5.2 Invest in teachers and create responsive education systems

While education alone cannot be seen as a panacea for child labour, the causal maps developed based on responses provided by in-school children and their parents reveal that teachers are critical – not only to improve children's academic performance, but also to improve broader school characteristics, such as safety, infrastructure and overall teaching quality.

A previous literature review identified some studies of performance-based incentives to teachers demonstrating effectiveness and positive impacts in improving learning, but none of the reviewed studies measured the effect of teachers on children's labour outcomes.[104] The Government of India's *National Policy on Child Labour – An Assessment* acknowledges the vital role of teachers, stating: "Teachers have a very important role in eliminating the social evil of child labour from the country." It also pushes for "awareness campaigns to be launched in the future", given that teachers are the "only source of direct interactions with parents/guardians throughout the country".[105]

Despite policy initiatives and legislative measures relating to free and compulsory primary education in India, the household survey reveals that 54 per cent of children (under 14 years of age) in the Musahar community are being deprived of their fundamental right to education, with 37 per cent never having been enrolled in school. Moreover, QuIP results highlight that lack of an Aadhaar card is a reason for children not being enrolled in school. This requires urgent policy attention. The Department of Education, Bihar should ensure that camps for Aadhaar cards are organized within government schools, especially those located in Scheduled Caste colonies.

Getting out-of-school children into school also requires a more responsive education system, including opportunities to rejoin school with adequate support and coaching. Furthermore, for those children who are in school but at risk of dropout, quality schooling that is responsive to their needs and aspirations is key. What is fundamental – and often forgotten – is the need to devise programmes and strategies that empower families to choose education over labour.

This study has noted the critical role that teachers play in increasing children's engagement in school, and their role should be leveraged to bring out-of-school children into the fold of formal education.

Implications

It is vital to leverage the active role played by the teacher, especially within the government school system, to create more awareness about education in the community, as well as about the negative repercussions of children undertaking work/labour. The study has noted the critical role that teachers are seen to play in increasing children's engagement in school and their role should be leveraged to bring out-of-school children within the fold of formal education.

The training of teachers is essential to identify and support children at risk of being 'pushed' or 'pulled' out of school. Both in-service and pre-service teacher training should focus on building capacities of teachers to fulfil this critical role and build their awareness about prevailing child protection schemes.

To address out-of-school children, including never enrolled children, teachers must work with the communities to ensure Musahar children and their parents are aware of the importance of education and provide support mechanisms for a smooth transition from 'home to school'.

A holistic campaign to nudge behaviour change (especially for the most marginalized and vulnerable communities) should be undertaken by the government, which can also focus on addressing unequal gender norms with respect to work.

Furthermore, the curriculum must also be gender-transformative, so schools are not only gender-responsive but also shift the prevailing gender norms which perpetuate patriarchal beliefs.

5.3 Invest in awareness-building interventions for children and caregivers, with a focus on gender norms

The authors operate from a universalist premise acknowledging child labour as a severe violation of children's rights, guided by the core principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which apply to all children.

Given the qualitative insights gained in this study, more awareness must be created in communities, among both parents and children, around the importance of education and the negative repercussions of child labour. Interventions that can improve both children's and parents' awareness of the relevance of education include, for instance, sensitization or coaching interventions engaging multiple members of the household.[106]

Crucially, such interventions need to counteract unequal gender norms affecting children's time use. Indeed, findings from this study are consistent with previous literature showing that societal expectations on the role of boys and girls influence child labour practices, at home as well as outside the home.[107] Men are trained to become breadwinners in the family, with women as family maintenance agents.[108]

It is critical to acknowledge that children's and their parents' choices towards education and work are situated in a context of the intergenerational poverty, gender norms and class power relations that condition them. Twum-Danso Imoh notes that disadvantaged families struggle for survival and income is generated through self-employment or family enterprise, jointly undertaken.[109] These lived experiences link "family and work ties, personal life, and economic activity" and Twum-Danso Imoh, quoting Zelizer, acknowledges "economic transactions and intimacy – which are crucial to understand the importance of child labour". Thus, in these circumstances for survival, reciprocity in the relationship between parents and children is reflected in their interdependency and their shared responsibilities to each other.

Implications

Targeted household-level social and behaviour change interventions should be implemented to sensitize caregivers and children about the importance of education and the hazards related to child labour.[110] Such initiatives should also focus on addressing unequal gender norms around work.

Overall, interventions increasing awareness of child rights must be accompanied by measures to reduce poverty, strengthen households' and children's access to services and reduce household vulnerability to shocks, as highlighted below.

5.4 Facilitate issuance of national identity cards (Aadhaar) for children in government schools

A critical finding from the causal maps is parents noting lack of an Aadhaar card, resulting in their children (under 14 years) not being enrolled in government schools. Moreover, QuIP results highlight lack of an Aadhaar card as a reason for children not being enrolled in school. This requires urgent policy attention.

The correlation between non-issuance of Aadhaar cards and depriving children of their right to education has been highlighted by Bhatia et al., who observe that Aadhaar enrolment is widely considered by the public to be mandatory and a precondition for school enrolment.[111] This is a fallacy, because the Government of India's 2018 Circular notes that no child should be denied admission to school or other facilities due to lack of Aadhaar. Under Regulation 12A of Aadhaar (Enrolment and Update) Regulations, 2016, schools are responsible for providing Aadhaar enrolments and biometric updates for students without Aadhaar cards.[112] This position was reiterated by the Supreme Court of India when making Aadhaar cards non-compulsory for school admissions.[113]

Implications

There is a need for government functionaries, including school administration, to facilitate Aadhaar issuance for children in Musahar communities and not deprive any children under 14 years of age of their right to education. The Department of Education, Bihar should ensure camps for Aadhaar cards are organized within government schools, especially those located with Schedule Caste colonies.

5.5 Expand social protection measures for Musahar households

The results of the household survey (of 309 households) reveal the adverse circumstances that members of the Musahar community endure. The average salary of the head of the Musahar household was noted to be $75 per month, and 42 per cent of households had an outstanding loan. Further, 35 per cent of households did not have ration cards, 57 per cent of children did not have a birth certificate and 53.5 per cent of households noted that their children (under 14 years) were not part of the school system, with 37 per cent of children never having been enrolled.

Implications

Given the circumstances experienced by members of the Musahar households, including children, it is of vital importance that these households be provided with safety nets in the form of social protection schemes. Together with the other recommended policy and programmatic actions, this will ensure that child labour is not used as a coping strategy to make ends meet, so that children from the most vulnerable households can realize their fundamental right to education without being deprived of opportunities.

5.6 Revisit the Child Labour Act, including strengthening its interpretation and application

Results from this study show that out-of-school children engage in long hours of work and that even once a child is in school, she/he typically spends a significant amount of time working. This contrasts with the right of children to protection and education.

As part of the National Policy on Child Labour,[114] a parliamentary committee, comprising members of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, engaged with DoSEL and the Ministry of Labour, among others. Asked how the Right to Education Act, 2009 and the child labour laws work in tandem and whether there was a need for legislative amendment, DoSEL stated:[115]

> The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009, provides for the rights of every child of the age of 6 to 14 years to obtain free and compulsory elementary education. The Act further provides the pathways for education of the child, including Out of School Children.
>
> The Child and Adolescent Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 provides that no child shall be employed or permitted to work in any occupation or process that has an effect on the school education of the child. The Act further provides the pathways for education and rehabilitation of the child so engaged as child labour. Thus, both the Acts strive to provide universal access of education to every child

The authors note that Section 3(2) allows a child to help her/his family or family enterprise (except any hazardous occupation or processes) after her/his school hours or during her/his vacation. Meanwhile, the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Rules, 2017 provide more details, including an express provision stating that children under 14 years working in the family enterprise "should not perform any task during school hours and between 7 p.m. and 8 a.m.". A clear reading reveals that the regulatory framework leaves enough room for ambiguity (after school hours and before 7 p.m., and after 8 a.m. but before school) to allow children under 14 years of age to combine schooling with work, which will undoubtedly affect children's educational trajectories. This is especially true for children belonging to the most marginalized groups, such as Musahars.

A majority of children engaged in family enterprises belong to disadvantaged groups, including Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes. By virtue of the provisions of the Child Labour Act, which allows for schooling and work, we deprive these children specifically of their human rights.[116]

Implications

It is critical for policymakers to draw upon the spirit of international child labour conventions, which view child labour as "work that is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children, and/or interferes with their schooling by: depriving them of the opportunity to attend school; obliging them to leave school prematurely; or requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work".[117] Laws and policies should be revised, particularly to capture work done within the family enterprise. This type of work, if conducted for long hours or under hazardous conditions, should be considered 'child labour'.

Attention should be given to adequately capturing the hazards children face, including within the family enterprise.

There is an urgent need to consider the implications of work in domestic chores done by children under 14 years of age. Time-use data gathered from parents corroborate the point that children out of school and girls often exceed the ILO-UNICEF threshold of 21 hours per week, which establishes child labour in domestic chores

5.7 Monitor child labour prevalence and patterns through child labour surveys

In terms of child labour monitoring, standardized definitions and measurement frameworks are needed to estimate child work and child labour, alongside school attendance data. Using national data sets (e.g., the Census of India, Periodic Labour Force Survey and National Sample Survey) to estimate child labour presents relevant challenges due to definitional inconsistencies and varying indicators.

Implications

As a first step, there is a need for standardized definitions and measurement frameworks to estimate children's engagement in work/labour as well as time-use data combined with school attendance data.

In addition, it may be prudent to identify hotspots of child work/labour and collect real-time data at the *panchayat* (village) level on a monthly basis through the Panchayat Child Protection Committee set up under the Integrated Child Protection Scheme.

Given the challenges of relying on data collected with respect to child labour across the national data sets (Census of India, Periodic Labour Force Survey, National Sample Survey), owing to definitional inconsistencies and use of proxy indicators to determine children's engagement in work and labour, there is an urgent need for a focused national survey capturing children's engagement in household chores and economic activities, including hours worked and the exposure to work-related hazards

5.8 Improve programme monitoring and evaluate programme impact

India has a wide array of innovative non-governmental organization and government initiatives which have demonstrated the value of multi-component strategies to address the vulnerabilities of adolescent children to work, labour and school dropout or poor schooling outcomes.[118] Yet learning from these initiatives remains a challenge. At present, many civil society organizations do not have robust information management systems, fully developed theories of change for ongoing programmes or validated tools to track change and the effectiveness of their interventions.

Implications

It is critical to develop robust programme monitoring systems and tools to be able to document best practices and conduct rigorous evaluation so that effective programmes can be scaled up and replicated based on documented evidence. Understanding the mechanisms of impact, and the specific role of education, remains an area where evidence is limited and thus needs to be expanded.

