

What Drives Changes in Child Labour and Schooling?

Evidence from an exploratory study among adolescents in
Vikarabad, Telangana, India



Executive summary

Improving access to and supply of quality schooling is 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 Older children are also relatively more likely to be engaged in child labour. In addition, older children and especially girls are more influenced by gender norms, which results in, for example, girls spending greater time on care and domestic chores responsibilities compared with boys, including in the context of child marriage.

Therefore, it is crucial to better understand the factors driving changes in child labour and schooling among adolescents, to identify the key elements needed for policies and programmes to improve these outcomes. There is also a specific need to better grasp education's role in influencing the prevalence and patterns of child labour, including by assessing the causal pathways linking schooling and child labour outcomes and identifying which specific aspects of education programmes and policies most help to address child labour.

This study by United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Innocenti is part of the broader 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 and programmes to end child labour.⁴

As part of this project, Young Lives India undertook a research study using a Qualitative Impact Protocol (QulP) methodology to explore the drivers and pathways of change in child labour, with a focus on adolescents aged 14 to 17 years in Vikarabad, Telangana. The study explored the perspectives of adolescents and their parents on the factors that they associated with changes in child labour and schooling. 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 adolescents aged 14 to 17 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 pathways by gender and schooling status (in-school versus 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.⁵ The framework posits that education and child labour are determined by factors operating across five main levels: (i) child level, including, for instance, a child's health or a child's awareness of the importance of education and the hazards of child labour; (ii) household level, such as income or caregiver awareness of the relevance of education; (iii) school level, including adoption of specific teaching modalities or availability of schooling infrastructure, among others; (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".⁶

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 rates), 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).⁷

The key drivers of change were identified based on in-depth interviews with 56 respondents (children and caregivers) and focus group discussions with 96 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.

Main findings

The principal findings are summarized below (all drivers of change appear as **bold** text while schooling and work or labour outcomes appear as *italicized* text).

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

- Half of the children combined schooling with domestic chores, while a similar proportion combined schooling with work in the family enterprise.
- A third of the children combined schooling with paid work, and a similar proportion combined schooling with hazardous work.
- Out-of-school adolescents aged 14 to 17 years spent more time than in-school adolescents on economic activities within the family enterprise and for pay outside the household.
- Girls spent marginally more time on domestic chores and less time on economic activities compared with boys.

These findings are consistent with previous ethnographic research showing that children's schooling and work cannot be viewed as mutually exclusive, because adolescents are engaged in both work and schooling to various degrees and do not see their choices only in either/or terms.⁸ Accordingly, especially if measuring education by school enrolment alone, schooling cannot be seen to resolve child labour as in-school adolescents are also working.

Gender differences in time use, especially the glaring differences with respect to domestic chores, reflect the gendered roles and responsibilities assigned to boys and girls during their early adolescent years.

There is evidence of adolescents working long hours.

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

Further, the hours spent by out-of-school children working in the family enterprise crossed the ILO and UNICEF thresholds, with more boys than girls approaching the threshold for long hours.⁹

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

- **A good teacher** (a school-level factor) followed by **own interest in education** (a child-level factor) were reported by children as the main drivers of improvements in child-level schooling outcomes, namely *attendance*, *time spent doing homework* and overall *academic performance*.
- Parents reported **a good teacher** as a driver of improvements in broader school characteristics, including *school safety* and *infrastructure*.

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

- **Financial difficulties** were reported as the main cause of dropout, followed by **absence, illness or death of a family member** (both family-level factors).
- Parents reported that **school closures due to COVID-19** (a system-level factor) also led to school dropout.
- School dropout, in turn, was reported as a 'push factor' driving children into work.
- **Lower interest in education** (a child-level factor) to *school dropout* to *increased time spent on the family enterprise* emerged as a clear pathway.

Overall, qualitative insights obtained from both children and parents reveal that adolescents' engagement in work or labour was not a main driver guiding their decision to discontinue education or never enrol in school. Being out of school is clearly established as a significant push factor for adolescents' work. These findings are crucial to consider when designing programmes to reduce or eradicate child labour.

Drivers of increased time spent by children working:

- Most children reported spending more time working over the past year compared with previous years.
- Family-level factors, particularly the **absence, illness or death of a family member**, were the primary drivers of increased time spent on domestic chores, family enterprises and paid work.

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”.¹⁰

Drivers of reduced time spent working by children:

- Higher **own interest in education** (a child-level factor) and higher **parental interest in education** (a family-level factor) were the most cited drivers of reduced time spent on *domestic chores* and the *family enterprise* (none of the adolescents cited reduced time spent on *economic activities outside the household* or *economic activities under hazardous conditions*).
- For girls, reduced time was only seen with respect to domestic chores. The main drivers of reduced time spent on domestic chores were greater **parental interest in education** (a family-level factor) and increased **age** and improvements in **work-related skills** (both child-level factors).
- For boys, higher **own interest in education** (a child-level factor) was the main driver of reduced time spent on *domestic chores* and the *family enterprise*, a factor which was significantly influenced by having a **good teacher** (a school-level factor).

Gender differences in child work and child labour:

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

- all interviewed adolescents acknowledged the existence of gender differences in work, differences which were primarily influenced by **societal rules and expectations**.
- boys tended not to participate in domestic chores, reflecting an acute awareness of patriarchal notions that confine this type of work to girls and women.
- assumptions about **physical strength** between boys and girls were also identified as important drivers of gender differences in work allocation.

Interestingly, both parents and adolescents noted that boys would not participate in domestic chores, highlighting that adolescents (aged 14 to 17 years) are acutely aware of patriarchal notions of work within the confines of the home being relegated to girls and women.

Perceptions of the value of education:

- A large majority of adolescents perceived education as valuable, with in-school children more likely to hold this view than out-of-school children.
- While both boys and girls primarily associated the value of education with better job opportunities, girls also emphasized its role in helping them to gain greater knowledge.

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

- Among parents, the most common positive change in community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour was noted towards *child marriage*, followed by *education*, with changes in knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards *child labour* featuring last.
- The principal drivers of positive changes in knowledge, attitudes and behaviour regarding *child marriage* were laws, policies and schemes related to child marriage, followed by police (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 a shift in progressive norms over time regarding child education (a system-level factor).
- 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

Adolescents experience various combinations of school and work trajectories, influenced by family circumstances, prevailing social norms, and the gender and age of the child. Accordingly, factors linked to education alone cannot be viewed as resolving child labour.

Out-of-school adolescents aged 14 to 17 years are particularly vulnerable to engagement in economic activities, including for long hours.

Overall, all child labour-related interventions must address the needs and vulnerabilities of both in-school and out-of-school adolescents.

The role of teachers and responsive education systems

A good teacher (a school-level factor) was an important driver of reduced time spent working by adolescents. A good teacher increased adolescents' interest in schooling, which, in turn, reduced the time they spent working. The study also demonstrated the critical role that teachers play in encouraging adolescents to focus on their studies, which increased the time spent by adolescents doing homework.

Despite policy initiatives acknowledging the vital role of teachers, obstacles remain in the way of adolescents completing their education. Quality education that is responsive to adolescents' needs and aspirations is key. This is important to support both out-of-school adolescents rejoining school and in-school adolescents who are at risk of dropout.

Social protection measures

One of the most important drivers of school dropout and increased time spent on economic activities was familial shocks because of the death, illness or absence of a family member. This highlights the importance of addressing household economic vulnerabilities through social protection.

Targeted scholarships for the most vulnerable girls and boys, as well as for residential schools, could be part of the social protection measures, to counteract shocks in particular.

The role of unequal gender norms

An unbalanced distribution of household chores between boys and girls penalizes girls, who have higher chore responsibilities while boys can focus on schooling.

Further, parental interest in schooling was found to be one of the main drivers of reduced time spent working by girls. Parents additionally identified awareness of the importance of education and progressive norms regarding education as key drivers of positive changes in community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards education. These findings also underscore the need for gender-transformative investments and interventions, including in the school curriculum.

Interpretation and application of the Child Labour Act

Even if conducted within the home, long hours of work can interfere with adolescents' schooling and cause detriment. So, the prevailing Indian law must be reviewed to acknowledge long hours of work as hazardous to adolescents, even if conducted within the household enterprise.

In the considered district, adolescents were frequently engaged in work exposing them to harmful conditions, such as carrying heavy loads, working with dangerous tools or being exposed to extreme heat. While the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Act, 2016 provides that “No adolescent shall be employed or permitted to work in any of the hazardous occupations or processes set forth in the Schedule”, the implementation guidance must be frequently revised and assessed to ensure it adequately captures the sectors and hazards adolescents are exposed to. In this regard, it is relevant to note that the agricultural sector, even within the household, can expose adolescents to hazards, for instance, in the form of working with dangerous tools or being exposed to extreme heat.

Child labour monitoring

While it is encouraging that the Department of School Education and Literacy (DoSEL) under Samagra Shiksha Abhiyaan have 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.¹¹

It may be prudent to identify hotspots of child labour, collecting 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 available national surveys (e.g., Census of India, Periodic Labour Force Survey, National Sample Survey) to measure child labour rates (owing to definitional inconsistencies and use of proxy indicators to determine child work and child labour), 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.

Time-use data, with detailed reporting on adolescents’ activities, are also important to inform programmatic and policy responses.¹²

Furthermore, national data sets only collect information from an adult member in each household, rather than the child, which may lead to underestimation of child labour. Building on Article 12 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, data especially related to adolescent labour (14 to 17 years of age) should be collected from both adolescents and their caregivers.

Programme evaluation

India has a wide array of innovative non-governmental organization and government initiatives which have demonstrated the value of multi-component strategies in addressing the vulnerabilities of adolescent children to work, labour and school dropout or poor schooling outcomes. Yet learning from these remains a challenge. Robust programme monitoring systems and tools must be developed to document best practices and conduct rigorous evaluation so that effective programmes can be scaled up and replicated based on documented evidence.

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, leveraging the role of teachers while 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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1. Introduction

This study by UNICEF Innocenti 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 and programmes 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 to address child labour in India.¹³ UNICEF Innocenti additionally produced a rapid evidence assessment on the effects of educational programmes on child labour in low and middle-income countries.¹⁴

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 for child work and child labour in Vikarabad, Telangana, using the QulP methodology.¹⁵

The study proceeds as follows. Sections 2 and 3 describe the conceptual framework and research questions. Section 4 provides details on the methodology. Section 5 provides quantitative analyses of data collected from the sample of 56 respondents (28 children and their respective parents). Sections 6 and 7 provide results from the QulP analysis for adolescents and their parents, respectively. Section 8 provides policy and research implications, and section 9 concludes.

2. Conceptual framework and research questions

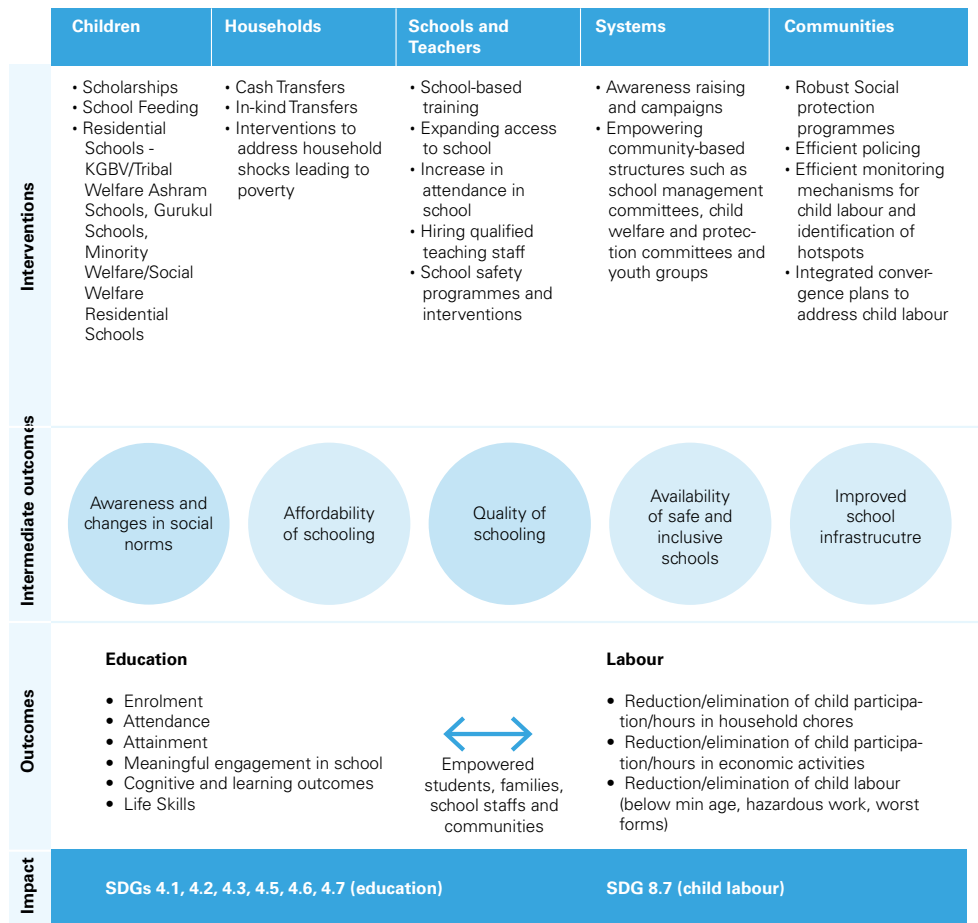
UNICEF Innocenti has developed a conceptual framework outlining the pathways of change from educational policies and programmes to schooling and child labour outcomes¹⁶ (see *Annex A*).

The conceptual framework follows Snilstveit et al.¹⁷ 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.

Under Research Stream 2, one of the activities to be undertaken by Young Lives India includes validation of the conceptual framework through face validity. For this task, Young Lives undertook in-depth interactions with key state government officials between 11–13 June 2023 and conducted a state workshop on 14 June 2023 in collaboration with the UNICEF Office in Hyderabad, Telangana and six leading civil society organizations working in the field of child labour. 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.¹⁸ The government and civil society organization interactions were also useful in identifying additional drivers of change for child work or labour observed in Telangana. These are reflected in the modified conceptual framework for Telangana in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Modified conceptual 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 and pathways of change for child labour and schooling outcomes in Telangana.

The six research questions guiding the research study are:

- Compared with previous years, what have been the changes (both positive and negative) in schooling and child labour outcomes among adolescents aged 14 to 17 years old?
- 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 pathways by gender and schooling status (in school versus 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)?

3. Child labour under international conventions and Indian regulations

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 of 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), and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182).¹⁹ It is critical to note that both conventions allow signatory countries to permit “light work”²⁰ and make their own determination on a list of hazardous sectors and occupations.²¹ Given this flexibility, child labour definitions and legislations vary significantly across countries, resulting in difficulties in quantifying the prevalence of child labour globally with one yardstick.