6. Conclusion

Child labour is a multidimensional problem which results from a multitude of factors – including social and economic inequity, poverty, norms, returns to work and education – that influence a family's decision to engage a child in work or labour. Education plays a critical part in fostering and enabling aspirations and opportunities, but it alone cannot resolve child labour when children are found to be combining schooling with work.

Instead, reducing child labour requires a multi-sectoral approach which leverages the role of the teachers while also covering other critical factors, including awareness of child rights (including the right to education), social and gender norms, and household poverty.

As SDG 8 requires elimination of all forms of child labour by 2025, convergence across government departments, researchers and civil society organizations is imperative. The time to act is now.

Endnotes

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2 International Labour Organization and United Nations Children's Fund, *Child Labour: Global estimates 2020, trends and the road forward*, ILO and UNICEF, Geneva and New York, 2021, <www.ilo.org/publications/major-publications/child-labour-global-estimates-2020-trends-and-road-forward>.

3 Santhya, K. G., et al., *Child Labour and Schooling in India: A reappraisal*, Population Council India and UNICEF Innocenti – Global Office of Research and Foresight, New Delhi and Florence, July 2024, <www.unicef.org/innocenti/reports/child-labour-and-schooling-india>.

4 All project outputs are available at: <www.unicef.org/innocenti/projects/ending-child-labour>.

5 The four *varna* (social class) hierarchical system has Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudras, with notions of purity and pollution governing the relationship between these classes. Dalits are excluded from the four *varnas* of the caste hierarchy and face the maximum stigmatization and exclusion (see Dumont, Louis, *Homo Hierarchicus: The caste system and its implications*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1980). The Musahars belong to the Mahadalit community, a particularly marginalized group within the Dalits.

6 The conceptual framework was adapted from Emezue, Chuka, et al., 'Child Work and Child Labour: The impact of educational policies and programmes in low- and middle-income countries', UNICEF Innocenti – Global Office of Research and Foresight, Florence, July 2023, <www.unicef.org/innocenti/media/3901/file/UNICEF-Child-Work-Chid-Labour-2023.pdf>.

7 Ibid.; Santhya, K. G., 'Educational Strategies that Can Reduce Child Labour in India: A literature review', Discussion paper, UNICEF Innocenti – Global Office of Research and Foresight, Florence, May 2024, <www.unicef.org/innocenti/media/8391/file/UNICEF-Innocenti-Education-Child-Labour-India-2024.pdf>; Dammert, Ana C., et al., 'Effects of Public Policy on Child Labor: Current knowledge, gaps, and implications for program design', *World Development*, vol. 110, 2018, pp. 104–123.

8 According to this definition, both economic activities within the household and economic activities outside the household can constitute child labour, if carried out under hazardous conditions. So, the definition used in this research is not confined to definitions provided in the Child Labour Act but aligns with the broader definition outlined by international conventions. Section 4.3 provides more details on definitions.

9 In contrast, the Economic Survey of India (2022–2023) estimates the national average per capita income at INR 14,218 per month (roughly $170 per month) (see Government of India, Department of Economic Affairs, *Economic Survey, 2022–2023*, Government of India, New Delhi, July 2024, <www.indiabudget.gov.in/budget2023-24/economicsurvey/index.php>).

10 Ration cards are an official document issued by state governments in India to households that are eligible to purchase subsidized food grain from the Public Distribution System under the National Food Security Act, 2013.

11 Jan Jagran Shakti Sangathan, *Where Are the Kids? The curious case of government schools in Bihar*, India, July 2023, <https://educationemergency.net/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/Where-Are-the-Kids_English_Final.pdf>.

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16 Justice K.S. Puttaswamy v. Union of India and Others, AIR 2018 SC (SUPP) 1841.

17 See, for instance, Jha, Jyotsna, 'Work and Schooling: Landscaping educational strategies to address child labour in India', Compendium paper, UNICEF Innocenti – Global Office of Research and Foresight, Florence, 2021.

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19 Santhya, 'Educational Strategies'.

20 Santhya et al., *Child Labour and Schooling*; Santhya, 'Educational Strategies'.

21 Emezue et al., 'Child Work and Child Labour'.

22 Vaishali was selected because it includes Musahar settlements and because various non-governmental organizations implemented activities to support schooling and eliminate child labour in the area.

23 The four *varna* (social class) hierarchical system has Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudras, with notions of purity and pollution governing the relationships between these classes. Dalits are excluded from the four *varnas* of the caste hierarchy and face the maximum stigmatization and exclusion (see Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus*). The Constitution of India lists Dalits as a Scheduled Caste group and per the 2011 Census, Scheduled Castes constitute 24.4 per cent of India's total population.

24 *Musa* means 'rat' in Hindi, and *Musahar* means 'rat-eater'. Kunnath notes that upper caste Hindus refer to lower castes negatively, in accordance with Brahmanical ideas of purity, and the Musahar community is seen as impure due to their dietary practices (see Kunnath, George, 'Compliance or Defiance? The case of Dalits and Mahadalits', *Journal of Anthropological Society of Oxford*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2013, pp. 36–59). The Musahar community accepts this name, even though it was originally intended to be a derogatory term. The Musahars belong to the Mahadalit community.

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32 Kunnath, 'Compliance or Defiance?'.

33 ASER, Annual Status of Education Report (Rural) 2022, Provisional, 18 January 2023, ASER, New Delhi, 2023, <https://asercentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/aserreport2022-1.pdf>.

34 The UDISE 2022–23 data have not been released yet.

35 UDISE (2022–2023) raw data were obtained from the AN Sinha Institute of Social Studies to examine the education situation in Vaishali district.

36 *Buniyadi* schools are a type of basic education school primarily aimed at providing foundational education to underprivileged children.

37 These schools are run by the central government and are primarily for the children of transferable central government employees.

38 These schools are also central government-run and provide education to talented rural children from Grade 6 to Grade 7.

39 *Madrasa* boards are educational boards that offer Islamic education to students.

40 *Where Are the Kids?*

41 A collaborative action research project – the Assessing Rural Transformations (ART) project – led to the design and testing of a flexible and cost-effective alternative to complement randomized control trials, which resulted in the development of QuIP. See Copestake, James, Marlies Morsink and Fiona Remnant, *Attributing Development Impact: The Qualitative Impact Protocol case book*, Practical Action Publishing, Rugby, 2019, <https://researchportal.bath.ac.uk/files/212210067/9781780447469.pdf>.

42 Emezue et al., 'Child Work and Child Labour'.

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44 Bronfenbrenner, Urie, *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by nature and design*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1979.

45 Convention No. 138, Article 2(3) states that the general minimum age for work shall be no lower than the end of compulsory education, i.e., 15 years of age (Article 2); however, it may be lowered to 14 years in cases where the ratifying country's economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed. Article 3(1) and (2) provide a higher minimum age threshold of 18 years for "hazardous work" (Article 3). Hazardous work is defined as "work which, by its nature or circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to jeopardise the health, safety or morals of children" (Article 3(1) of Convention No. 138 and Article 3(d) of Convention No. 182). See International Labour Organization, *ILO Convention No. 138 at a Glance*, ILO, Geneva, June 2018, <https://normlex.ilo.org/dyn/nrmlx_en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C138>.

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47 "Light work" refers to work that is not harmful to the child and does not interfere with her/his education or ability to benefit from education. Under Article 7(4) of Convention No. 138, light work can be permitted for children as young as 12–13 years of age, as an exception to the general minimum age.

48 Article 4(1) of Convention No. 182 states: "The types of work referred to under Article 3(d) [i.e., hazardous work] shall be determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned." Article 3(2) and Article 7 of Convention No. 138 provide flexibility to countries to determine what constitutes hazardous and light work under national laws.

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50 Government of India, Hazardous Work List: India, 2016, <https://labour.gov.in/childlabour/legislative-provisions>.

51 Ganotra, Komal, 'Flawed Child Labour Law Amendment', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 51, no. 35, 2016, pp. 19–21; Goswami, Padmaja, 'The Child Labor (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Act 2016 and the Right to Education for Girls: Tensions and contradictions', *International Journal of Advance Study and Research Work*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2018, pp. 28–38.

52 Goswami, 'The Child Labor (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Act 2016'.

53 Jha, 'Work and Schooling'

54 *Report III: Child labour statistics – 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians.*

55 This working definition draws from the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999.

56 See Bath Social & Development Research, 'About QuIP', Bath SDR, Bath, 2025, <https://bathsdr.org/about-the-quip> accessed 13 May 2025; see also Copestake, et al., *Attributing Development Impact.*

57 'Impact evaluation' refers to this process of collecting, interpreting and using evidence on the ultimate effects of a specified activity, project or intervention. See White, Howard, 'A Contribution to Current Debates in Impact Evaluation', *Evaluation*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2010, pp. 153–164. QuIP is more robust than other qualitative evaluation research. It ensures impartiality and reliability of evaluation findings and confronts questions of bias in qualitative research through an unusual strategy that consists of 'blindfolding' field researchers and interviewees by restricting their knowledge of the programmes or interventions that are being evaluated, and separating the roles of those responsible for data analysis and data collection. Contribution analysis is an approach for assessing causal questions and inferring causality in real-life programme evaluations.

58 The Causal Map application generates causal maps, which illustrate where the sample have made a causal connection between factors and how many times that was made by different respondents. Refer to: <www.causalmap.app>.

59 Specifically, the research study answers the key research question: "What is the role of schooling and school-related factors as drivers of change for child labour outcomes?"

60 A t-test is an inferential statistic used to determine if there is a significant difference between the means of two groups and how they are related.

61 While QuIP was meant to cover a sample of 40 respondents (20 children and their respective caregivers), a total of 52 respondents (26 children and their respective parents) were covered.

62 Focus group discussion protocols were developed for carrying out the focus groups with children.

63 An additional investigator was trained by the Young Lives India team to ensure a substitute was available if needed.

64 For further details on the data collection, please refer to the field report by Young Lives India, dated 15 March 2024 (available upon request).

65 For a detailed explanation of plain coding, refer to: <https://guide.causalmap.app/plain-coding>.

66 For detailed explanations of top factors and links filters, refer to: <https://guide.causalmap.app/transforms-filters-top-factors-and-links/>.

67 This restricts the count mentions of factors to those linked to the factors searched for in the filter. There must be a thread connecting all factors in the map to the searched-for factor, which means that in some maps, the factor count in the box will be smaller than the overall count without a thread filter. This avoids inflating numbers attributed to certain factors when presenting a filtered view. For detailed explanations of tracing filters, refer to: <https://guide.causalmap.app/transforms-filters-tracing-paths/>.

68 For detailed explanations of the hierarchical coding and zoom filters, refer to: <https://guide.causalmap.app/hierarchical-coding/> and <https://guide.causalmap.app/transforms-filters-zoom/>, respectively.