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). 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 in a subsequent notification).²² Further, the Child Labour Act aligns with the Right to Education Act, 2009, 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.²³ Moreover, Goswami notes that contractors engage young children in labour under the guise of being a “family enterprise”. It has been pointed out that Indian policymakers need to draw upon the spirit of international labour standards, 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”.²⁴

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; working for long hours, such as the whole day.²⁵

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. The QuIP methodology

The research study applies QuIP methodology.²⁶ This is a qualitative impact evaluation approach that draws on contribution analysis.²⁷ 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 adolescents 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).²⁸ 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, among others. 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.²⁹

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-test³⁰ has been applied wherever applicable.

4.1 Study design and sampling

The QulP 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 Vikarabad (Telangana) and two *mandals* (small settlements or villages) representing an urban and rural block.

Prior to the field survey, the research team sought permission from state and district education officials to conduct the study and visited selected government secondary schools to identify QulP respondents (both in-school and out-of-school children between 14 to 17 years old).

Table 1: Details of the Telangana surveys

STATE	SURVEY TYPES	AGE GROUP	PURPOSE
Telangana (Vikarabad)	School survey	14–17	To identify in-school and out-of-school children for QulP
	QulP survey	14–17	To explore the factors associated with child labour

After identifying the sample for QulP, in-depth interviews were conducted with both adolescents and their parents, followed by focus group discussions with adolescents only. The parent and adolescent QulP questionnaires for Telangana were developed by UNICEF Innocenti and Young Lives India in collaboration with Bath Social & Development Research (Bath SDR).

Young Lives India engaged with Sri Padmavati Mahila Visvavidyalayam to undertake the school and QulP surveys in Telangana.

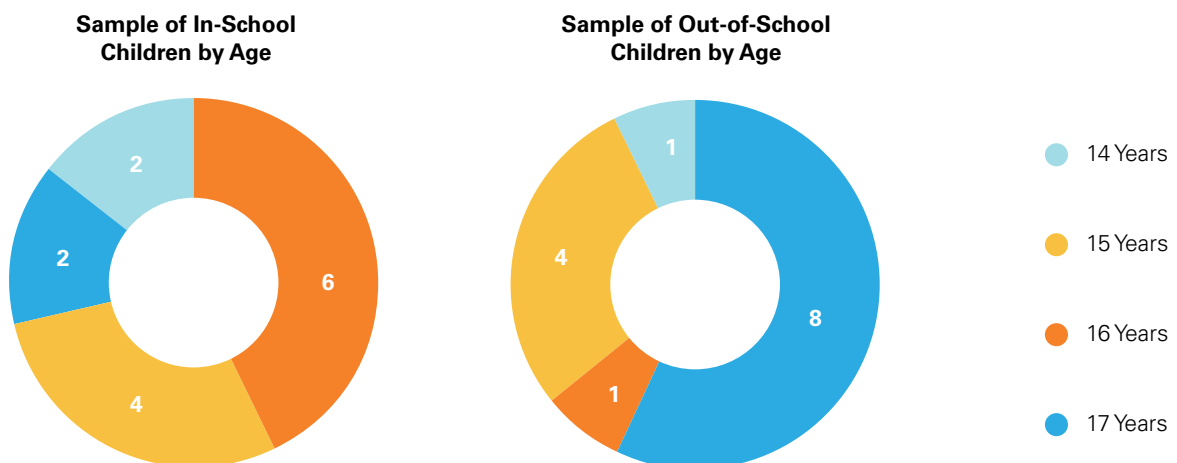
Table 2 provides details of the total sample of 56 respondents (28 adolescents between 14–17 years of age and their respective caregivers) who participated in the study. Of the 28 children who participated, there were equal numbers of in-school and out-of-school children (14 children in each category). Gender balance was maintained for both the adolescent sample (including 14 girls and 14 boys) and the parent sample (including 14 mothers and 14 fathers).

Table 2: QulP sample for Telangana

DIMENSION (STRATIFICATION)	NUMBER OF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS WITH CHILDREN	NUMBER OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH CHILDREN	NUMBER OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH PARENTS
In-school (boys)	2	4	5
In-school (girls)	2	4	5
In-school (boys) – Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe ³¹	1	3	2
In-school (girls) – Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe	1	3	2
Out-of-school (boys)	2	4	5
Out-of-school (girls)	2	4	5
Out-of-school (boys) – Scheduled Caste/ Scheduled Tribe	1	3	2
Out-of-school (girls) – Scheduled Caste/ Scheduled Tribe	1	3	2
TOTAL	12	28	28

Figure 2 provides the age distribution for in-school and out-of-school adolescents.³¹

Figure 2: Sample distribution of children by age



4.2 Survey instruments

Two separate QulP questionnaires were administered in the district of Vikarabad in Telangana: adolescent and parent questionnaires. The adolescent questionnaire was administered to select eligible adolescents aged 14–17 years old, while parents of the respective children were interviewed using parent questionnaire.

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

The Telangana QulP survey included in-depth interviews with children and their parents, as well as focus group discussions with children.³²

4.3 Data collection

Data collection was undertaken by a team consisting of six investigators, two research officers and a project director, collectively referred to as the survey team.³³

Prior to undertaking the Telangana surveys, each member of the survey team attended an in-depth 10-day training programme, including piloting of the questionnaires (19–28 September 2023). As part of the training, the survey team was: informed of the rationale of the study; made aware of the process of identification of the sample; familiarized with the questionnaires and participated in discussions related to their content; and instructed on the different aspects of field management with a focus on safety protocols and research ethics. Simulation exercises were undertaken to ensure that the survey team was familiar with the questionnaires and that all concerns raised by the teams were addressed. A two-day pilot survey was conducted with the adolescents and their parents in Hyderabad, Telangana. Subsequently, a debriefing was undertaken with the survey team.

As mentioned earlier, permission letters were sought from Telangana Department of Education (see *Annex C*). The district education officer of Vikarabad assigned an academic monitoring officer who identified two *mandals* and shared a detailed list with the names of schools, headteachers and out-of-school children. After contacting the respondents, the Telangana survey was undertaken between 16 December 2023 and 10 January 2024.

Young Lives India undertook regular spot checks to ensure quality and guide the survey team. 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.

4.4 Ethics

The study followed all the necessary ethical protocols to ensure adherence to national and international good practices in social science research. Institutional Review Board approval for the study was obtained from Sri Padmavati Mahila Visvavidyalayam on 19 August 2023 (see *Annex D*).

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

All adults participating in the study were required to provide consent for themselves as well as for their adolescent child (under 18 years of age) to participate in the interviews. Verbal assent was additionally obtained from adolescents. 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 course of the study.

4.5 Analysis method

4.5.1 QulP and causal maps

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., Telugu). The recorded interviews (in Telugu) were firstly transcribed and subsequently translated and back-translated by trained researchers who were adept in both Telugu 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 QulP 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 within the stories of change shared by sample participants. 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 identify: respondents' insights (both parents and adolescents) on the **drivers of change** that have contributed to resolving or reducing child labour and that have affected schooling outcomes; and the **pathways of change** that have resulted in reducing or resolving child labour and that have led to improvements or declines in schooling. Additionally, all non-causal themes were recorded in plain coding (see *Annex F*).³⁴

The causal maps used in this report show a visualization of the narrative data collected in Telangana, 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.

The methodology relied upon used a source count of “at least two” when developing causal maps. This means that drivers of change identified by only one respondent do not appear in the maps.³⁵ 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.³⁶

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 details³⁷.

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.³⁸

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, quotations appearing in the Causal Map app that relate to a principal driver of change (reported by a minimum of four respondents) have been highlighted in the relevant sections. Relying entirely on QuIP methodology, no thematic analysis of transcripts was undertaken separately.

4.5.2 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 Figure 3 to Figure 17 below), going beyond the QuIP methodology, the closed-ended information along with demographics and schooling status was used for 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-tests were conducted to determine if there were significant differences in time-use data related to different activities between two groups (i.e., boys and girls and in-school and out-of-school children).³⁹

4.6 Challenges and limitations

At the time of writing, QulP methodology has been adopted across over 80 projects across 20 countries, including in conjunction with other evaluation methodologies such as randomized controlled trials and process evaluation.⁴⁰ Most, but not all, these studies have been focused on evaluating interventions ranging from healthcare to cash transfers. To date, there are no publicly available reports that use QulP 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 QulP methodology was used to the best extent possible to answer the research question listed in section 2 above.

While there are significant benefits of using QulP methodology, a significant limitation is that akin to other qualitative research methods relying on a limited sample, data findings from the QulP study are not statistically representative of the wider population.⁴¹ As the aim of using QulP 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 (discussed in section 4.5.1), 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 being 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 interviews 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.

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. 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.

Regarding the QulP questionnaire administered to children, the complex nature of questions resulted in the survey team having to explain key concepts to the adolescents being interviewed – including work in the family enterprise and hazardous conditions – which resulted in the majority of interviews lasting over 45 minutes. Respondent fatigue was especially noted among younger adolescents.

There were also challenges around sampling and data collection.⁴² While the survey team was able to meet the sample after considerable time and effort, it is worth noting that while in-school adolescents (both boys and girls) were eager to participate in the study, there was significant reluctance from out-of-school adolescents. Specifically, out-of-school girls were extremely difficult to convince and only with the support and involvement of *Anganwadi* workers, education department functionaries and peers were these interviews possible. Most of these out-of-school girls were confined to their homes and despite gender matching with the enumerators, building trust prior to administering of the questionnaire was a time-consuming process. Focus group discussions for out-of-school girls and boys were also challenging, as organizing these at a common location and time convenient for everyone required extensive coordination with the adolescents. For out-of-school boys, because the majority were engaged in economic activities for pay outside the home, this had to be taken into consideration when scheduling the interviews, and so interviews took place after 7 p.m.

5. Quantitative analysis

5.1 Quantitative analysis of child work and child labour outcomes

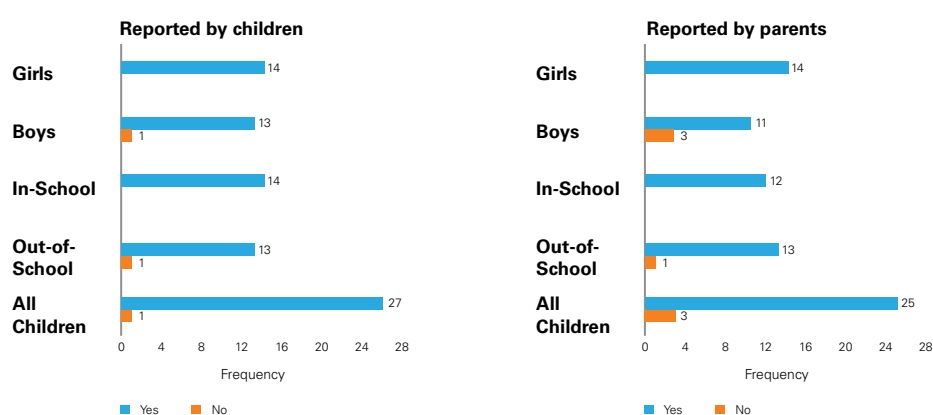
Through closed-ended questions, both adolescents and their respective caregivers were asked about the adolescent's participation in and time spent on: domestic chores; economic activities within the family enterprise; economic activities for pay (outside the household); and economic activities involving hazardous conditions (within the family enterprise or outside the household). They were then asked whether the time adolescents spent working had increased or decreased compared with previous years.⁴³

5.1.1 Domestic chores

The data show high adolescent participation rates in household chores, both reported by children (27 out of 28 children reported that they participated in chores) and by parents (25 out of 28 parents stated that their child participated in domestic chores). Figure 3 shows that as reported by adolescents, there was not much difference in participation in domestic chores between girls (all 14 girls) and boys (13 out of 14 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.⁴⁴

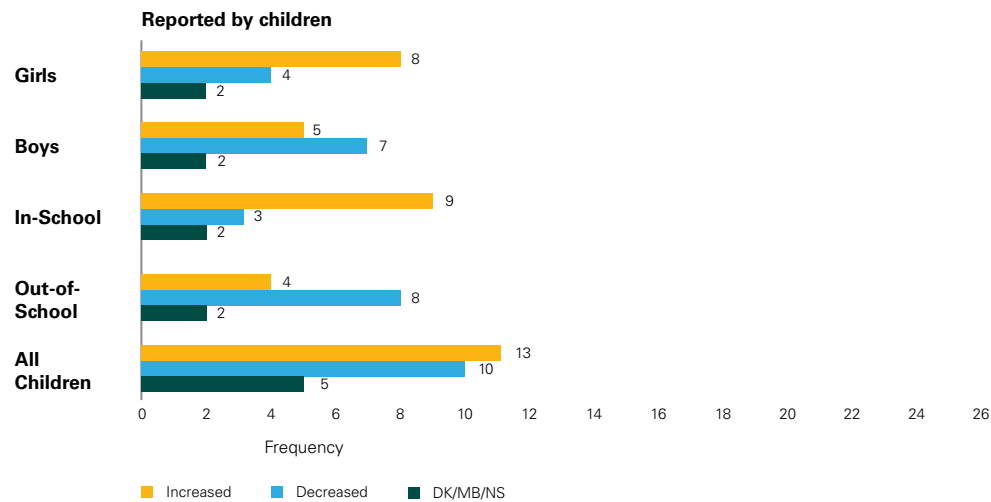
Interestingly, according to adolescents, participation in domestic chores was higher among in-school adolescents compared with out-of-school adolescents – while analysis of the parents' data shows a different finding.

Figure 3: Participation in domestic chores during the past year



Overall, more adolescents reported an increase in time spent on domestic chores in the past year compared with previous years than those who reported a decrease in time (see Figure 4). Increased time spent on domestic chores was higher among in-school adolescents (reported by nine in-school adolescents compared with four out-of-school adolescents). On the other hand, out-of-school adolescents were more likely to have seen a decrease in time spent on domestic chores. While this finding appears counterintuitive, when you factor in the long hours that out-of-school adolescents spent on economic activities (family enterprise and paid work), this finding is understandable. Gender disaggregated analysis reveals that more girls (as reported by eight girls) experienced an increase in time spent on domestic chores than boys (as reported by five boys) compared with previous years.