69 Refer to: <https://guide.causalmap.app/transforms-filters-focus-or-exclude-factors/>.

70 This additional analysis was conducted using Stata 18.

71 Copestake et al. note that "QuIP is primarily a 'mechanism miner' best used as part of a mixed evaluation strategy" and can contribute to understanding context and outcomes (Copestake et al., *Attributing Development Impact*). This reinforces the argument for using QuIP to complement quantitative monitoring of the frequency and magnitude of change in selected activities, outcomes and contextual factors over time.

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73 Bath Social & Development Research, *Discussion Paper: Using QuIP with children and young people*, Bath SDR, Bath, 2022, <https://bathsdr.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/Using-QuIP-with-children-and-young-people.pdf>.

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75 These include employing blindfolding when setting up interviews to enhance the credibility of the data collected, which leads to reduced confirmation bias and increased cost-effectiveness.

76 For more detailed discussion, refer to the field report prepared by Young Lives India, dated 15 March 2024 (available upon request).

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78 *Child Labour: Global estimates 2020, trends and the road forward*.

79 Refer to Parent QuIP Questionnaire B32 – "Are there any specific programmes/interventions which you believe have positively impacted children's schooling within your community?"

80 Refer to Parent QuIP Questionnaire B35 – "Are there any specific programmes/interventions which you believe have contributed to reducing child labour within your community?"

81 Santhya et al., *Child Labour and Schooling*.

82 Woodhead, *Children's Perspectives on Their Working Lives*; Kabeer et al., *Child Labour and the Right to Education in South Asia*; Punch, 'Youth Transitions and Interdependent Adult–Child Relations'; Punch, 'Childhoods in the Majority World'; Khan and Lyon, *Measuring Children's Work*; Kim et al., 'A Bayesian Estimation'.

83 Lichand, Guilherme, and Sharon Wolf, *Measuring Child Labor: The who's, the where's, the when's, and the why's*, 2023, available at SSRN, <https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4125068>.

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85 There was a slight variation from parents, who noted out-of-school children spending an average of 3.3 hours per day on domestic chores, with 2.2 hours being spent by in-school children.

86 There was a slight variation from parents, who noted out-of-school children spending an average of 2.3 hours per day on economic activities for pay outside the household, with 0.3 hours being spent by in-school children.

87 Children's and their parents' time-use data on economic work in the family enterprise was consistent.

88 According to parents, girls spent an average of 4 hours per day on domestic chores, while boys spent 1.5 hours. In contrast, children's time-use data shows that girls spent an average of 3.8 hours per day on domestic chores, while boys spent 1.2 hours.

89 According to parents, boys spent an average of 0.9 hours per day on economic work in the family enterprise, while girls spent 0.4 hours. In contrast, children's time-use data shows boys spent an average of 0.9 hours per day on domestic chores, compared with 0.3 hours being spent by girls.

90 *Child Labour: Global estimates 2020, trends and the road forward*.

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95 Santhya, 'Educational Strategies'.

96 Jha, 'Work and Schooling'.

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106 See, for instance, Karimli et al. 'Integrating Economic Strengthening'.

107 See Abdullah, Alhassan, et al., 'Social Norms and Family Child Labor: A systematic literature review', *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, vol. 19, no. 7, 2022, 4082; Delap, Emily, 'Economic and Cultural Forces in the Child Labour Debate: Evidence from urban Bangladesh', *Journal of Development Studies*, vol. 37, no. 4, 2001, pp. 1–22.

108 Busquet, Milande, Niels Bosma and Harry Hummels, 'A Multidimensional Perspective on Child Labor in the Value Chain: The case of the cocoa value chain in West Africa', *World Development*, 146, 2021, 105601; Deshpande, Ashwini, and Naila Kabeer, 'Norms that Matter: Exploring the distribution of women's work between income generation, expenditure-saving and unpaid domestic responsibilities in India', *World Development*, 174, 2024, 106435.

109 Twum-Danso Imoh, Afua, 'Framing Reciprocal Obligations within Intergenerational Relations in Ghana through the Lens of the Mutuality of Duty and Dependence', *Childhood*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2022, pp. 439–454.

110 See, for instance, Karimli et al., 'Integrating Economic Strengthening'.

111 Bhatia et al.,'"Without an Aadhaar Card Nothing Could Be Done"'

112 Government of India, Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology and Unique Identification Authority of India, *No Denial of Admission in Schools for Want of Aadhaar and Organizing Special Aadhaar Enrollment/ Update Camps at Schools*, Circular F. No. 4(4)/57/146/2012/E&U, 2018 <https://uidai.gov.in/images/resource/Circular-School-06092018.pdf>.

113 Justice K. S. Puttaswamy v. Union of India and Others, AIR 2018 SC (SUPP) 1841.

114 Government of India, *National Policy on Child Labour*.

115 Ibid., p. 69.

116 See, for instance, Jha, 'Work and Schooling'.

117 *Report III: Child labour statistics – 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians.*

118 Santhya, 'Educational Strategies'.

119 The household head in Tola Survey is defined as the individual with the highest authority within the household who provides financial support and makes important decisions regarding the household. In Tola Survey, the household heads were mostly found to be a male member of the household.

120 'Kaccha house' is a term often used in India to refer to a house made of temporary or traditional materials, typically found in rural or underdeveloped areas. *Kaccha* means 'raw' or 'unfinished' in Hindi. These houses are usually constructed from materials like mud, bamboo, thatch or other locally available materials.

121 'Semi-pucca houses' in India refer to dwellings that are partially constructed with permanent materials (like bricks, concrete or stone) and partially with temporary or less durable materials (like mud, thatch or bamboo). These houses are not entirely made of permanent materials like traditional pucca houses, nor are they entirely temporary like kutcha houses.

122 'Pucca houses' in India refer to permanent, solidly built structures typically made of bricks, concrete or stone.

123 A ration card is a government-issued document that enables households to purchase food grains at subsidized rates through the Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS) in accordance with the National Food Security Act (NFSA) of 2013. The Antyodaya ration card is specifically designated for households classified as the 'poorest of the poor' economically. The Below Poverty Line (BPL) ration card is intended for households living below the poverty line, and the Above Poverty Line (APL) ration card is issued to households living above the poverty line.

124 The most common answer is *'mazdoori karke'* (by doing labour).

Annexes

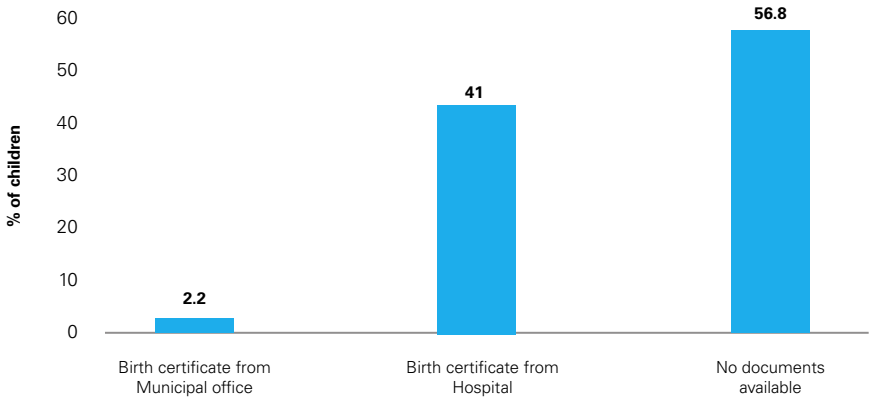
Annex A: Detailed findings from the household survey

Demographic characteristics

The gender distribution among 309 children in the study was nearly equal, with 49.5 per cent boys and 51.5 per cent girls. Age-wise analysis reveals that among the oldest children in the age group 6-below 14 years, 6.4 per cent were 6 years old, while the proportions for 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 years old were 10%, 9.3%, 5.6%, 19.5%, 9%, 19%, and 20.1%, respectively.

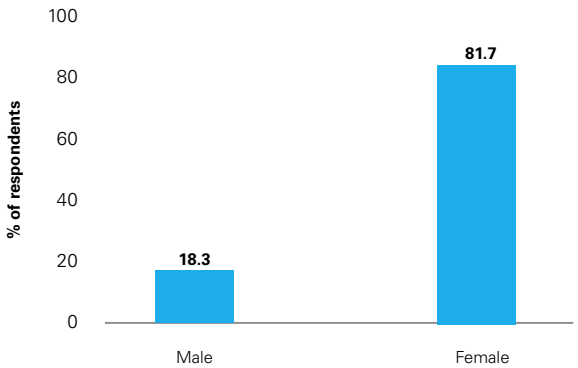
While the survey team gathered information regarding date of birth of each child aged between 6-below 14 years old, verifications of date of birth of children were only possible for 43.2 per cent of the children due to the non-availability of birth documents. Amongst those with certificates, 41 per cent of the children had a certificate issued by certificates a hospital whereas rest 2.2 per cent obtained the same from the municipality office (See Figure A1).

Figure A1: Documents Related to Birth Certificates



It is also important to note here that as the focussed children's age was below 14 years old, the data from Household Survey was obtained from the adult members of households, i.e., parent/ caregiver of the children, available at the time of the survey. Findings reveal that approximately 81.7 per cent of the respondents were women and only 18.3 per cent were male. On an average, the eligible families had resided in their respective tolas for 33 years (See Figure A2).

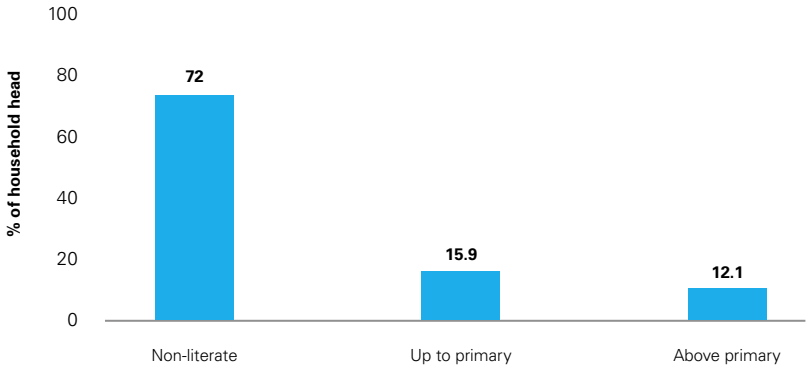
Figure A2: Gender distribution of the respondents



Characteristics of the household head

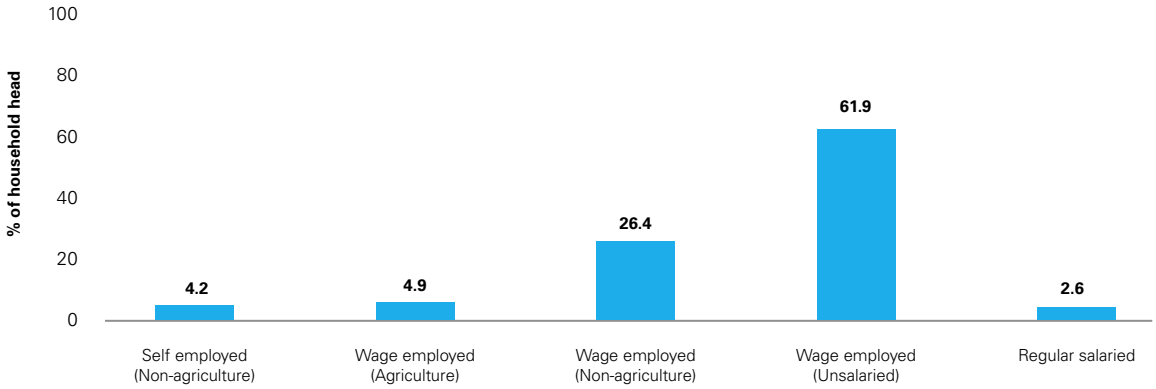
The mean age of the household heads[119] was found to be 36.1 years. Among them, approximately 72 per cent were not literate, around 16 per cent had attained education up to the primary level, and only 12 per cent had educational qualifications above primary (See Figure A3).

Figure A3: Educational Qualification of the Head of the Households



Approximately 98 per cent of household heads were engaged in some economic activities. Analysis of their economic engagement histories over the last 365 days reveals that around 62 per cent of the household heads were engaged in some form of unsalaried wage employment, followed by 26.4 per cent in non-agricultural wage employment, 4.9 per cent in agricultural wage employment and 4.2 per cent in self-employment in non-agricultural sector. Only 2.6 per cent of the household head held regular salaried positions (See Figure A4). The average salary weas found to be INR 6,260 per month.

Figure A4: Occupational status of the head of the Musahar households in the last 365 days

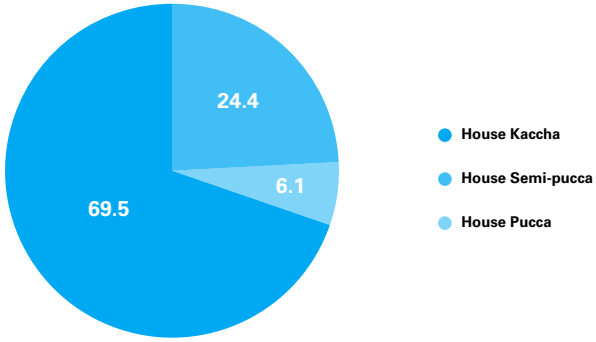


Household characteristics

The economic condition of the Musahar households in the sample can be seen from the analysis of land ownership data Only 10 per cent of the selected Musahar households were found to own any land.

Furthermore, the majority of the households observed in the selected tolas were found to be kaccha[120] (69.5%), followed by semi-pucca[121] houses (24.4%). Only 6.1 per cent of the households in the selected tolas were found to be pucca[122] houses (See Figure A5).

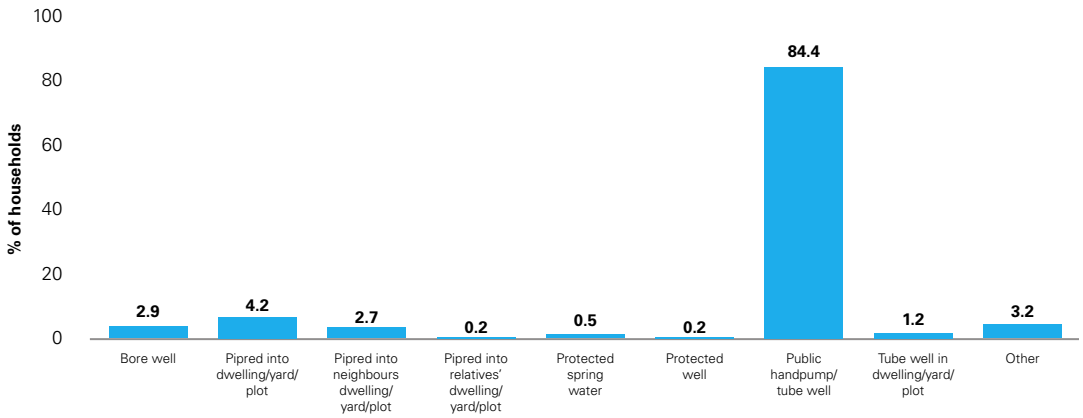
Figure A5: Type of the house in the study area



Findings further reveal that 28.3 per cent of the Musahar households did not have access to electricity.

Most Musahar households (84.4%) were obtaining drinking water from public handpumps or public tube wells whereas only 6.2 per cent of the households had access to piped water and tube well directly in their dwelling/ yard. The remaining households had access to drinking water from other sources, such as, neighbour's plot, spring water or well (See Figure A6).

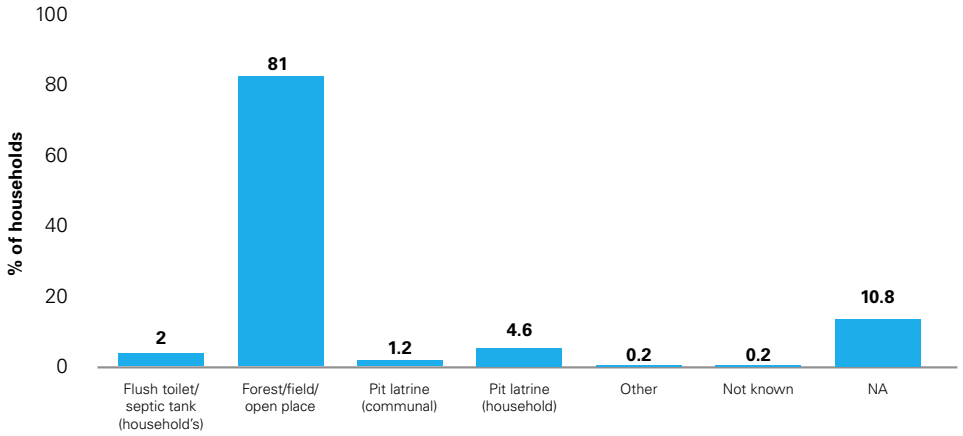
Figure A6: Source of drinking water



More than four out of five households (81%) in Musahar tolas lacked toilet facilities. Interviews reveal that open defecation in forests, fields, or open areas were common practice among the Musahar communities. Only 7.8 per cent of the households reported having toilet facilities (flush toilet/septic

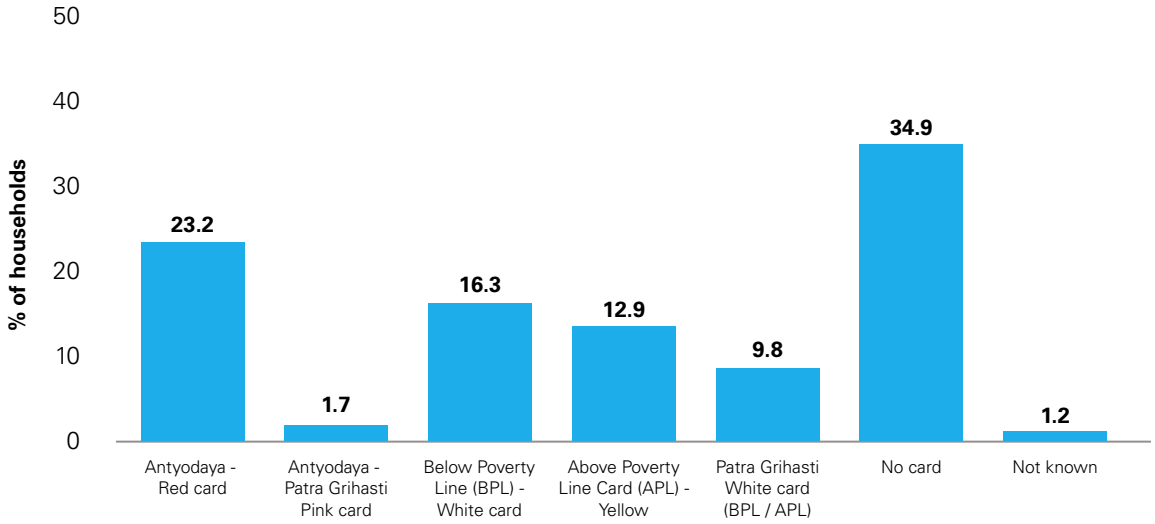
tank/pit latrine) among which 1.2 per cent were found to be communal pit latrines. The remaining 11.1 per cent of the households (which includes responses like other, not known and NA) also suggests open defecation though was not directly captured from their responses (See figure A7).

Figure A7: Type of toilet facilities



Around 35 per cent of the Musahar households did not have any ration cards[123] at the time of survey, while 23.3 per cent reported of having Antyodaya cards, followed by 16.3 per cent households with Below Poverty Line (BPL) cards. It is important to mention here that both Antyodaya and BPL cards are given to the poorest households and 35 per cent of the households despite being poor did not have access to any such cards (See Figure A8).

Figure A8: Type of ration card



Furthermore, only 29 per cent of households reported receiving benefits from any government programs in the past year.

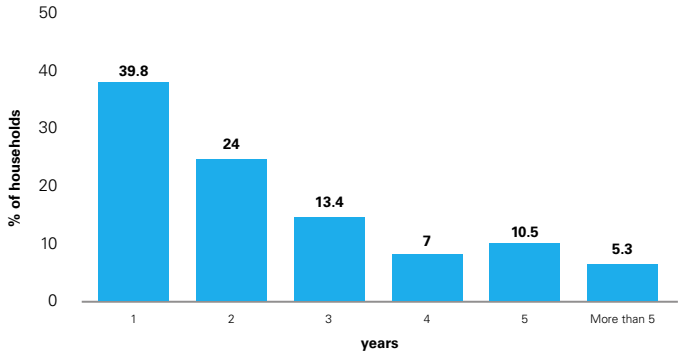
Findings further reveal that around 33 per cent of the households had at least one member engaged with a Self-Help Group (SHG).

Loan burden

Approximately 42 per cent of respondents reported that at least one member of the household had an outstanding loan or debt owed to a third party. Among those who have taken loans, approximately 92 per cent of respondents had taken it in their names. The other members of the households who took loans were grandparents, parents, and siblings.

Around 40 per cent of the loans were found to be recent, i.e., outstanding for one-year, followed by 24 per cent households with 2-years outstanding loans. Only 5.3 per cent of the households reported to have outstanding loans for more than 5 years (See Figure A9).