Figure 4: Change in time spent on domestic chores during the past year



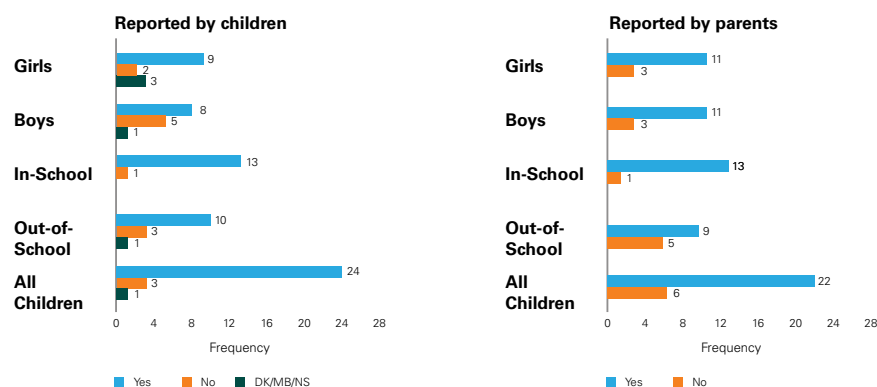
Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

5.1.2 Economic activities within the family enterprise

Information shared by both adolescents and their parents show high levels of participation in the family enterprise, with 24 out of 28 adolescents and a smaller number of parents (i.e., 22 out of 28) reporting the child's participation in the family enterprise.

Figure 5 shows that based on adolescents' self-reporting, no significant gender differences can be observed – nine girls participated in the family enterprise, compared with eight boys. Interestingly, as per both adolescents and parents, participation in the family enterprise was higher among in-school adolescents than out-of-school adolescents.

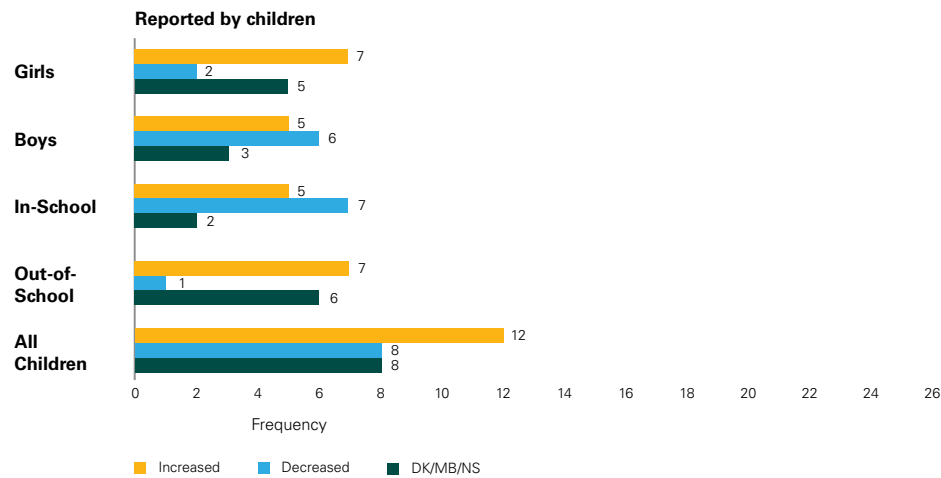
Figure 5: Participation in economic activities within the family enterprise during the past year



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

Figure 6 highlights that more adolescents experienced an increase in time spent on the family enterprise compared with previous years than those who experienced a decrease in time. Increased time spent on the family enterprise was more pronounced among out-of-school adolescents (reported by seven adolescents) than in-school adolescents (five adolescents). Decreased time spent on the family enterprise was more pronounced for in-school adolescents (seven adolescents) than out-of-school adolescents (one adolescent). Akin to domestic chores, seven girls reported an increase in time spent on the family enterprise, compared with five boys.

Figure 6: Change in time spent working within the family enterprise during the past year

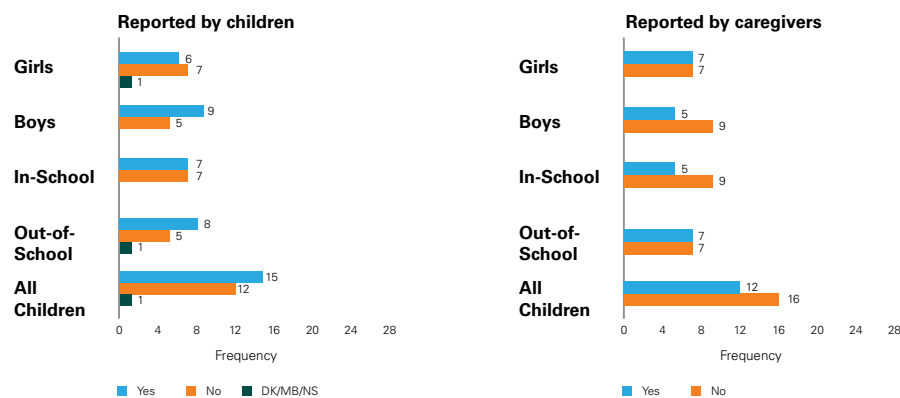


Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

5.1.3 Economic activities for pay outside the household

Information shared by both adolescents and their parents show lower levels of participation in economic paid work compared with domestic chores and family enterprise. Fifteen out of 28 adolescents and a smaller number of parents (i.e., 12 out of 28 parents) noted adolescents' participation in paid work. Figure 7 shows that based on adolescents' self-reporting, a higher number of boys (nine boys) participated in paid work compared with girls (six girls). Unsurprisingly, participation in paid work was higher among out-of-school adolescents than in-school adolescents, according to both adolescents and parents.

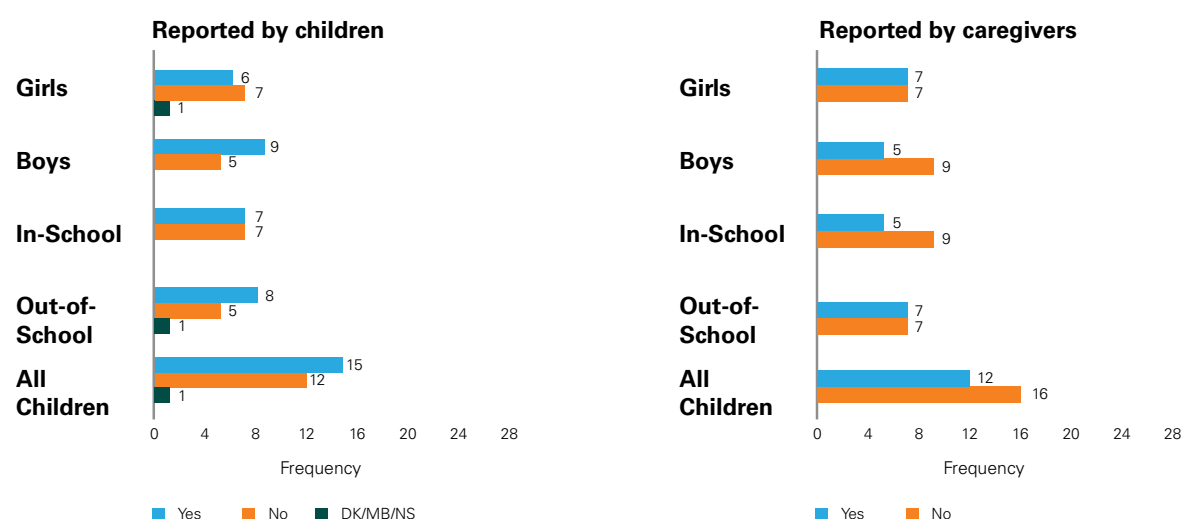
Figure 7: Participation in economic activities for pay – outside the household during the past year



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

Figure 8 highlights that more adolescents reported increased time spent on paid work compared with previous years than those reporting decreased time. It is important to acknowledge that the majority of the sample (i.e., 15 adolescents of the 28), were unsure whether the amount of time they spent on paid work had increased or decreased. The trend of increased time spent on work for pay was more pronounced among out-of-school adolescents (reported by six adolescents) than in-school adolescents (two adolescents). No gender difference can be noted in increased time spent on paid work, though a decrease in time spent on paid work was mentioned by three boys versus two girls.

Figure 8: Change in time spent on economic activities for pay – outside household



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

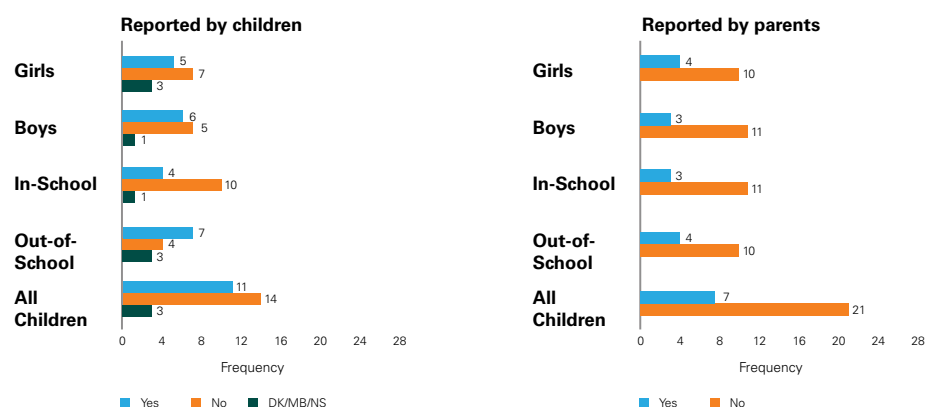
5.1.4 Hazardous conditions

Across all categories of work, the lowest participation (noted by 11 adolescents) was in work involving hazardous conditions (compared with 27 adolescents in domestic work, 24 adolescents in the family enterprise and 15 in paid work). Interestingly, in Figure 9, while 11 adolescents noted participation in work involving hazardous conditions, only seven parents considered their adolescents to be exposed to hazardous work conditions. While these figures are concerning, they emerge from a limited, pro-poor sample from Telangana.

A higher number of boys (six boys) reported participating in work involving hazardous conditions compared with girls (five girls). Both adolescents and parents reported participation in work involving hazardous conditions to be higher among out-of-school adolescents than in-school adolescents.

Unlike the other three categories of work, the parent QulP questionnaire asked parents to note whether there had been an increase or decrease in time spent by their child on work involving hazardous conditions. These findings can be compared with adolescents' reporting for this category of work only.

Figure 9: Participation in work involving hazardous conditions during the past year

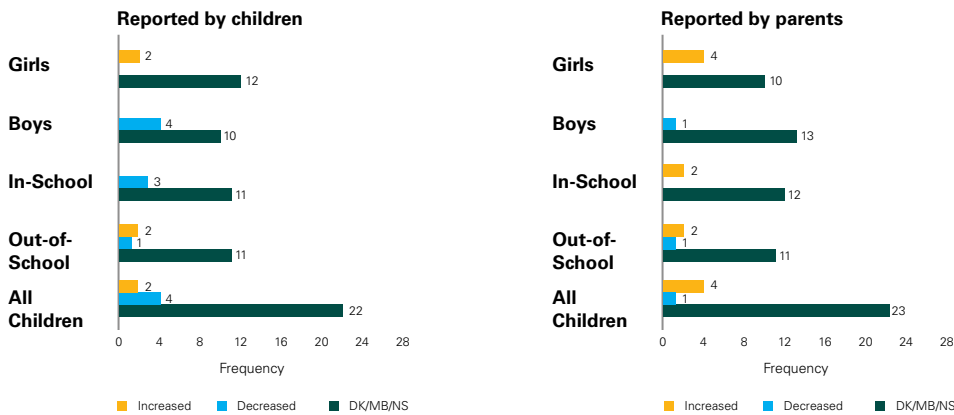


Note: DK/MB/NS = don't know/maybe/not sure.

Figure 10 shows that more adolescents experienced a decrease in time spent on economic work involving hazardous conditions (four adolescents) compared with previous years than those who experienced an increase in time (two adolescents). Twenty-two adolescents were unable to ascertain whether the time they spent on hazardous work increased or decreased (note that, only adolescents who reported being engaged in economic work – family enterprise and/or paid work were asked about hazardous work). Analysis of the data shared by parents shows that more adolescents experienced increased time spent on work involving hazardous conditions than adolescents who experienced a decrease. This could be due to variations in understanding between adolescents and their parents on what constitutes hazardous conditions.

Disaggregated analysis of Figure 10 clearly highlights that increased time spent on work involving hazardous conditions was observed only among out-of-school adolescents.

Figure 10: Change in time spent on economic work involving hazardous conditions during the past year



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

5.1.5 Analysis of time-use data

Table 3 clearly indicates that as per both adolescents and parents, the greatest amount of time spent per day by the child related to work within the family enterprise. According to adolescents interviewed, on average, they spent 5.1 hours per day on work in the family enterprise, while parents reported an average of 3.7 hours for this. These findings are consistent with findings from the ILO and UNICEF, which acknowledge that the largest share of child labour takes place within families.⁴⁵ As per the ILO and UNICEF, 72 per cent of all child labour occurs within families, primarily on family farms or in family microenterprises.⁴⁶

According to parents, in-school adolescents spent significantly less time on domestic chores and economic activities for pay outside the home compared with out-of-school adolescents (significant at 5 per cent).

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

While the t-tests do not reveal statistically significant gender differences, it is worth pointing out that girls spent relatively more time on domestic chores and economic activities (both within the family enterprise and paid work) than boys, who spent more time on school, homework and leisure activities. These differences reflect the gendered roles and responsibilities assigned to boys and girls during their adolescent years (see Table 3).

As per the age-specific thresholds for child labour given by the ILO and UNICEF, 'long hours' spent on economic activities is defined as 43 hours or more per week among the age group of 15–17 years old.⁴⁷ None of the sampled adolescents in Telangana fall into this category (as per caregivers' interviews) when their daily average time use is converted into weekly data.

Table 3: Time-use analysis from Telangana QulP data

TYPE OF ACTIVITY	AVERAGE TIME SPENT (IN HOURS) IN A DAY BY				
	ALL ADOLESCENTS	SCHOOLING STATUS		GENDER	
		IN-SCHOOL	OUT-OF-SCHOOL	GIRLS	BOYS

Reported by parents

Domestic chores	2.3	1.1	3.4**	2.4	2.1
Economic activity within the family enterprise	3.7	3.9	3.6	4.5	3.0
Economic activity for pay (outside the household)	2.8	1.4	4.2**	3.1	2.5

Reported by adolescents

Domestic chores	2.3	2.0	2.7	2.6	2.1
Economic activity within the family enterprise	5.1	4.0	6.4*	4.4	5.9
Economic activity for pay (outside the household)	3.3	1.7	5.1**	2.6	4.1

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

From adolescents' perspectives, Table 3 further reveals that out-of-school adolescents were statistically more likely to engage in the family enterprise (10 per cent) and in paid work (5 per cent).

Gender disaggregated analysis reveals that though not statistically significant, boys spent more time on work in the family enterprise and paid work, translating to 1.5 hours more per day on average than girls. Girls only spent a greater amount of time on domestic chores, around 30 minutes more per day than boys.