Figure A9: Years of outstanding loan



Approximately 13.5 per cent of loan recipients reported that they were repaying their loans by working for the lender, while 9.9 per cent were doing so by taking another loan to repay it. But more than one out of three (34.5%) loan-takers had not repaid their loans yet. Additionally, 81.9 per cent of respondents selected other ways to repay their loans, with the most common response being 'mazdoori karke', i.e., repaying loan by working as labour.

Table A1: Different ways to pay off the household member's loan

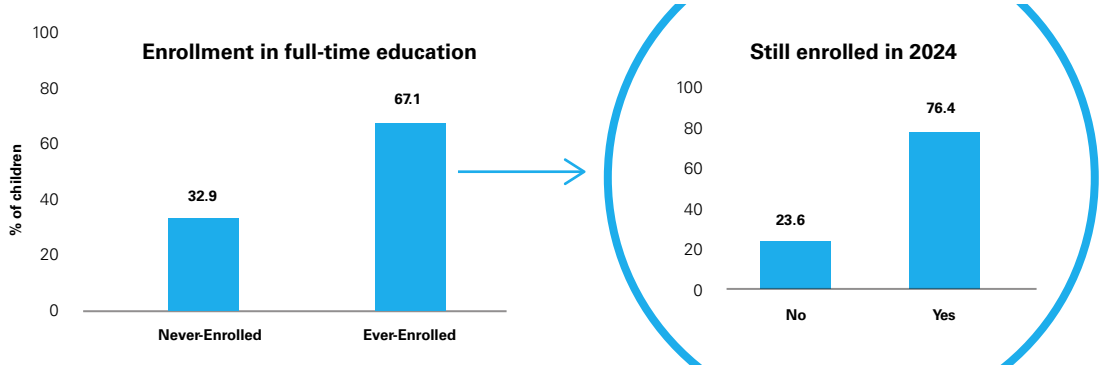
MODE OF PAYING OFF THE LOAN	YES	NO
By working for the lender	13.5%	86.5%
By taking another loan to pay back	9.9%	90.1%
Not repaid	34.5%	65.5%
Any other[124]	81.9 %	18.1%

Child education

As mentioned before, after gathering information at the household level, the survey team also asked questions regarding education and occupation related to the oldest child in the age-group 6-below14 years in each household.

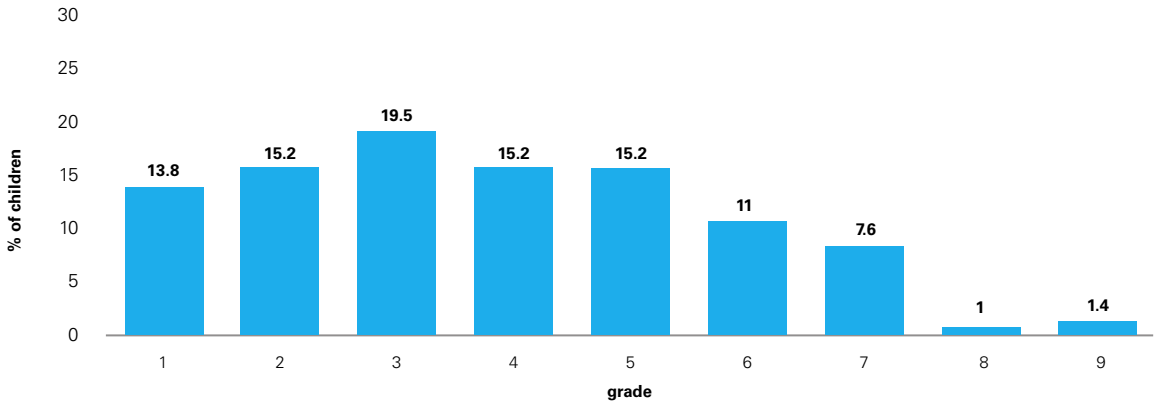
Approximately 67 per cent of the children (in the age-group 6-below 14 years) were found to have been enrolled in full-time education compared to a third of the sample (33 per cent) who had never been enrolled. Among those who were found to be ever-enrolled, 23.6 per cent had already dropped-out at the time of survey (See Figure A10) which indicates almost half of the children in the said age-group were out-of-school (48.9 per cent).

Figure A10: Enrolment status of children aged 6-below 14 years



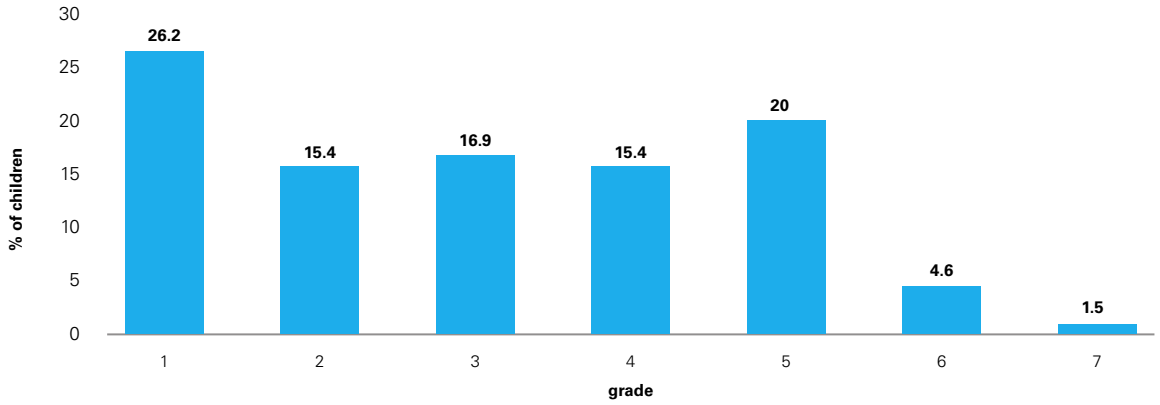
Findings further reveal that amongst those who were still enrolled, 13.8 per cent of the children were enrolled in grade 1 while approximately 15 per cent were enrolled in grades 2, 4, and 5 and 19.5 per cent in Grade 3 A marked decline in enrolment is seen in upper primary grades with 11%, 7.6%, 1%, and 1.4%, enrolled in grades 6, 7, 8, and 9 (See Figure A11).

Figure A11: Grade in which children were enrolled at the time of survey



Among those who had dropped-out from education, more than one in every five children i.e. 26.2 per cent had discontinued education after grade 1 itself. It is disheartening to note that 93.9 per cent of the children who were currently not enrolled had dropped out before reaching grade 8 (See Figure A12).

Figure A12: Highest grade completed by the children before dropping out



The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on children's education was observed in the study, with dropout rates increasing from 9 per cent in 2020 to 15.4 per cent in 2021 and reaching a peak of 40 per cent in 2022.

Annex B: Analysis of school and classroom observations

School observations

School characteristics

There was a difference in timings of the two Schools despite the fact that both are middle schools in nature and operational in the same district of Bihar. While both Schools started at 9 am in the morning, UMS School 1 ended at 3.30 pm and UMS School 2 ended at 5 pm.

The official numbers of sanctioned posts for permanent teachers are eight and nine in UMS School 1 and UMS School 2 respectively (See Table B1). However, the number of teachers appointed was only six in UMS School 1 due to the non-appointment of teaching staff after the retirement of a few teachers. Additionally, one teacher was on study leave and remained absent in UMS School 1 during the observation period. On the other hand, all posts were filled in UMS School 2.

Table B1: Sanctioned posts of teachers

MODE OF PAYING OFF THE LOAN	UMS SCHOOL 1		UMS SCHOOL 2	
	N	%	N	%
Gender				
Male	2	25.0	5	55.6
Female	6	75.0	4	44.4
Caste				
SC	1	12.5	4	44.4
OBC	3	37.5	1	11.1
EBC	2	25.0	3	33.3
Unreserved	2	25.0	1	11.1
TOTAL	**8**	**100**	**9**	**100**

Multigrade teaching was observed across both Schools due to the fact that all classrooms were not in functional conditions. In UMS School 1, only five rooms were found to be in good condition out of the existing nine rooms. While one room was found to be dedicated for administrative work as well as staff cum storage room, remaining four rooms were used for classroom teaching. Therefore, two grades were assigned to each classroom. It is also important to note here that this arrangement was made to cope with both the shortage of functional classrooms as well as lack of teachers. The unused four rooms are characterised by poor conditions which need major renovations and had severe seepages and falling roof.

Similar observations were made in UMS School 2 where only four classrooms are found for use. Hence, two classes were conducted together which made it difficult for the teachers to follow the daily schedule for each grade. The HM of UMS School 2 also informed the team that subject teachers were not available in sufficient numbers according to the strength of each grade of the school.

Another important observation made by survey team was that there was no shiksha sevaks or tola sevaks found in these two Schools whereas *shiksha/tola sevaks* are supposed to play a vital role in community engagement in Bihar's education landscape by bringing education to the doorsteps of those who need it the most, particularly in rural Bihar. On the School Principals explained *'there were 5 Shiksha Sewaksfrom 2008-2023. They are no longer available since government records show that all children in the age group 6-14 are already enrolled.'*

The medium of instruction in both these Schools were found to be Hindi and *Bajjika*. Whereas Hindi is the most common language spoken in northern India including the state of Bihar, *Bajjika* is mostly spoken in the northeastern part of Bihar. *Bajjika* shares common vocabulary with other languages like *Maithili*, *Magahi*, and *Angika*. It also has words borrowed from Hindi and Sanskrit. It is needless to say that students in these two Schools were also found to speak in these two languages only.

Enrolment

In the academic year 2023-2024, 308 and 248 children were found to be enrolled in UMS School 1 and UMS School 2 respectively. The profile of these students is given in Table 2. As mentioned before, both the Schools are co-educational in nature. However, more girls were enrolled (58.1%) in UMS School 2 whereas more boys were found in UMS School 1 (52.9%). In addition, UMS School 2 has a large majority of children belonging to Extremely Backward Class (EBC) and Scheduled Caste (SC) community, i.e., 53.2 per cent and 43.5 per cent respectively. On the other hand, UMS School 1 is mostly characterised by students from Other Backward Class (OBC) community (49.4%), followed by SC community (26.9%).

Table B2: Students' profile, 2023-2024

STUDENTS PROFILE	UMS SCHOOL 1		UMS SCHOOL 2	
	N	%	N	%
Gender				
Male	163	52.9	104	41.9
Female	145	47.1	144	58.1
Caste				
SC	83	26.9	108	43.5
OBC	152	49.4	2	0.8
EBC	43	14.0	132	53.2
Unreserved	30	9.7	6	2.4

It is also important to mention that as per the HMs of these Schools, 25 per cent and 60 per cent of all children in UMS School 1 and UMS School 2, respectively were first-generation learners. Thus, UMS School 2 had many more children belonging to SC and EBC caste, majority of who were first generation learners.