After converting the daily average time use into weekly data as given by adolescents, the data reveals that out-of-school adolescents were engaged in economic activities in the family enterprise crossing the threshold of long hours according to the ILO and UNICEF (at 44.8 hours per week).⁴⁸ Boys were also found to be very close to this threshold for economic activities (at 41.3 hours). This demands attention under Indian law.

5.2 Quantitative analysis of schooling outcomes

5.2.1 Child-level schooling outcomes

Quantitative analysis of schooling outcomes for parents and adolescents relies on data collected from a sample of 14 in-school adolescents and their respective parents. Schooling outcomes at the child level have been defined to include attendance, time spent doing homework and academic performance.

Figure 11 indicates a disparity in how changes in attendance were perceived between adolescents and their parents. Seven adolescents reported increased attendance, while six parents noted this change. Gender disaggregated analysis reveals that five out of seven boys noted an increase in attendance compared with two out of seven girls.

Figure 11: Change in attendance compared with previous year

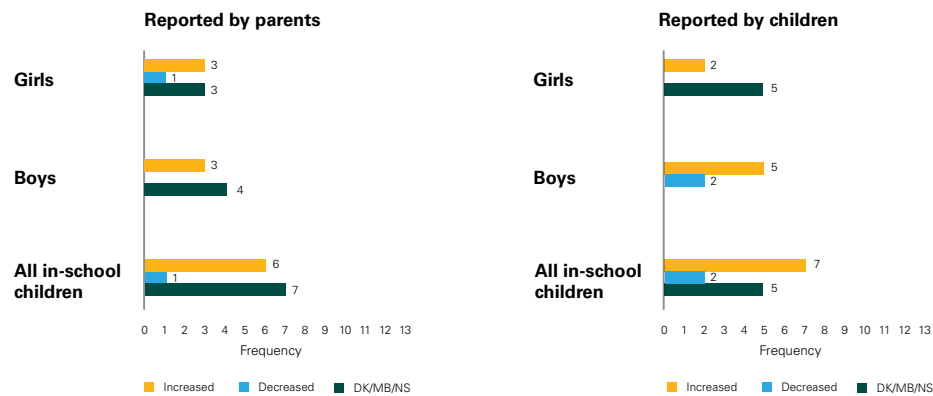


Figure 12 indicates a disparity in perceptions of changes in homework compared with previous years between adolescents and their parents. Twelve adolescents reported an increase in homework, compared with only seven parents noting this change. Gender disaggregated analysis shows that all seven boys noted an increase in homework, compared with only five girls.

Figure 12: Change in homework compared with previous year

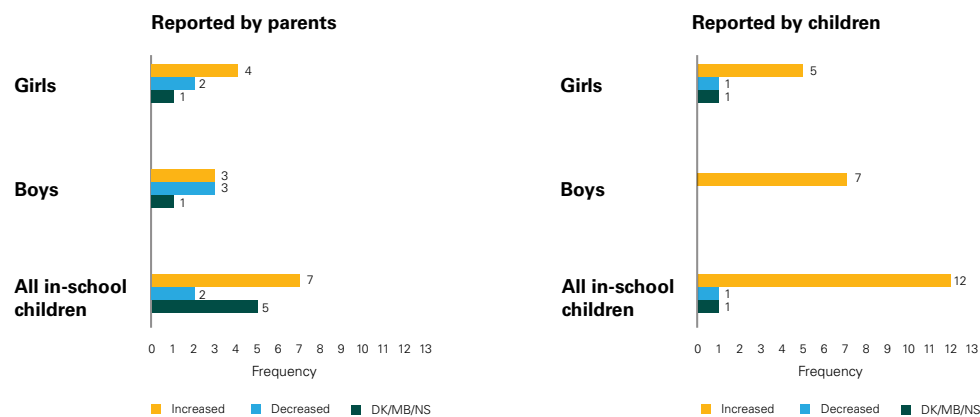
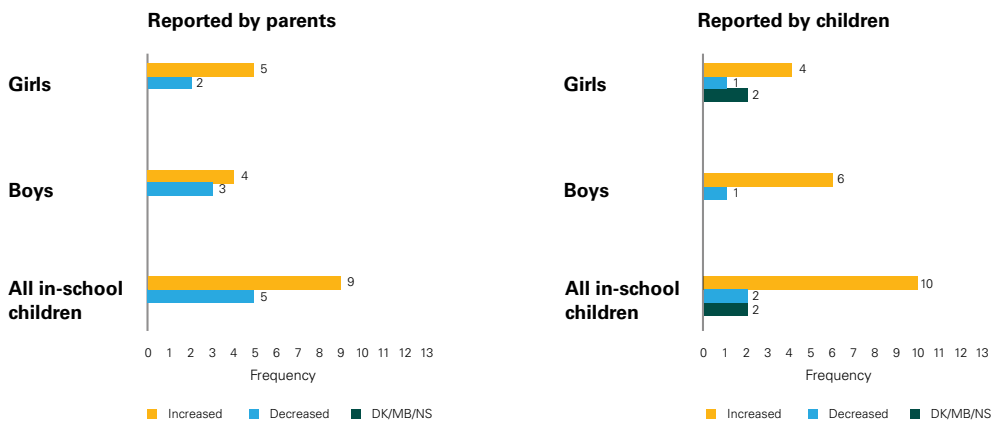


Figure 13 indicates a disparity in perceptions of changes in academic performance compared with previous years between adolescents and their parents. Ten adolescents reported improvement in academics, compared with nine parents. Gender disaggregated analysis shows that six boys compared with four girls noted an improvement.

Figure 13: Changes in academic performance compared with previous year



5.2.2 School-level characteristics

Questions around 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 adolescents. This includes changes in teaching quality, school infrastructure and school safety.

Figure 14 indicates a positive perception among parents regarding changes in teaching quality. Nine parents reported an improvement in teaching quality, none mentioned a decline and five did not give any specific response.

Figure 14: Changes in teaching quality compared with previous year

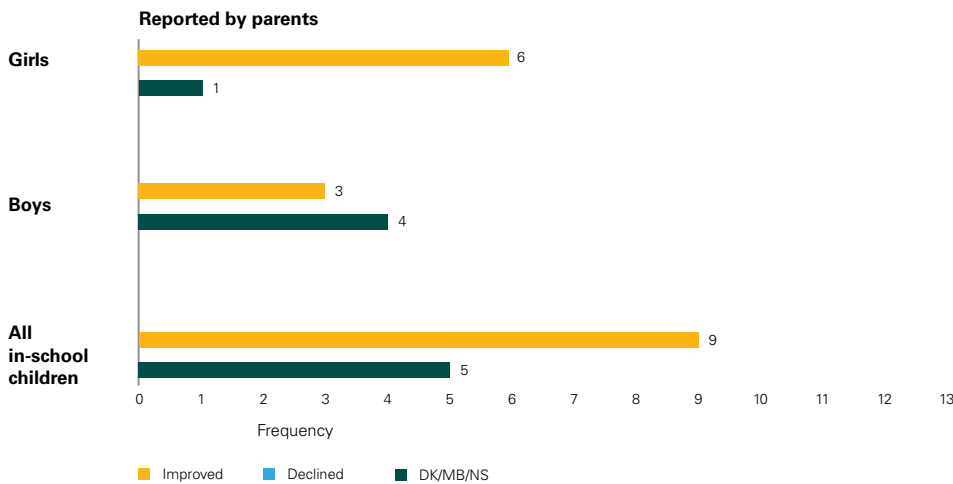


Figure 15 indicates a positive perception among parents regarding changes in school infrastructure as well, with eight parents highlighting improvement and none reporting a decline.

Figure 15: Changes in quality of school infrastructure compared with previous year

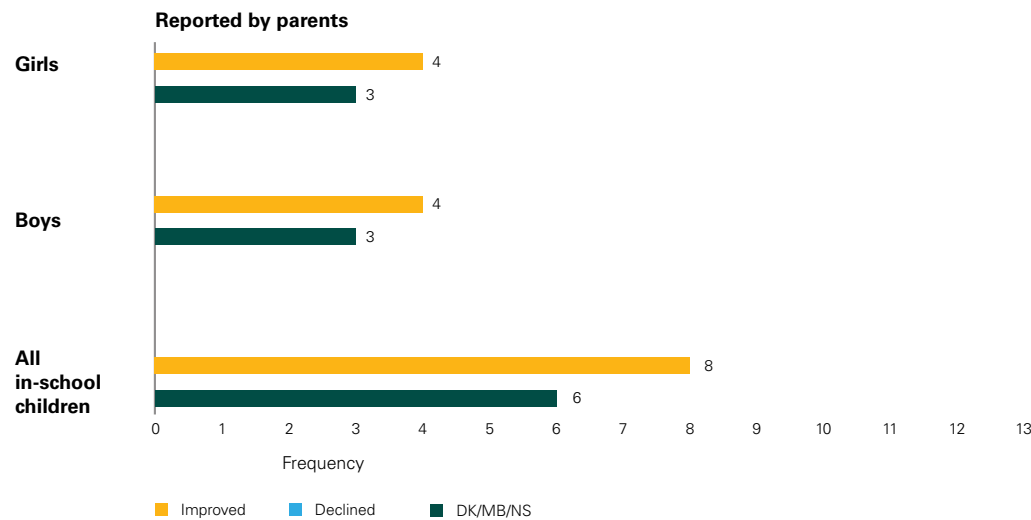


Figure 16 indicates a positive perception among parents regarding changes in school safety, with six parents reporting an improvement in school safety, one parent reporting a decline over time and seven giving no specific response.

Figure 16: Changes in school safety compared with previous year

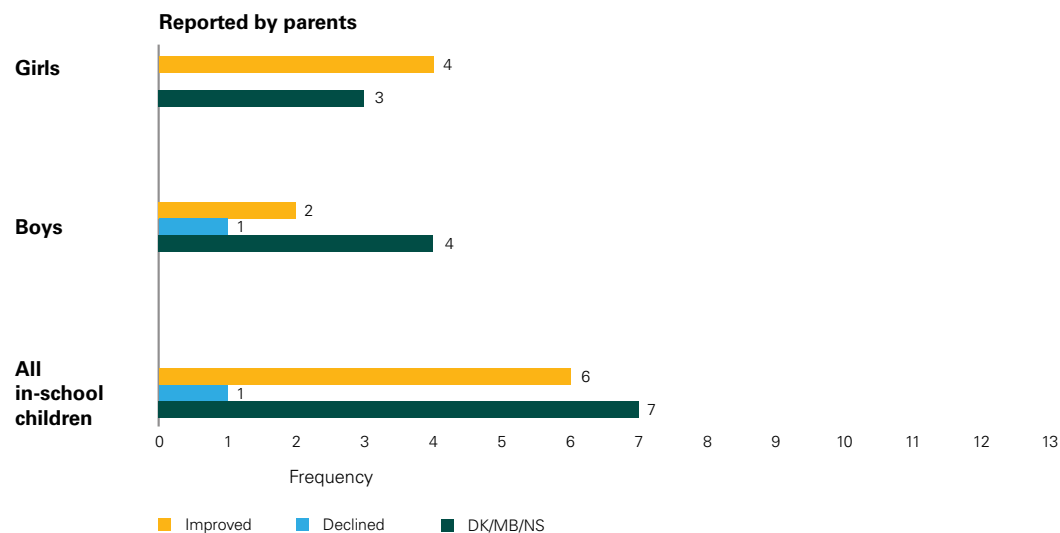
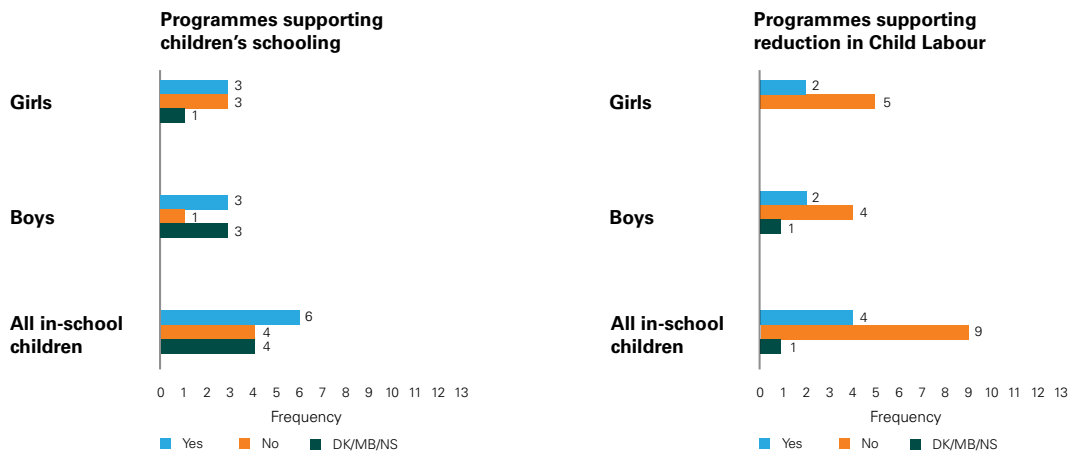


Figure 17 highlights that while six parents noted a positive impact of programmes and interventions supporting adolescents' schooling, a lower number (i.e., only four parents) acknowledged that programmes or interventions led to a reduction in child labour in their respective communities.⁴⁹ Critically, nine parents explicitly noted that these programmes had no impact on reducing child labour.

Figure 17: Parents' views on programmes or interventions supporting adolescents' schooling and reducing child labour



5.2.3 Summary of quantitative analysis

Combining school and work

As per Santhya et al. relying on analysis of National Sample Survey data (2011-12), “hardly any adolescents were reported to combine school and work (0.6 per cent)”,⁵⁰ though this report provides contrary findings from a qualitative interview undertaken with adolescents in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Acknowledging the data collected during the research study is not comparable to the National Sample Survey due to a limited qualitative sample, the insights gained show a vastly different picture.

All 14 in-school adolescents reported also doing domestic chores (averaging two hours per day), while an overwhelming majority (13 out of 14 adolescents) reported participating in work within the family enterprise (averaging four hours per day). Half of the sample (7 out of 14 in-school adolescents) reported participating in economic activities for pay outside the home (averaging 1.7 hours per day) and four in-school adolescents noted engaging in work involving hazardous conditions. These findings are consistent with the insights shared by adolescents in the 12 focus group discussions, in which most adolescents observed combining school and work as a common occurrence among their peers (14 to 17 years old).