The HM of UMS School 1 mentioned that *'only 10 per cent of the Musahar children reached grade 8, the percentage reaching grade 10 is less than 1%'.*

Attendance

During three consecutive observation days in both the Schools, the number of students present in each grade was recorded by means of headcount to determine the attendance rates by grade. The findings indicate that attendance rates varied considerably for each grade in both Schools and also fluctuated across the observation days. Attendance was found to be lowest for most grades in Day 1 of the observation which was increased in Day 3 or last day of the observation. On Day 3, the lowest attendance (close to 50%) was observed in Grade 3 and Grade 4 in UMS School 1 and Grade 4 and 5 of UMS School 2, (with half the students absent) respectively whereas maximum attendance rate was observed among students from Grade 1 in both the Schools (See Table B3 for details), though it is important to note that the number of students enrolled in Grade 1 in School 2 were only 9. The HM of School 2 lamented *'The School is literally located in the "Aangan" (meaning back yard) of the habitation, but the children run far away from education'.*

Table B3: Headcount details of the students in UMS School 1 and UMS School 2

UMS SCHOOL 1							
GRADE	TOTAL ENROLMENT	DAY 1		DAY 2		DAY 3	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Grade 1	22	15	68.2	15	68.2	18	81.8
Grade 2	21	18	85.7	16	76.2	16	76.2
Grade 3	41	27	65.9	30	73.2	22	53.7
Grade 4	46	26	56.5	29	63.0	25	54.3
Grade 5	34	23	67.6	24	70.6	23	67.6
Grade 6	56	36	64.3	37	66.1	37	66.1
Grade 7	50	34	68.0	33	66.0	33	66.0
Grade 8	51	37	72.5	38	74.5	37	72.5

UMS SCHOOL 2							
GRADE	TOTAL ENROLMENT	DAY 1		DAY 2		DAY 3	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Grade 1	9	8	88.9	6	66.7	7	77.8
Grade 2	20	10	50.0	10	50.0	13	65.0
Grade 3	27	12	44.4	14	51.9	18	66.7
Grade 4	36	16	44.4	16	44.4	18	50.0
Grade 5	29	14	48.3	13	48.3	16	48.3
Grade 6	34	17	50.0	16	47.1	23	67.6
Grade 7	39	18	46.2	24	61.5	25	64.1
Grade 8	41	28	68.3	27	65.9	30	73.2

HMs of these Schools revealed that the attendance rates fluctuated throughout the year and is never constant. The irregularity in attendance depended on the months of the year with poorest attendance rates are March, April, November and December in case of UMS School 1 whereas UMS School 2 witnessed poor attendance in the months of February, March, April, October and November. The reasons behind this seasonal absenteeism as explained by the HMs is given in Table B4 with seasonal work during harvesting as well as natural events such as flooding being the main reasons.

Table B4: Reasons for absenteeism from schools in certain months

UMS SCHOOL 1	UMS SCHOOL 2
1. Seasonal engagement in work for remuneration outside the home 2. Seasonal engagement in work within family enterprise (farm / harvesting etc.) 3. Natural disasters / climate change	1. Seasonal engagement in work within family enterprise (farm / harvesting etc.) 2. Other (Paddy and Potato harvesting)

It is also important to mention here that seasonal absenteeism had no gender dimension in UMS School 1, but more boys took more leave of absence in UMS School 2.

The HM of UMS School 1 explained '*the attendance of Musahar community students is relatively low. Musahar students don't come regularly to school. They prefer to play and have no attachment to education. Sometimes they go to petty work for incentives. For this, they get some money and spend it at their will. From the age of six years Musahar children are engaged in tobacco farming*'

The HM of UMS School 2 also added that *'the reasons for less attendance of Musahar children lies in the fact that they are engaged in (i) work, (ii) no link with education and are (iii) socially non-progressive because of not being mainstreamed.*

Both HMs revealed that caste-wise absenteeism during certain months was found to be highest amongst SC and EBC children, though no fluctuation in attendance was noticed amongst OBC children.

Classroom transactions in both Schools largely followed teacher directed pedagogy with little or no initiative shown by students in terms of asking questions or clearing their doubts. 'Chalk and talk' was the principle followed by all the teachers and lessons were textbook driven. The few Musahar children present in classrooms remained quiet and submissive and no special attention was given to draw them out.

Parents-Teacher Meeting (PTM)

Both these Schools had regular PTM as per the HMs of both the sample Schools. However, very few Musahar parents attended the PTM in both Schools. Some of the reasons for this that were given were engagement in work which did not allow them to come for the PTM, burden of taking care of family members as well as being non-literate.

Comparison with low fee charging private schools

Many low fee charging private schools (LFPS) existed within the radius of 5 kms from these two Schools. In fact, seven and five such schools exist within the radius of 5 kms of UMS School 1 and UMS School 2 respectively. HMs from both the Schools agreed that there was a difference in profile of the students who attended private schools compared to government schools with a clear gender divide in favour of families spending money on boys in order to enrol them in private schools, while girls were enrolled in government schools.

Thus, LFPS students come from relatively wealthier households compared to those attending schools in UMS School 1 and UMS School 2. Moreover, LFPS schools were increasingly being preferred by those who could afford the fees due to these schools being English medium, indicating a preference for English-language education among parents. Additionally, Enrolment in LFPS is associated with an increase in social status, suggesting that parents view LFPS attendance as a status symbol or a means of social mobility.

One of the teachers in UMS School 1, explained that she had admitted her child to a LFPS, since it was English medium. However, she complained that *'my child is excluded and feels ostracised because of caste discrimination (SC), despite the fee I have to shell out.'*

School infrastructure observation

As mentioned before, there are eight and nine rooms in UMS School 1 and UMS School 2 respectively and both these Schools followed multi-grade teaching due to the poor conditions of half of the existing rooms as well as paucity of teachers.

In fact, in both these Schools, no separate room was assigned for headmaster or other teachers. There were no dedicated spaces for staff room, assembly, storing teaching materials, playground, kitchen, or dining area for MDM.

A small space was allocated to keep books under the banner of school library.

Libraries in both Schools mostly consisted of books related to general knowledge, stories, subject-specific books as well as dictionaries. Books were mostly available in Hindi language. However, a few books written in English were also found in the library of UMS School 1. It is interesting to note here that school library was found to be used in UMS School 1 whereas the library was mostly found to be unused in UMS School 2.

At the time of observations, both UMS School 1 and UMS School 2 had functional play materials, sports kits, and school bells. In addition, UMS School 1 also had functional first-aid kit and art-materials. However, no telephone, computers, projectors etc were found in both Schools.

Both Schools had electricity connection as well as drinking water supply. The drinking water supply was mostly coming through taps or pumps. During the observation days, the drinking water was found to be available from the said sources.

Another important observation related to these two Schools were that both Schools lacked infrastructure facility to deal with the monsoon/floods as well as heat and cold waves in Bihar. Last but not the least, UMS School 2 had a secure school compound wall which UMS School 2 lacked completely thereby compromising safety as well as attendance of children, since children were seen to leave the school after MDM was over.

In summary, the infrastructure facility of the UMS School 1 building was found very poor. The school did not have any boundary wall and had an adjacent pond in which there was an incidence of drowning of a student. The pond has been one of the major predicaments in running the schools. The students did not get a place to play. Similarly, teachers did not get enough space for performing group activities. It was also learned that the conditions would get further aggravated during the rainy season with the increase of water level causing soil erosion, making the area muddy and entry of snakes inside the classroom.

UMS School 2, on the other hand, had limited open space, which was not sufficient even for the morning prayers, according to the strength of the enrolled students. A tiny space was used for indoor games for the students. In addition. the space surrounding the hand pump was also not found to be clean.

Sanitation facilities

In both Schools, toilets were present within the school premises and there were separate toilets for boys and girls. Majority of the boys and girls were found to use school toilets in both UMS School 1 and UMS School 2. However, soap for handwashing was only found in UMS School 2. There was no exclusion observed in terms of usage of toilets by Musahar children.

However, there was considerable differences found in the conditions of the toilets across two Schools. Firstly, UMS school 1 did not have separate toilet for the staff members, whereas UMS school 2 had one. In addition, there was no privacy in any of the toilets in UMS School 1. On the other hand, UMS School 2 not only had privacy across all the toilets but also had better cleanliness. All the toilets in UMS School 1, on the other hand, were found to remain dirty, despite cleaners being assigned for the schools.

To summarize for UMS School 1, boys' and girls' toilets were built adjacent to each other due to lack of availability of space. Toilets were found in an unhygienic condition, without availability of soap for handwashing.

School environment & safety

The survey team noticed that not all students were wearing school uniforms during three observation days and specific groups of children were found to be not complying with school uniform policy in UMS School 1. Those children mostly belonged to SC, EBC and OBC communities.

Few unsafe places were also observed in UMS School 1, such as, broken floor, open gutter, very close proximity to a huge pond. In fact, a snake entering into the classroom was also observed during one of the observation days. On the other hand, space surrounding the handpump in UMS School 2 was found to be very slippery and therefore dangerous.

Time spent in class, punctuality, and school organisation

Whereas school infrastructure was found much better in School 2, the punctuality of teachers was found better in UMS School 1 compared to UMS School 2. School HM as well as majority of the schoolteachers arrived on time in the morning as well as they left at the end of the day.

Interestingly, students in School 2 were found to be more punctual compared to students in UMS School 1.

It was also clearly noticeable that Musahar children in UMS School 1 arrived late for school.

The Headmaster of School 1 explained that *'the main reason is the lack of discipline, awareness, and attention of parents towards education…. majority of the men in the Musahar homes have moved outside. The youngsters are being observed at home just by their mother. Under these circumstances, kids don't follow their mothers' instructions.'*

Bihar classroom observation

Young Lives India also conducted classroom observations for three consecutive days in both UMS School 1 and UMS School 2. The main objective of the classroom observation was to understand any exclusion-inclusion in the classroom itself in which Musahar children were enrolled and attending. As mentioned before multi-grade teaching was the common practice in both the Schools due to lack of availability of rooms as well as limited number of teachers. **Table B5** reveals the multi-grade structure in both these Schools.

Table B5: Multi-grade teaching in both Schools

CLASSROOM SHARING	UMS SCHOOL 1	UMS SCHOOL 2
Grade 1 and Grade 2 sharing	Yes	Yes
Grade 3 and Grade 4 sharing	Yes	Yes
Grade 5 and Grade 6 sharing	Yes	Yes
Grade 7 and Grade 8 sharing	Yes	Yes

Examination of class-wise infrastructure in both Schools revealed that infrastructure was not sufficient within the classes in these Schools. Table B6 shows the class-wise infrastructure facilities.