These findings are consistent with numerous ethnographic research studies which reveal that the relationship between adolescents' schooling and work cannot be viewed as a binary and is instead complex, with adolescents not seeing their choices in either/or terms.⁵¹ The findings of this research study are closely aligned with the Young Lives school survey 2016–17, which collected data from a sample of 9,820 children studying in Grade 9 (across 205 secondary schools) in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. The survey reported that 18 per cent of children combined school with work in the family enterprise, 53 per cent combined school with domestic chores, and 8 per cent combined school with paid work.⁵²

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

The Young Lives longitudinal study (which has completed seven rounds of data collection since 2002 in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh) is not focused on child work or labour but it has collected valuable time-use data as well as data on the work and educational trajectories of 3,000 children across the life trajectory using mixed methods. The study provides valuable insights: For example, children who were balancing work (within and outside their homes) along with education were 61 per cent less likely to complete secondary education, compared with those in full-time education. The data also demonstrate the negative effects of three or more hours per day of domestic chores: Children engaging in more than three hours of domestic work were 50 per cent less likely to complete secondary education, compared with children who did not undertake domestic chores. The longitudinal analysis also demonstrates that gendered work starts very early, with more boys being pushed into paid work between the ages of 8 and 12, while girls are burdened with long hours of domestic chores at an early age, which impacts their educational outcomes.⁵³

Variations in perspectives of adolescents and parents: Why both need to be included

National data sets globally on adolescents' engagement in work or labour are based on reporting by an adult member in the household which, as per Lichand and Wolf, leads to under-reporting of adolescents' engagement in work or labour.⁵⁴ Further, adolescents and adults may differ in what they consider 'risky' behaviour, 'useful' skills or the value of school versus economic activity, as well as in the decisions they consider to be in adolescents' best interests.⁵⁵ The following insights attest to the variations between responses received from adolescents and their parents when discussing the child's participation as well as engagement (through time-use data), with parents noticeably under-reporting data compared with adolescents.

Quantitative findings related to participation in work or labour

Participation in domestic chores is high among adolescents: 27 out of 28 adolescents and 25 out of 28 parents reported adolescents' involvement.

Gender variations in work were also noted among adolescents (14–17 years) by both parents and adolescents, noting that girls spent longer hours on domestic chores compared with boys.⁵⁶ Time-use data, with respect to economic activities within the family enterprise and economic activities for pay outside the household, was contradictory among parents and adolescents.

Based on the responses of both parents and their adolescent children, the schooling status of the child significantly affects the nature of work and time spent on work or labour. In-school adolescents reported more engagement in domestic chores than out-of-school adolescents, with the latter more involved in economic activities like the family enterprise and paid work. Girls reported an increase in time spent on chores over time, compared with boys. Participation in the family enterprise was also high, with 24 adolescents and 22 parents (out of 28) noting adolescents' involvement and in-school adolescents participating more than out-of-school adolescents. Participation in paid work was lower than participation in the family enterprise, with 15 adolescents and 12 parents noting engagement in paid work. Boys reported higher participation than girls, and unsurprisingly out-of-school adolescents reported higher engagement than in-school adolescents. Hazardous work had the lowest reported participation, with boys (six) more involved than girls (five) and out-of-school adolescents (seven) more involved than in-school adolescents (four). Most adolescents reported a decrease in time spent working under hazardous conditions, indicating a positive trend.

The time-use data of adolescents reveal that out-of-school adolescents spent more time than in-school adolescents on domestic chores (averaging 2.7 hours per day compared with 2 hours), economic activities within the family enterprise (averaging 6.4 hours per day compared with 4 hours) and economic activities for pay outside the household (averaging 5.1 hours per day compared with 1.7 hours), even though all of the adolescents were below 18 years of age.⁵⁷

In addition, adolescents' perspectives further reveal that the hours spent by out-of-school adolescents on the family enterprise crossed ILO and UNICEF thresholds, with more boys than girls approaching the threshold for long hours.

Quantitative analysis of schooling outcomes for 14 adolescents and their parents shows disparities in perceptions. More adolescents than parents reported increased attendance (seven compared with six), homework (12 compared with seven) and academic performance (10 compared with nine). Boys reported more improvements in attendance, homework and academic performance than girls.

While parents reported positive changes in school characteristics (including teaching quality and infrastructure), fewer parents reported improvements in school safety and effectiveness of programmes reducing child labour.

6. QuIP study findings: Adolescents' perspective

6.1 Changes in schooling outcomes and main pathways of change

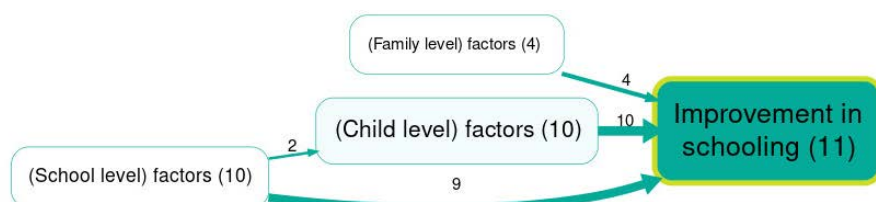
In the child QuIP questionnaire (in-school), schooling outcomes have been defined to include changes in attendance, time doing homework and academic performance. In cases where there has been a change, a follow-up question ascertains whether there has been an increase or decrease with respect to attendance and time doing homework and improvement or decline with respect to academic performance. Since changes in schooling outcomes and main pathways of change have only been discussed with adolescents who are currently in school, the analysis is limited to a sample of 14 adolescents (seven boys and seven girls).

In the child QuIP questionnaire (out-of-school), schooling outcome questions were not included as the child being interviewed is no longer part of the school system. However, the questionnaire enquires about the causes for dropout. Since reasons for dropout have **only** been discussed with adolescents who are no longer in school, the analysis is limited to a sample of 14 adolescents (seven boys and seven girls).

6.1.1 Improvements in schooling outcomes (in-school adolescents)

In Telangana, 11 out of 14 adolescents reported improvements in schooling compared with previous years. Figure 18 shows that among all the factors causing *improvement in schooling*, child-level factors (cited by 10) were the most important drivers of change, followed by school-level factors (cited by nine). Box 1 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 18.

Figure 18: Factors influencing schooling outcomes (Zoom 1)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 2.4%: 60 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 outcome-ness. 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

(Child-level) factors; school exams >> Improvement in schooling; attendance

"Now that we're in the 10th standard [Grade 10], so I have taken no holidays." – ID-111; in-school girl, aged 15

(Child-level) factors; school exams >> Improvement in schooling; time doing homework

"During exam time, I have to wake up early and study, which wasn't the case in ninth grade." – ID-111; in-school girl, aged 15

"Since I am in a higher grade now, my homework also has increased." – ID-151; in-school girl, aged 15

"At first, I wasn't very interested in school. But now that the exams are getting closer, I've made a schedule and started doing more homework, ma'am." – ID-481; in-school girl, aged 16

(Child-level) factors; school exams >> Improvement in schooling; academic performance

"Because I am now in 10th Class [Grade 10], I am scared of not passing the exam and having to repeat the year." – ID-221; in-school boy, aged 16

"Because of Tenth class [Grade 10], I am concentrating on studies; last year I used to play a lot." – ID-481; in-school girl, aged 16

"Because I am in 10th class [Grade 10], I concentrate more on studies." – ID-111; in-school girl, aged 15

(Child-level) factors; higher interest in education >> Improvement in schooling; attendance

"I have become more regular in going to school in the last year." – ID-151; in-school girl, aged 15

"I go to school more often this year. That is why." – ID-221; in-school boy, aged 16

"Before, I wasn't very interested in studying, but now, I'm more interested in education." – ID-361; in-school boy, aged 15

(Child-level) factors; higher interest in education >> Improvement in schooling; academic performance

"I have studied with more concentration this year." – ID-151; in-school girl, aged 15

"I understand the situation at home and that is why I study with full attention and do not get distracted." – ID-241; in-school boy, aged 17

"By attending school regularly and paying attention during lessons, my grades have improved." – ID-311; in-school boy, aged 16

"I am the reason sir, as I am devoting more time to studies sir." – ID-361; in-school boy, aged 15

(Child-level) factors; higher interest in education >> Improvement in schooling; time doing homework

"Since there are more subjects and science subjects are difficult, the amount of time spent studying increased." – ID-311; in-school boy, aged 16

"Before, I used to spend less time in doing homework. Now, I'm spending more time on it." – ID-371; in-school boy, aged 16

(Child-level) factors; higher grade >> Improvement in schooling; time doing homework

"As I am in a higher grade, there is more homework, so sometimes I have to spend one more hour to finish my homework." – ID-241; in-school boy, aged 17

"The syllabus isn't finished, sir. But we aim to finish our notes early so that we have more time for studying. This is adding to the amount of time that I have to study." – ID-371; in-school boy, aged 16

(Child-level) factors; higher grade >> Improvement in schooling; academic performance

"My grade has been increased [to Grade 9] so I need to study more now." – ID-371; in-school boy, aged 16

"My studies." – ID-371; in-school boy, aged 16

(Child-level) factors; increase in age >> Improvement in schooling; academic performance

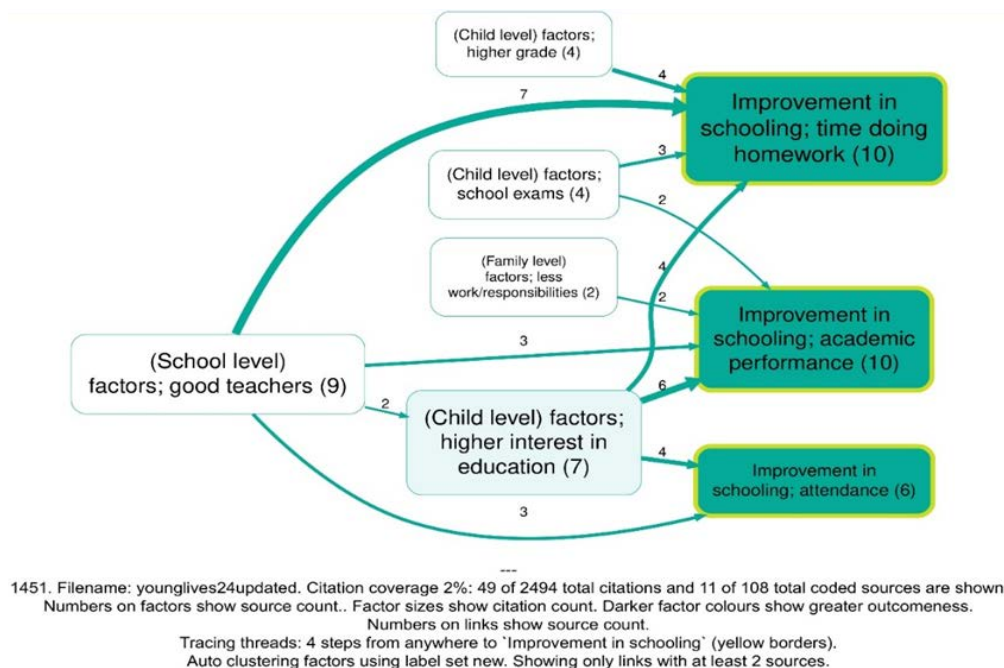
"My grades are improving. I feel the reason is because I've become more mature." – ID-481; in-school girl, aged 16

(Child-level) factors; reduced time spent on work >> Improvement in schooling; attendance

"Now I am more regular in attending school, sir. I am going to work less often now." – ID-311; in-school boy, aged 16

Figure 19 is based on a zoom 3 filter which provides detailed insights on the drivers of change using hierarchical coding. The figure shows that **a good teacher** (a school-level factor, cited by 9 out of 14 adolescents) emerges as the most important driver of improvements across all schooling outcomes, namely attendance, time spent doing homework and academic performance. **Higher interest in education** (a child-level factor, cited by seven adolescents) emerges as the second most important driver of improvements in schooling. An interesting pathway of change in Figure 19 shows that a good teacher was cited by two adolescents as leading to them having a higher interest in education, which in turn impacted their schooling outcomes. Box 2 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 19.

Figure 19: Factors improving schooling outcomes (zoom 3)



BOX 2: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

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

"Teachers have made it clear to us that attendance is important, which is why I'm more mindful of it now." – ID-111; in-school girl, aged 15

"Because of teachers informing us." – ID-111; in-school girl, aged 15

"Because of the teachers." – ID-411; in-school girl, aged 14

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

"Now, teachers are emphasizing the importance of being prepared for exams and that's why I'm putting in the effort to study." – ID-111; in-school girl, aged 15

"Because of teachers. They give more homework as we are going to a senior class." – ID-411; in-school girl, aged 14

"This is because of our teachers. They ask us to do our homework properly." – ID-151; in-school girl, aged 15

"The teachers encourage me by saying that I should set a timetable for studying and do my homework." – ID-481; in-school girl, aged 16

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

"Teachers are the reason." – ID-311; in-school boy, aged 16

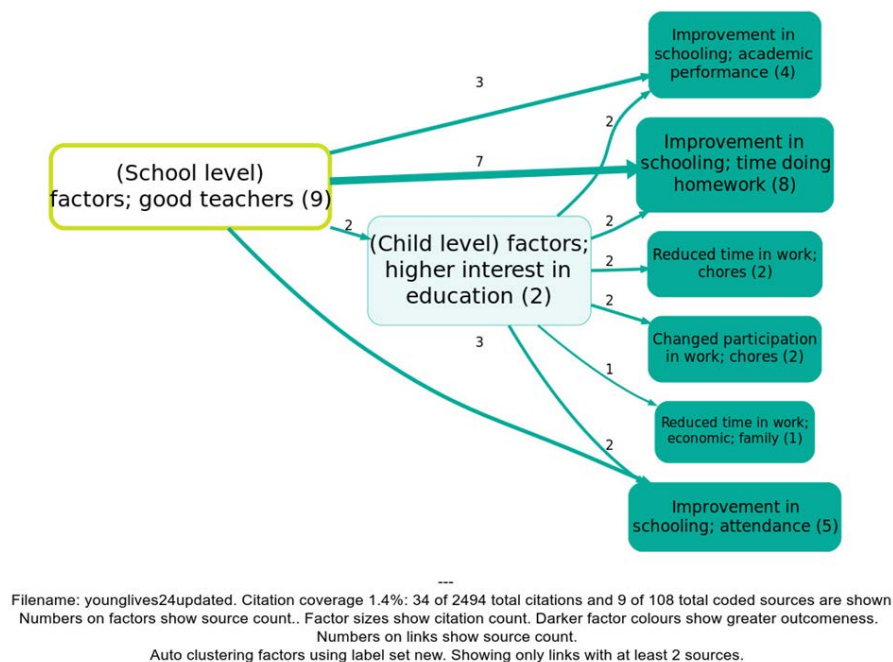
Causal maps related to improvement in schooling developed by gender (see Annex G) show that this hierarchy differs between girls and boys. For girls, a good teacher (cited by five) was the most important factor, followed by school exams (cited by three). Meanwhile, for boys, their own interest in education (cited by five) was more important than the role of teachers (cited by four) in improving schooling outcomes.