In UMS School 1, the absence of chairs and tables were observed for teachers in Classes 1 and 2, despite the multigrade nature of these classes combining both these classes. However, Class 2 was equipped with necessary items such as desks, benches, and blackboards for students. On the other hand, Classes 3 and 4 were adequately furnished with chairs and tables for teachers, along with desks, benches, and blackboards for students. In Classes 5 and 6, while a chair was available for the teacher, a table was notably absent. However, students in these classes were provided with all necessary arrangements. Classes 7 and 8 were fully equipped with essential items for both teachers and students. It is also important to note here that no almirahs or storage boxes were observed in any of the classes.

The situation was found to be comparatively better in UMS School 2. Chairs for teachers are universally available for all classes, while tables for teachers were found to be absent in all classes. Desks, benches and chairs for students are present in most classes, except for Class 1 and Class 2, though, the school had provided mats for Class 2. Almirahs or storage boxes were present in Classes 5, 6, 7, and 8 but were absent in the remaining classes. Blackboards were found in all classes.

Table B6: Class-wise infrastructure

RESOURCE CHARACTERISTICS	UMS SCHOOL 1						
	CHAIR FOR TEACHER	TABLE FOR TEACHER	DESKS FOR STUDENTS	BENCHES/ CHAIRS FOR STUDENTS	MATS FOR STUDENTS	ALMIRAH/ BOXES	BLACKBOARD
Class 1	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Class 2	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Class 3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Class 4	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Class 5	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Class 6	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Class 7	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Class 8	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes

RESOURCE CHARACTERISTICS	UMS SCHOOL 2						
	CHAIR FOR TEACHER	TABLE FOR TEACHER	DESKS FOR STUDENTS	BENCHES/ CHAIRS FOR STUDENTS	MATS FOR STUDENTS	ALMIRAH/ BOXES	BLACKBOARD
Class 1	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Class 2	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Class 3	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Class 4	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Class 5	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Class 6	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Class 7	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Class 8	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Length of teaching period

In terms of transaction, three out of four classes in UMS School and one out of four classes in UMS School 2 were observed to be lasted for the entire period. However, 23.5 per cent and 20 per cent of the classes were also observed to be not lasted for the entire period in UMS School 1 and School 2 respectively.

Teaching and learning materials / resources

While all classes in UMS School 2 showed the usage of textbooks, only 94.1 per cent of the classesin UMS School 1 used textbooks for teaching in the classrooms.

In UMS School 1 classes, only 25 per cent of the classes were found where most of the children were using textbooks. This percentage is substantially higher in case of classes in UMS School 2 where 61.1 per cent of the classes were observed with most of the children using textbooks in the classes.

Majority of the children in two Schools were using Hindi with few words in Bajjika, i.e., 87 per cent in UMS School 1 and 95.6 per cent in UMS School 2.

In UMS School 1, all classes used words/diagrams written on the blackboard as a teaching learning material (TLM) whereas in UMS School 2, 83.6 per cent of the classes used words/diagrams. Also, in UMS School 1, 47.1 per cent of the classes used pictures, photos, maps, or charts as learning materials which was only 16.4 per cent of the classes in case of UMS School 2. Thus, much more usage of TLM was observed in UMS School 1.

Learning environment

No teacher in any of the classes across both Schools were seen using any abusive language towards the students. However, 13 per cent and 27.3 per cent of the classes in UMS School 1 and UMS School 2 respectively observed the teachers scolding, shouting or using intimidating body languages to scare the students.

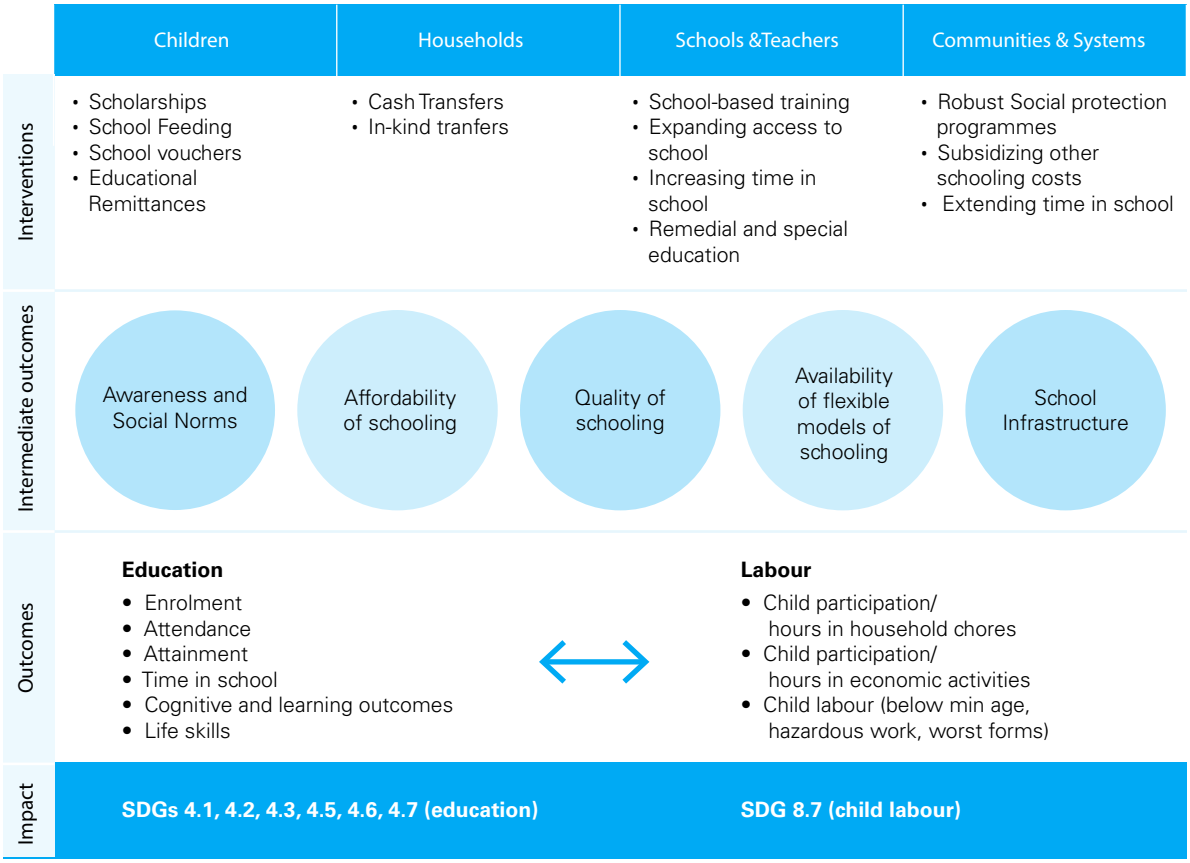
While no specific discrimination by teachers was observed meted out towards Musahar children in UMS School 1, instances of scolding were observed towards Musahar children in classes of UMS School 2.

On the other hand, a few classes witnessed physical violence (usage of a cane/ stick/ ruler) being used against students in UMS School 2 which was totally absent in the case of UMS School 1.

Teachers also were also found to praise students for their performance, but the percentage varied between the two Schools. In UMS School 1, a higher percentage of classes (63%) reported that teachers praised students compared to UMS School 1 (53.7%). It was also observed that Musahar children were also being praised by teachers in both the Schools.

Whereas no external noise that could distract children were observed in classes held in UMS School 2, a lot of disturbance due to external noise was observed in 31.5 per cent of the classrooms in UMS School 1.

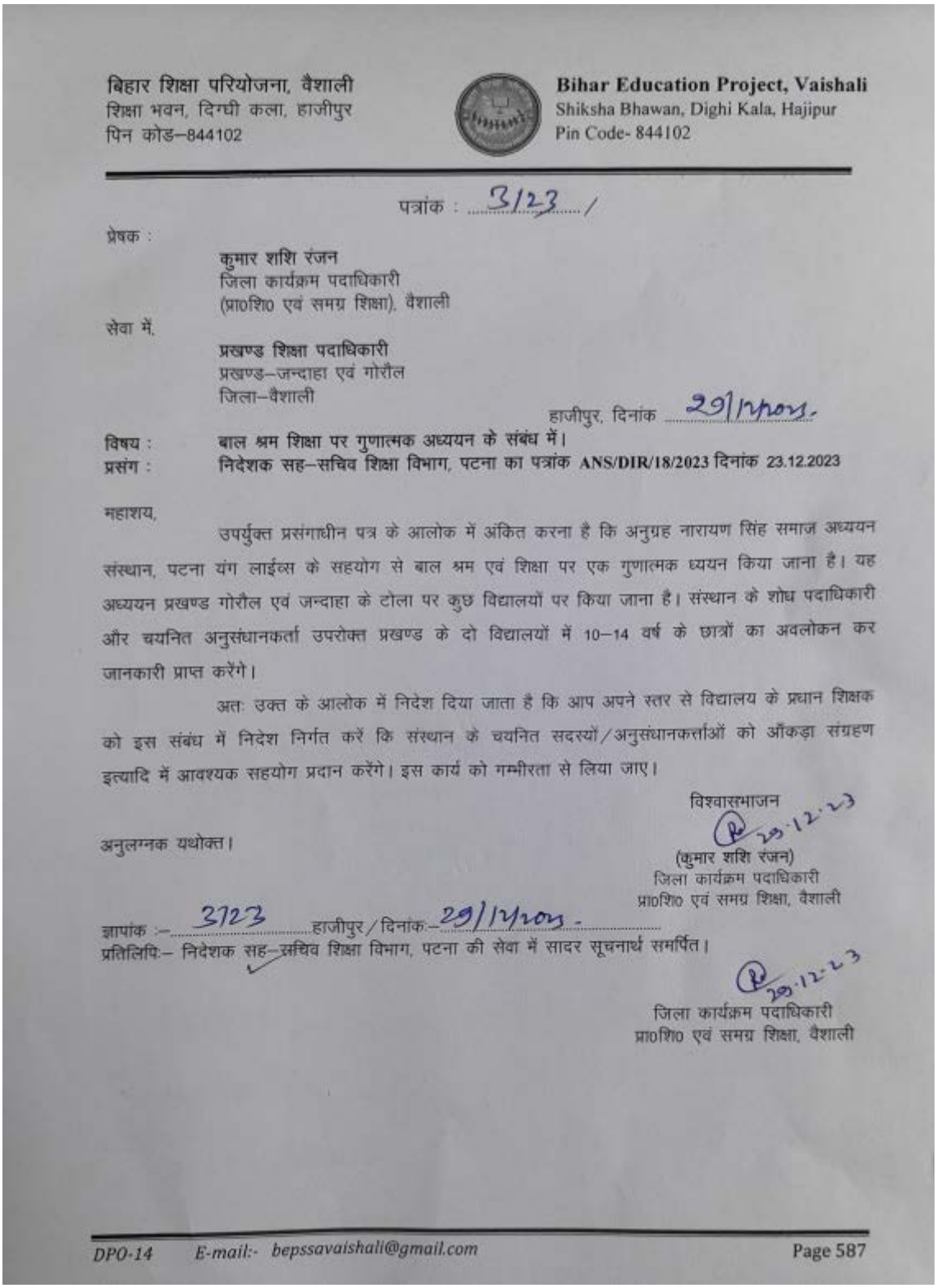
Annex C: Conceptual framework



Annex D: Conceptual framework: Education and child labour outcomes

The Conceptual Framework acknowledges that education and child labour outcomes are determined by factors operating across four main levels. These are: **(1) child level, (2) household level, (3) school level, and (4) communities and systems level**.