When improvement in schooling is analysed specifically for *time spent doing homework*, a good teacher remains the most prominent factor (cited by seven), while higher grade of the child and the child's own interest in education (cited by four each) are the second most cited factors. In contrast, the primary influencing factor leading to improvement in both *academic performance* and *attendance* was attributed by adolescents to their own individual interest in education, with the role of the teacher secondary. These findings suggest that the role of the teacher at the school level and ensuring the child's own interest in education are vital factors for improvement in schooling for the child.

Causal maps were explored to ascertain whether improvement or decline in schooling led to reduced or increased time spent on work. No causal maps were generated as no causality was established between improvement or decline in schooling and reduced or increased time spent on work.

As the role of the teacher clearly has a significant impact on schooling outcomes, Figure 20 examines the consequences of having a good teacher, as reported by in-school adolescents, by using a focus filter of school-level factors – good teachers.⁵⁸ This figure highlights that a good teacher not only led to positive impact on the schooling outcomes, but also affected the time her/his students spent on work by evoking a greater interest in education. Figure 20 shows a clear pathway for this, with two adolescents noting that a good teacher resulted in their higher interest in education, which in turn led to reduced time spent on domestic chores and the family enterprise.

Figure 20: Focus on good teachers

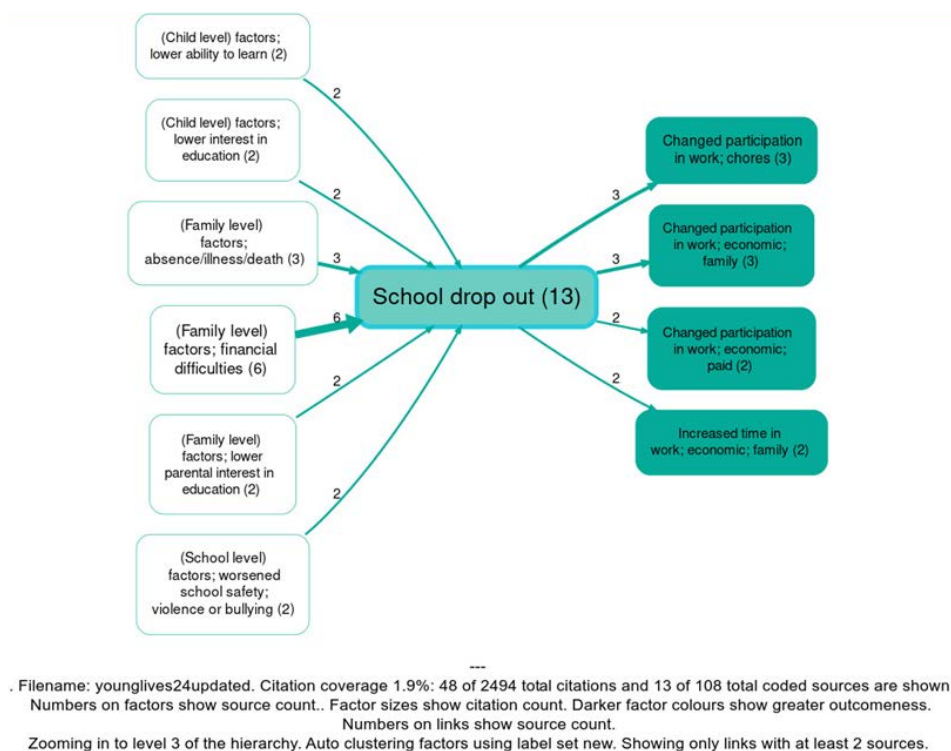


6.1.2 School dropout or non-enrolment (out-of-school adolescents)

Figure 21 was developed by applying a focus filter on school dropout to facilitate understanding of both the cause and consequences of school *dropout*. Out of the 14 adolescents, 13 provided reasons for dropout, with the top two factors being **financial difficulties** (a family-level factor, cited by six) and **absence, illness or death of a family member** (a family-level factor, cited by three). These factors, in turn, affected adolescents' participation in school and increased time spent by adolescents working.

Figure 21 indicates that strategies to reduce school dropout must focus on the familial level to avoid adolescents dropping out of school and participating more in work. Box 3 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 21.

Figure 21: Factors causing school dropout and the consequences of dropout (zoom 3)



BOX 3: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Family-level) factors; financial difficulties >> School dropout

"Due to economically poor conditions brother." – ID-121; out-of-school boy, aged 17

"However, I faced financial issues, especially with affording the bus pass as my father was not supporting my family." – ID-121; out-of-school boy, aged 17

"As I already told you madam, this is because of our financial condition. I quit school in 2022." – ID-161; out-of-school girl, aged 17

"The only reason is my financial situation." – ID-161; out-of-school girl, aged 17

"Due to poor financial situation of the family." – ID-251; out-of-school boy, aged 17

"Before, my parents worked very hard. I did not fully understand their struggles, so I quit school to ease their burden. We had a debt of nine lakhs [900,000 INR]. Since I started working, we managed to pay off all our debts. We had to take a loan for my sister's marriage and now this huge debt has fallen on me." – ID-431; out-of-school girl, aged 17

"My parents asked me to discontinue education as we were facing financial difficulties." – ID-431; out-of-school girl, aged 17

"Lockdown added difficulties in our financial situations along with my father's demise. I really needed to look after the household." – ID-441; out-of-school girl, aged 15

"My financial situation is the reason for my dropping out." – ID-161; out-of-school girl, aged 17

6.2 Changes in child work and child labour and main pathways of change

Adolescents were asked whether there was a change in their participation in domestic chores, economic activities within the family enterprise or economic activities for pay outside the home, compared with previous years. When a change was reported, a follow-up question was asked about the drivers and pathways of change as well as whether adolescents were spending increased or reduced time doing this work.

Adolescents reporting participation in economic activities (within or outside the home) were also asked whether any of their work conditions could be considered hazardous. If they described the working conditions as hazardous, a follow-up question was asked to ascertain change in the amount of time spent on hazardous work compared with previous years.

The analysis is based on a total sample of 28 adolescents (14 in-school and 14 out-of-school). Disaggregated analysis by gender and schooling status was also undertaken.

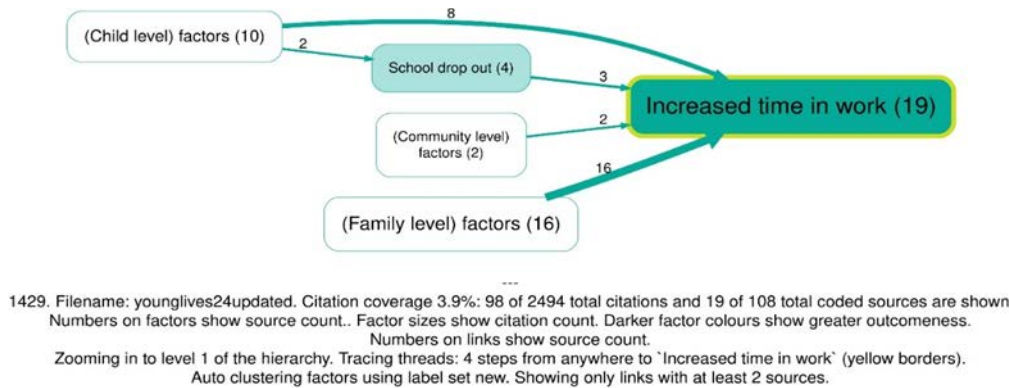
6.2.1 Increased time spent on child work or child labour, as reported by adolescents

This section covers instances where adolescents reported an increased time spent working, as well as the drivers and pathways of change.

All adolescents

In Telangana, of the 28 adolescents, 19 reported spending increased time on work compared with previous years. Figure 22 shows that among all the factors causing increased time spent on work, family-level factors (cited by 16) were most important, followed by child-level factors (cited by 10). Box 4 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 22.

Figure 22: Factors increasing time spent on child work or child labour (zoom 1)



BOX 4: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

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

"When I was in hostel, I had no household duties but now that I am home, I have so much work given to me. I have no time for relaxation. Instead, whenever I have any free time, I am told to clean or look after my grandparents." – ID-141; out-of-school boy, aged 17

"Because of my mother. She does not like to see me idle." – ID-141; out-of-school boy, aged 17

(Family-level) factors; financial difficulties >> Increased time spent on work; chores

"It's mostly due to financial problem. As you can see, currently my younger brothers are studying in schools and my elder sister got married. I had to drop out and earn some money to support my family." – ID-431; out-of-school girl, aged 17

(Family-level) factors; assets increased; livestock >> Increased time spent on work; economic; hazardous

"Since there are more sheep, almost 100, I have to work for longer hours and the risk also increases." – ID-171; in-school girl, aged 17

(Family-level) factors; assets increased; leased land >> Increased time spent on work; economic; family

"Before, we used to grow paddy on two acres of land, sir. We made around 30,000 rupees from it. Now, we aim to expand and grow paddy on 5 acres, hoping to earn even more money. I am hoping this year we will double the profit." – ID-331; out-of-school boy, aged 17

"My mother has taken a larger piece of land on lease. So, I spend much more time in work during the holidays. The larger piece of land is the reason. [Probe: So if the land was smaller, you think your homework would decrease?] Sounds funny but yes. If the land was smaller in size, I would have to do lesser amount of work and then could have attended school more regularly. This way, I would have to do less homework to catch up. It is all connected."

– ID-191; in-school boy, aged 16

(Family-level) factors; absence/illness/death >> Increased time spent on work; chores

"Because of parents' illness." – ID-181; out-of-school boy, aged 15

"Situation in the family. Because of my mother's death." – ID-351; out-of-school boy, aged 14

"If my sisters were there at home, three of us would have shared the work and it would have taken less time. Now as they are not there, I do all the work and it is taking much more time to complete the task all by myself."

– ID-411; in-school girl, aged 14

"It's mostly due to financial problem. As you can see, currently my younger brothers are studying in schools and my elder sister got married. I had to drop out and earn some money to support my family."

– ID-431; out-of-school girl, aged 17

"Yes, my brothers are also growing in age and my grandmother is very old and also ill. Hence, I have to spend a lot of time now in taking care of them as well as household activities." – ID-441; out-of-school girl, aged 15

(Family-level) factors; absence/illness/death >> Increased time spent on work; economic; paid

"Because of family members, because of mother in specific, madam. All her duties are now mine."

– ID-181; out-of-school boy, aged 15

(Family-level) factors; absence/illness/death >> Increased time spent on work; economic; family

"This change is due to my father's death. I have to do more work so that we have more money at home." – ID-241; in-school boy, aged 17

I was not working in the field at all when my father was alive. However, after his death, I have to work." – ID-441; out-of-school girl, aged 15

Figure 23 applies a zoom 3 filter and reveals further insights on the drivers and pathways leading to increased time spent on work. It is vital to note that 13 adolescents cited increased time spent on domestic chores, 12 on family enterprises, eight on paid work and only two adolescents on work involving hazardous conditions (child labour).

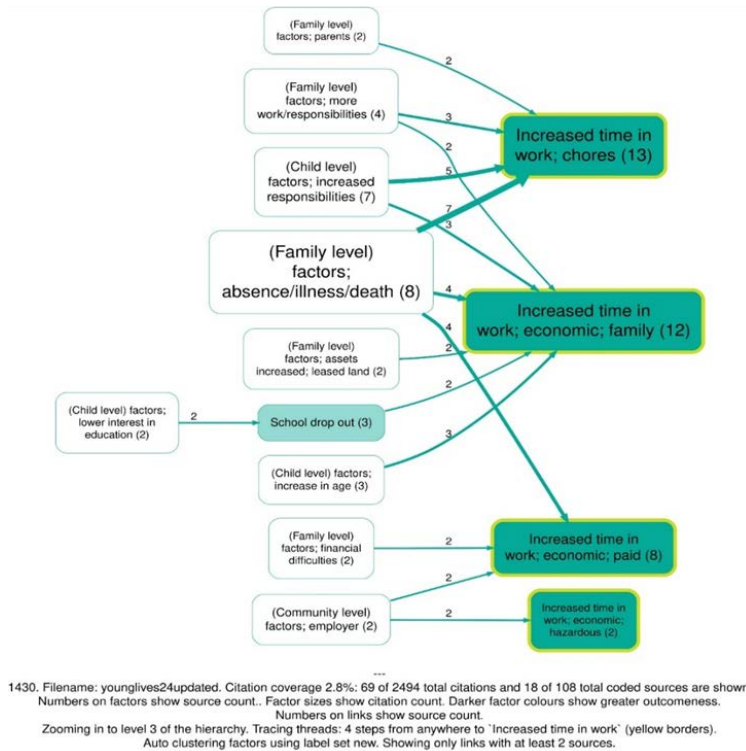
Regarding child work (chores, economic activities for the household and economic activities outside the household), the most important factor causing increased time spent by adolescents across all three types of work was absence, illness or death of a family member (a family-level factor). The second most important factor varied by category of work, as described below:

- The second most cited factor leading to increased time spent on *domestic chores* was increased **responsibilities** (a child-level factor, cited by five).
- The second most cited factors causing increased time spent on the *family enterprise* were increased **age** and increased **responsibilities** (child-level factors, cited by three each).
- The second most cited factors causing increased time spent on *paid work outside the home* were **financial difficulties** (a family-level factor) and employers demanding more time from adolescents engaged in work (a community-level factor), cited by two each.

Regarding child labour, increased time spent on work involving hazardous conditions was only cited by two adolescents, who worked as masons on a construction site and attributed this increased time to their employer, who demanded more time from them (a community-level factor).

Figure 23 also shows a pathway of change from lower interest in education (a child-level factor, cited by two) to school dropout which, in turn, increased time spent on the family enterprise.

Figure 23: Factors increasing time spent on child work or child labour (zoom 3)



By gender

Figures 24 and 25 allow the causes for increased time spent on work to be compared between girls and boys. For girls, absence, illness or death of a family member (cited by four) followed by increase in age (cited by three) were the top two factors causing increased time spent on work, whereas boys listed absence, illness or death of a family member as a top factor (cited by four) followed by increase in responsibilities (cited by three). Interestingly, absence, illness or death of a family member was a reason for increased time spent only on domestic chores for girls, while for boys it led to increased time spent on domestic chores, the family enterprise and paid work.

Figure 24: Factors increasing time spent on child work or child labour (girls)

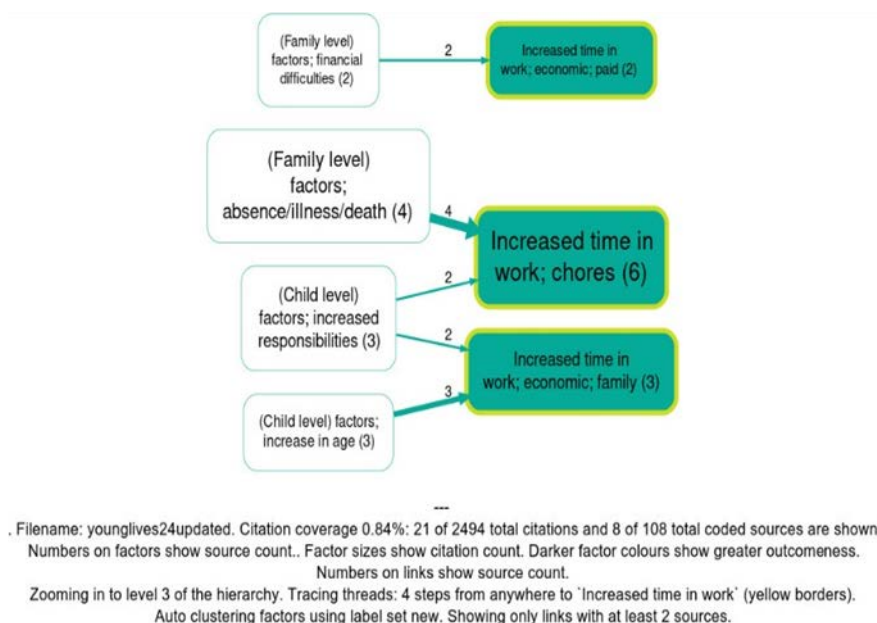
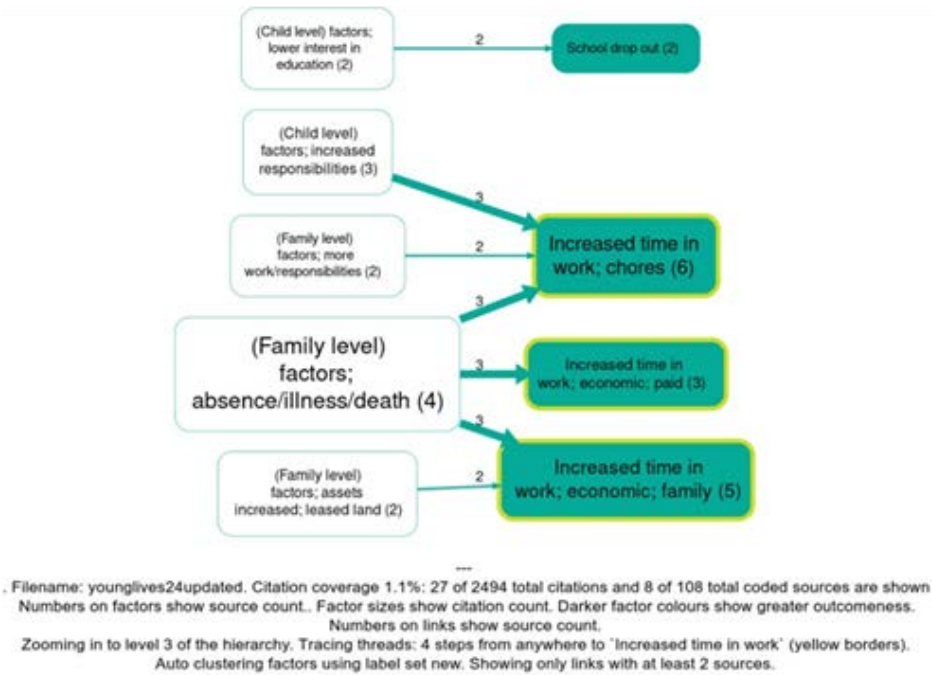


Figure 25: Factors increasing time spent on child work or child labour (boys)



By school-going status

Figures 26 and 27 were developed based on the school-going status of the child. They show that for in-school adolescents, absence, illness or death of a family member and increased responsibilities (cited by three each) were the most cited drivers of increased time spent working by adolescents. On the other hand, out-of-school adolescents reported absence, illness or death of a family member (cited by five) most often, followed by increased responsibilities (cited by four).

Only one pathway of change appears in Figure 27, which clearly shows that lower interest in education, as cited by two adolescents, led to school dropout which, in turn, caused an increase in time spent on the family enterprise.

Figure 26: Factors increasing time spent on child work or child labour (in-school adolescents)

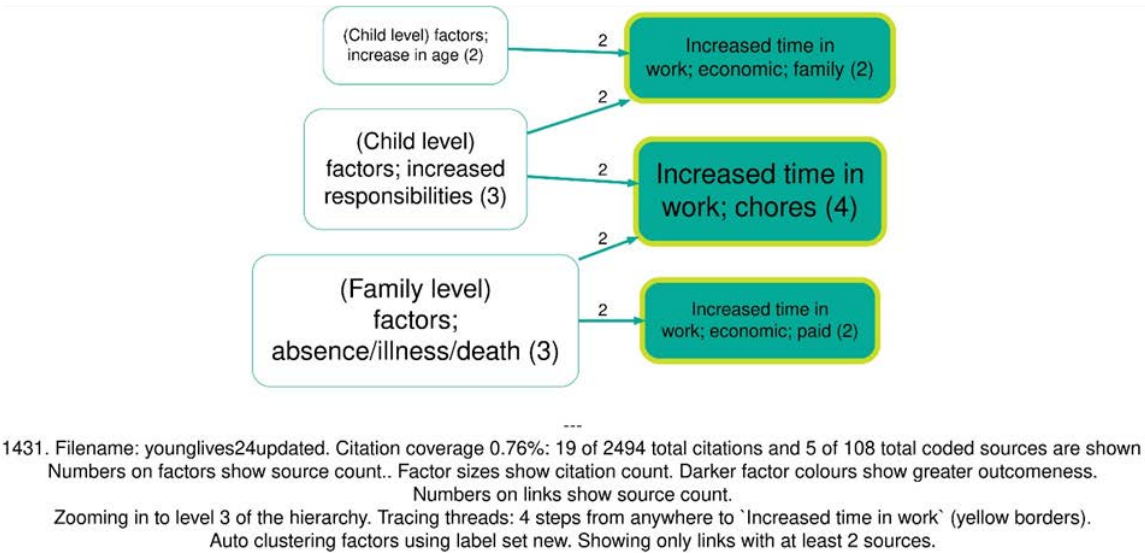
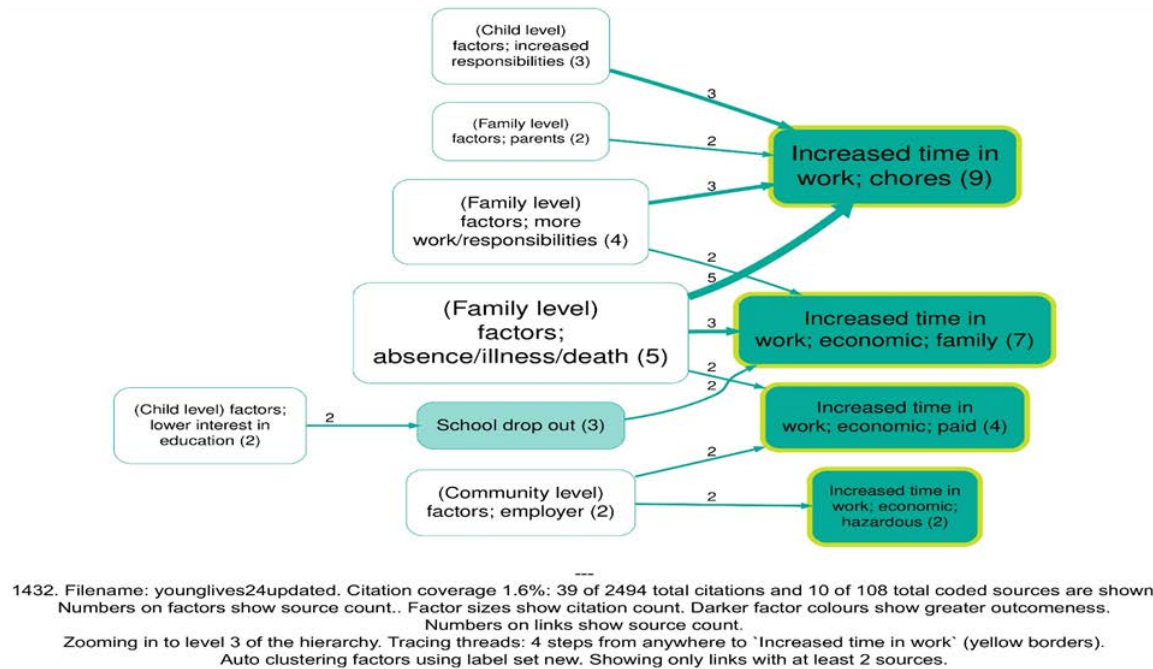


Figure 27: Factors increasing time spent on child work or child labour (out-of-school adolescents)



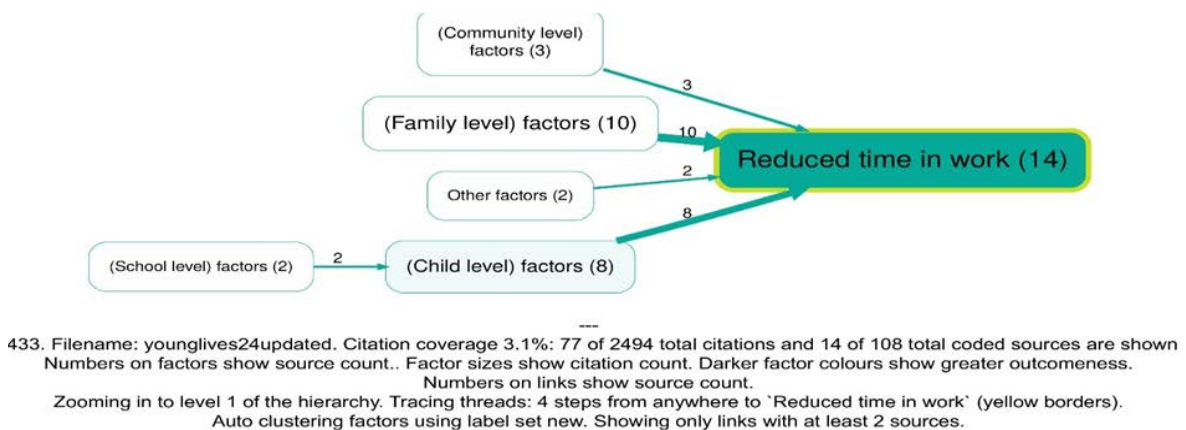
6.2.2 Reduced time spent on child work or child labour, as reported by adolescents

This section covers instances where adolescents reported a reduction in the time they spent working, as well as the drivers and pathways of change for this reduction.

All adolescents

Of the 28 adolescents in Telangana, 14 recorded reduced time spent on work compared with previous years. Figure 28 shows that among all the factors cited as causing reduced time spent by adolescents working, family-level factors (cited by 10) were the most important, followed by child-level factors (cited by eight). Box 5 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 28.

Figure 28: Factors reducing time spent on child work or child labour (zoom 1)



BOX 5: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

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

"As I am now in class 10th [Grade 10], my parents want me to focus on my studies as this is an important year for me. [Probe: Why?] I have my board exams and I am doing fewer household chores. Also, I am not going to the field nowadays. My focus is on school." – ID-151; in-school girl, aged 15

"In my house, they tell me not to do work in the field because they want me to concentrate and study. They have understood my interest in studies, so they do not ask me to do any work apart from studies." – ID-151; in-school girl, aged 15

"My family is really supportive of my studies, they say that I should focus on my studies and do less household work." – ID-481; in-school girl, aged 16

(Family-level) factors; higher parental interest in education >> Reduced time spent on work; economic; family

"It is because of my parents. They want me to concentrate only on studies." – ID-151; in-school girl, aged 15

"My parents ask me to go to school and study. They tell me they can manage the work and I should focus on my studies." – ID-221; in-school boy, aged 16

"Because of my parents. They think that if I study well, I would get some good job and earn money to support the family. So it is better to focus on education." – ID-221; in-school boy, aged 16

"Now that I am in 9th class [Grade 9], my father is not letting me go out and work in the field. He wants me to improve my grades." – ID-371; in-school boy, aged 16

"My father as he wants me to get better marks." – ID-371; in-school boy, aged 16

(Family-level) factors; higher parental interest in education >> Reduced time spent on work; economic; paid

"My parents want me to focus on studies." – ID-221; in-school boy, aged 16

(Family-level) factors; assets increased; leased land >> Reduced time spent on work; economic; family

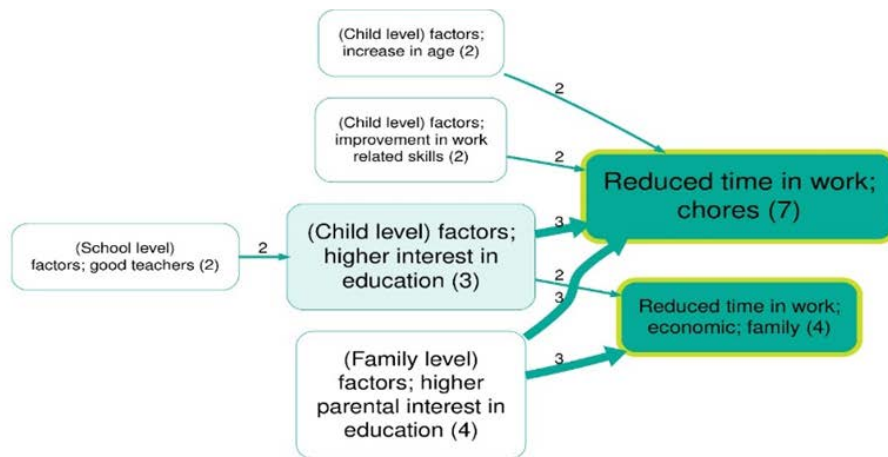
"Because we have leased the land." – ID-311; in-school boy, aged 16

Figure 29 applies a zoom 3 filter and reveals further insights on the drivers and pathways leading to reduced time spent by adolescents working. Seven adolescents cited reduced time spent on domestic chores, while four cited reduced time spent on the family enterprise compared with previous years. Analysis of the most cited factors is given by category of work below:

- The most important factors causing reduced time spent on *domestic chores* were higher **interest in education** (a child-level factor) and higher **parental interest in education** (a family-level factor), cited by three each. Increase in age and improvement in work-related skills (child-level factors, cited by two each) were the second most important causes cited for adolescents' reduced time spent on domestic chores.
- The most important factor causing reduced time spent on *economic activities within the family* 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).

Based on Figure 29, there were no cases of reduced time spent on paid work or work involving hazardous conditions.

Figure 29: Factors reducing time spent on child work or child labour (zoom 3)



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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.

An interesting pathway of change in Figure 29 shows that a good teacher was cited by two adolescents as having increased their interest in education which, in turn, reduced their time spent on domestic chores and the family enterprise. This provides an important takeaway: Changing the mindsets of the adolescents and families regarding the value of education, with the help of schoolteachers, influences a child's work trajectory. This should be considered when designing programmes to reduce child labour.