Annex E: Permission letter



बिहार शिक्षा परियोजना, वैशाली
शिक्षा भवन, दिग्घी कला, हाजीपुर
पिन कोड–844102

Bihar Education Project, Vaishali
Shiksha Bhawan, Dighi Kala, Hajipur
Pin Code- 844102

पत्रांक : 3123 /

प्रेषक :

कुमार शशि रंजन
जिला कार्यक्रम पदाधिकारी
(प्रा0शि0 एवं समग्र शिक्षा), वैशाली

सेवा में,

प्रखण्ड शिक्षा पदाधिकारी
प्रखण्ड–जन्दाहा एवं गोरौल
जिला–वैशाली

हाजीपुर, दिनांक 29/12/2023.

विषय : **बाल श्रम शिक्षा पर गुणात्मक अध्ययन के संबंध में।**
प्रसंग : **निदेशक सह–सचिव शिक्षा विभाग, पटना का पत्रांक ANS/DIR/18/2023 दिनांक 23.12.2023**

महाशय,

उपर्युक्त प्रसंगाधीन पत्र के आलोक में अंकित करना है कि अनुग्रह नारायण सिंह समाज अध्ययन संस्थान, पटना यंग लाईंस के सहयोग से बाल श्रम एवं शिक्षा पर एक गुणात्मक ध्ययन किया जाना है। यह अध्ययन प्रखण्ड गोरौल एवं जन्दाहा के टोला पर कुछ विद्यालयों पर किया जाना है। संस्थान के शोध पदाधिकारी और चयनित अनुसंधानकर्ता उपरोक्त प्रखण्ड के दो विद्यालयों में 10–14 वर्ष के छात्रों का अवलोकन कर जानकारी प्राप्त करेंगे।

अतः उक्त के आलोक में निदेश दिया जाता है कि आप अपने स्तर से विद्यालय के प्रधान शिक्षक को इस संबंध में निदेश निर्गत करें कि संस्थान के चयनित सदस्यों/अनुसंधानकर्त्ताओं को आँकड़ा संग्रहण इत्यादि में आवश्यक सहयोग प्रदान करेंगे। इस कार्य को गम्भीरता से लिया जाए।

विश्वासभाजन
29.12.23
(कुमार शशि रंजन)
जिला कार्यक्रम पदाधिकारी
प्रा0शि0 एवं समग्र शिक्षा, वैशाली

अनुलग्नक यथोक्त।

ज्ञापांक :– 3123 हाजीपुर/दिनांक:– 29/12/2023.
प्रतिलिपि:– निदेशक सह–सचिव शिक्षा विभाग, पटना की सेवा में सादर सूचनार्थ समर्पित।

29.12.23
जिला कार्यक्रम पदाधिकारी
प्रा0शि0 एवं समग्र शिक्षा, वैशाली

DPO-14 E-mail:- bepssavaishali@gmail.com Page 587

Annex F: List of all plain coding

Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 4.5%: 111 of 2494 total citations and 26 of 108 total coded sources are shown
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Annex G: SPMVV ethics committee approval letter

SRI PADMAVATI MAHILA VISVAVIDYALAYAM
(Women's University)
Tirupati-517502, Andhra Pradesh, INDIA

INSTITUITIONAL ETHICS COMMITTEE

www.spmvv.iec@gmail.com

Date: 19-08-2023

To
Prof V.Uma
Department of Social Work
Sri Padmavati Mahila Visvavidyalayam
Tirupati

Sub: Title- Young Lives India Child Labour Project Evaluation A Study to be undertaken in Bihar and Telangana For IEC review & approval.
Ref: Your application for review & approval, dated: 19-08-2023(Presentation date)

***

The Institutional Ethics Committee of Sri Padmavati Mahila Visvavidyalayam, Tirupati during its meeting held on 19-08-2023, approved the protocol entitled 'Young Lives India Child Labour Project Evaluation A Study to be undertaken in Bihar and Telangana' to be conducted by Prof V.Uma, Department of Social Work, Sri Padmavati Mahila Visvavidyalayam, Tirupati.

The IEC here by allot the IEC No. SPMVV/Acad/C1/IV/2023, Dated: 19-08-2023

Member Secretary
MEMBER SECRETARY
Institutional Ethics Committee
Sri Padmavati Mahila Visvavidyalayam
Women's University, Tirupati
Andhra Pradesh

Chair Person
CHAIRPERSON
Institutional Ethics Committee
Sri Padmavati Mahila Visvavidyalayam
Women's University, Tirupati
Andhra Pradesh

Annex H: Safety protocols

Safety measures and PPE kits for supervisors and field staff

- All supervisors and field staff being mandated to wear WHO-certified PPE kits and medical grade face masks whilst visiting the sentinel sites and interacting with the Innocenti Study respondents.
- Training to ensure supervisors and field staff avoid touching their eyes, nose, and/or mouth when undertaking the surveys, so as to minimise risk of spread of infection.
- Supervisors and field staff always maintain physical distancing and strictly complying with social distance guidelines formulated by Ministry of Health, Government of India.
- Supervisors and field staff to carry hand sanitisers which need to be used prior to and post completion of each interview.
- Sanitize all data collection items before each interview (pens, phone, tablets, notebooks, ID cards, anthropometric equipment's, etc.)
- In specific, while undertaking anthropometry, supervisors and field staff to ensure all equipment used is clean and disinfected with medical grade disinfectant wipes prior to and post undertaking measurements of the Innocenti Baby.
- Medical kit to be carried by field staff whilst undertaking interview and prior to each interview must ensure the kit always contains the following items:

1. Hand soap
2. Hand sanitizer (> 60% alcohol)
3. Single-use paper towels
4. Disposable nitrile gloves
5. Tissues and Extra face covers
6. hermometer and first aid kit
7. Personal water bottles

In case any of the items in the kit are not available or need to be replenished, the interview will be undertaken only once the medical kit has been replenished with necessary supplies.

Safety measures to be followed by supervisors and field surveyors while interacting with respondents

- Inform the respondent(s) of the COVID-19 measures (based on existing guidelines) clearly, before starting the Innocenti Surveys.
- Maintaining the recommended distance (at least 1 -2 meter) when approaching respondents
- Avoiding physical contact (handshaking, hugging, etc.) to greet respondents.
- Supervisors and field staff not sharing pens, notebooks, Laptops, etc with respondents.
- Ensure respondent also wears face mask and if they do not have a face mask, provide these to the family and allow them to retain these.
- Don't touch anything in or around the households/ interview sites that you are visiting
- Do not accept drinks (tea, water) from the respondents and carry your own bottle of water.

Guidelines for field staff:

- All researchers must self-monitor for symptoms daily. If a researcher is feeling unwell in any way, they are required to stop work, inform their team supervisor immediately, and complete the Government of India COVID-19 self-assessment tool.
- Field staff is required to keep detailed records of travel, persons they have travelled with, locations of the fieldwork such that tracking can be provided to the local public health unit should a researcher become ill with COVID-19 and respondents interacted with, informed immediately.
- All researchers must conduct daily self-monitoring for symptoms and should be encouraged to use the Government of India COVID-19 self-assessment tool. Aragyasetu application must be downloaded by each field staff and supervisors prior to visiting sentinel sites.
- Team to monitor, daily, any new directives from public health officials, police, or administration for the area they are in.

Safety protocol to be administered by field co-ordinators

- Staff and field investigators to be trained by medical professionals to identify symptoms of COVID-19 and as part of the Innocenti study will be required to prepare a daily report highlighting any interaction with the interviewee wherein they exhibited symptoms of fever, cough or shortness of breath. In such cases, field investigator with the support of the co-ordinator is mandatorily required to report such cases to nearest Government Health facility (Sub center / Primary Health center/ District Hospital)

- Field coordinators must be informed in case any field investigator develops COVID-19 symptoms or visits a household where respondent who may have shown symptoms or respondent has/ develops any COVID-19 symptoms. Such cases need prompt attention and immediate action, so that the field investigator can be replaced with immediate effect.

Annex I: Identifying the top two factors impacting schooling outcomes of in-school children (gender disaggregated analysis)

Figure A1: Identifying the top two factors impacting schooling outcomes of in-school girls

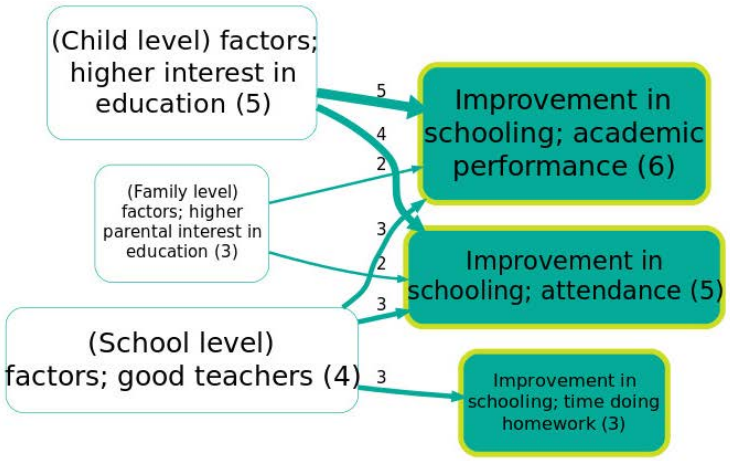


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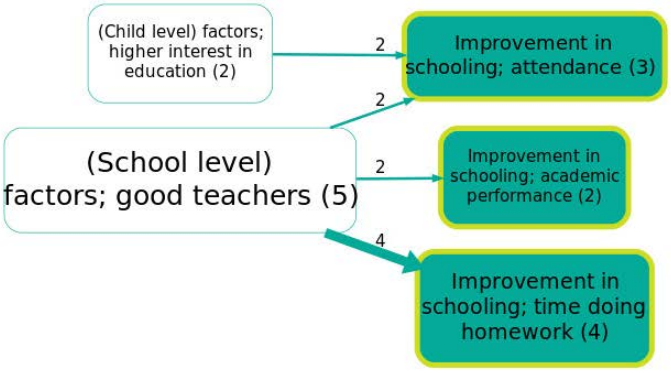
Figure A2: Identifying the top two factors impacting schooling outcomes of in-school boys



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Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Acknowledgements

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