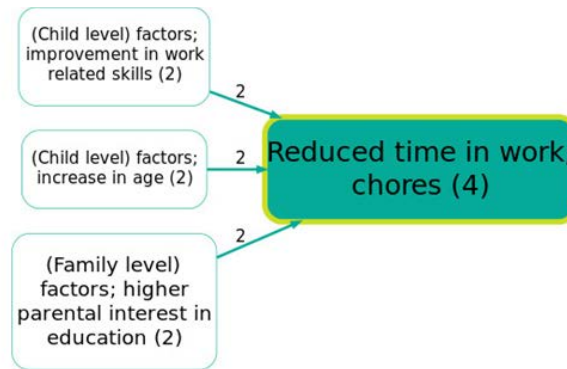
By gender

Comparison of Figure 30 (girls) and Figure 31 (boys) highlights that reduced working time was limited to chores for girls, while for boys it also included time spent on the family enterprise.

For girls, improvement in work-related skills, increase in age and higher parental interest in education (cited by two each) were the main factors reducing time spent on domestic chores. For boys, higher own interest in education (cited by three) was a top factor reducing time spent working, followed by higher parental interest in education (cited by two). Only one pathway of change appears in Figure 31: The positive role of teachers influenced boys' interest in education which, in turn, reduced their time spent on domestic chores and the family enterprise.

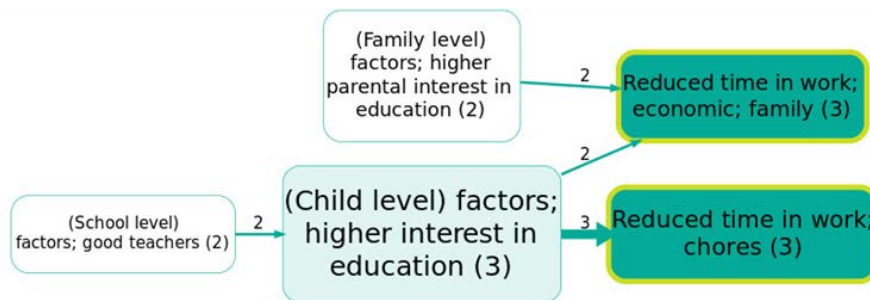
For girls, own interest in education did not appear as a driver of reduced time spent working, which could be interpreted as highlighting their limited agency and decision-making opportunities in a patriarchal society like Telangana. For girls, increase in age was one of the most important reasons for reduced time spent on domestic chores, while for boys increase in age did not appear as a factor causing reduced time spent on work of any kind.

Figure 30: Factors reducing time spent on child work or child labour (girls)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.32%: 8 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 'Reduced time in work' (yellow borders). Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

Figure 31: Factors reducing time spent on child work or child labour (boys)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.72%: 18 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 'Reduced time in work' (yellow borders). Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

By school-going status

While all maps generated above for reduced time spent by adolescents working have a filter applied of at least two links, no maps were generated using this filter for out-of-school adolescents.

6.3 Exploring gendered variations in work based on a hypothetical scenario

Adolescents were given a hypothetical situation: If they were born as the opposite sex, would there be a difference in the kind of work (including domestic chores, family enterprise and paid work outside the home) undertaken by them? Those who reported a difference were asked to describe the possible changes in work. The analysis is based on the total sample of 28 adolescents (14 girls and 14 boys).

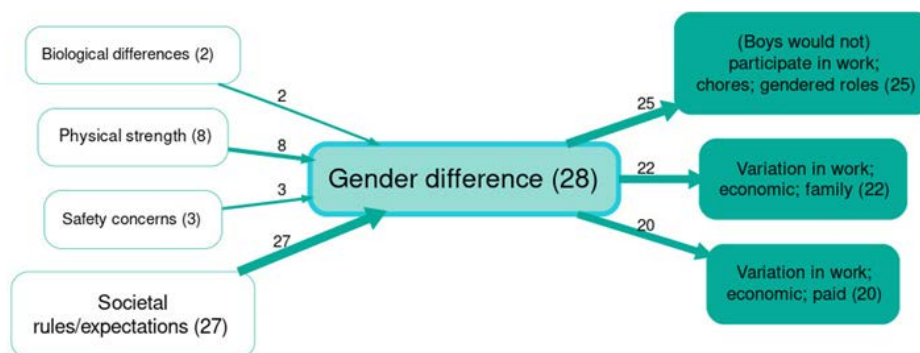
6.3.1 All adolescents

Figure 32 shows that all interviewed adolescents asserted that there would be a difference in the work undertaken by them, if they were born as the opposite sex.

Societal rules and expectations (cited by 27) were identified as the most important factor causing this difference, followed by physical strength (cited by eight).

The most important finding relates to gender variation for participation in domestic chores (cited by 25) wherein it was categorically stated that boys would not participate in domestic chores. Variations in work in the family enterprise and in paid work outside the home were less common (cited by 22 adolescents and 20 adolescents, respectively). Box 6 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 32.

Figure 32: Gender differences in child work based on a hypothetical scenario



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 5.6%: 140 of 2494 total citations and 28 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 6: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

Societal rules/expectations >> Gender difference

"[If I was a boy] Parents might have sent me to work outside as well and earn money. Even if parents don't send boys to work outside, they still go outside and try to earn some pocket money ... They do agricultural work like ploughing and filling sand in tractors or vehicles which are sent to construction site." – ID-111; in-school girl, aged 15

"In many cases, families may not allow girls to work outside the house, preferring to have them assist with agricultural work instead." – ID-121; out-of-school boy, aged 17

"If I were a girl, I would be doing work like, washing the utensils, cooking and fetching water. What girls do, girls must do, and what boys do, boys should do. Everyone has their own responsibilities and tasks, brother. [Probe: But you are helping in the house and you are a boy. That means boys can also do this work.] But girls should do this." – ID-121; out-of-school boy, aged 17

"I might have done work like, washing utensils, sweeping, that is it. As a girl, I would not have been asked to supervise the construction and deal with the masons." – ID-131; out-of-school boy, aged 15

"[If I was a girl] I think my life would be the worst. [Probe: Why do you say this?] I would have done everything. Washing clothes, giving breakfast to mom and dad, sweeping outer courtyard and inside. Also, girls wash the clothes and do the cooking. It is never-ending." – ID-141; out-of-school boy, aged 17

"Yes madam, there are big differences. Boys will not wash clothes, and they do not do any household work. If I were a boy, I would not have done anything at home." – ID-151; in-school girl, aged 15

"Difference means the boys won't do household chores. [Probe: Does that mean boys do not do any household chores and only girls do this?] Boys may fetch water and attend farm works. [Probe: Anything else boys do?] They may clean the house and fetch water, however, they do not wash the utensils." – ID-161; out-of-school girl, aged 17

"This difference between boys and girls has been there since a long time. [Probe: What do you mean?] Since olden times there is a difference but now things are changing." – ID-171; in-school girl, aged 17

"If I were a girl, I would have done cooking also, cleaned utensils and washed everyone's clothes. [Probe: As a boy, you don't do this?] No, only girls cook and clean. As a boy, I only wash my own clothes." – ID-181; out-of-school boy, aged 15

"Right now, as a boy, I only help in these household activities. If I was a girl, I would have no choice and I would have to do all these things. Then my mother would not be doing any household work. She would have entirely focused on agricultural work." – ID-191; in-school boy, aged 16

"Boys do not know how to do household chores. Boys are told to study and remember what they have been taught. Only if they are free (not studying), they must look out for some work outside home or paid work." – ID-211; out-of-school girl, aged 16

"Girls and boys are given different jobs based on their capabilities. Boys can do many more tasks compared with girls." – ID-241; in-school boy, aged 17

"If I was a girl, I would do all the household work. I would not go outside. Cooking would also be my responsibility." – ID-251; out-of-school boy, aged 17

"If I were a girl, I would wash the dishes and assist my mother with cooking. [Probe: You are a boy but you still do this work at home.] Yes, that is true. But please remember, other boys in my village do not do household work. Even I do not really like this work." – ID-311; in-school boy, aged 16

"Girls are expected to handle household tasks such as washing dishes, laundry, cleaning, cooking, fetching water and all other chores typically associated with women. [Probe: Do you think men should help in this work?] No, if men start doing this work, then what will women do." – ID-311; in-school boy, aged 16

"If I were a girl, I would have done usual things that girls do at home, all the household chores. [Probe: Boys don't do this?] Not at all." – ID-371; in-school boy, aged 16

"If I was a boy, I would have even gone out without fear to get more orders for our shop. I would have been independent like my brother. [Probe: Any other difference?] I would have opened my shop like my brother. Ma'am, my mother says, boys can work outside, while girls mostly work inside the house, as it is safer." – ID-411; in-school girl, aged 14

"The girl will have additional responsibilities and tasks. [Probe: Like what?] She will need to take on all the household chores her mother does, including looking after younger siblings. There will be more things to do, such as taking care of the grandparents and uncles who live in the home." – ID-321; in-school boy, aged 14

6.3.2 By gender

Figures 33 and 34 show that all girls and boys reported a difference in work undertaken by them if they were born as the opposite sex. Societal rules and expectations was the most cited factor leading to gender difference in work (cited by 14 girls and 13 boys), followed by physical strength (cited by three girls and five boys). Only boys cited safety concerns (cited by two) as a reason for gender difference in work. Comparison between Figures 33 and 34 also reveals that a higher number of girls reported differences in work undertaken in the family enterprise (cited by 13) than boys (cited by nine).

Figure 33: Gender differences in child work based on a hypothetical scenario (girls)

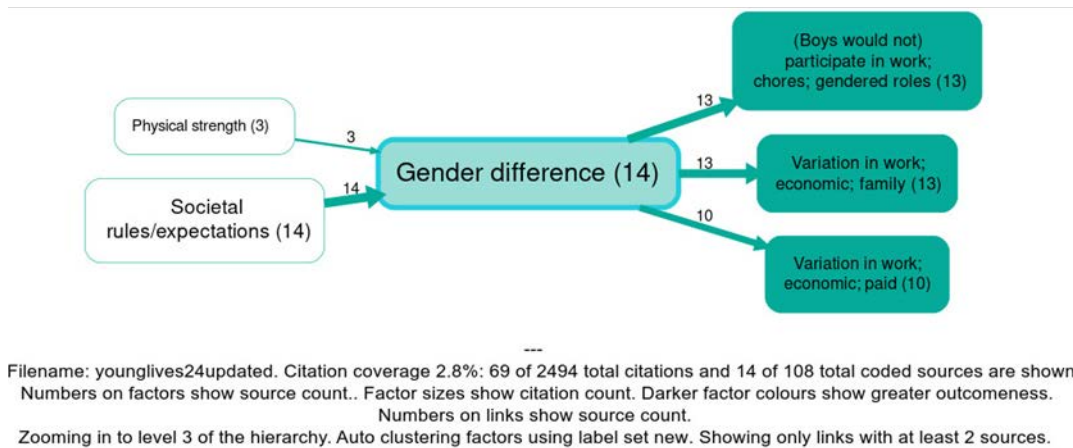
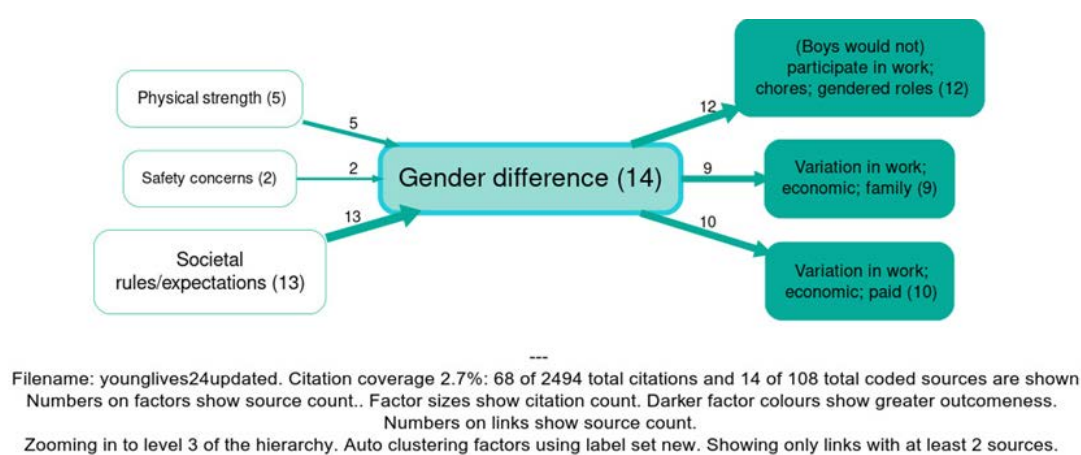


Figure 34: Gender differences in child work based on a hypothetical scenario (boys)



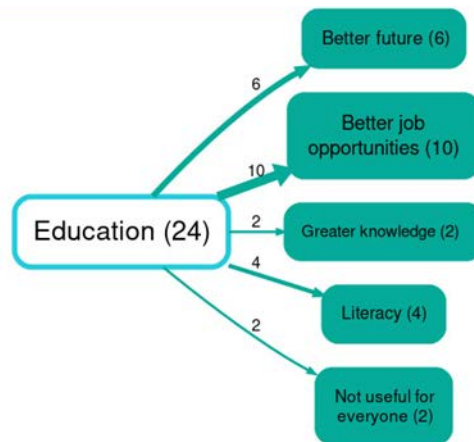
6.4 Adolescents' perceptions on the value of education

Adolescents were asked whether they think education offered in school is useful for their future. If they responded positively, they were asked to describe how it is useful. The analysis is based on a total sample of 28 adolescents (14 girls and 14 boys).

6.4.1 All adolescents

Figure 35 highlights that 24 adolescents (out of 28) noted the importance of education offered in schools. Better job opportunities (cited by 10) as a consequence of education was most cited, followed by better future (cited by six). Two respondents cited that education is not useful for everyone. Box 7 contains all relevant quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 35.

Figure 35: Adolescents' perceptions on the value of education



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 1%: 25 of 2494 total citations and 24 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 7: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

Education >> Better job opportunities

"If I study hard in school, I will get admission in a good college and if I study in a good college, I will get a good job. This is how it will be useful for me. It will be useful for the society as well." – ID-151; in-school girl, aged 15

"In case one is able to do well in school, one can get a better job and earn a good salary. This way I can take care of my family." – ID-191; in-school boy, aged 16

"If we study well, we can get admission in a good college, then we can get a good job in the future." – ID-221; in-school boy, aged 16

"Getting an education is beneficial. If you study, you may get a good job." – ID-351; out-of-school boy, aged 14

"Education can be helpful for work. It will also come in handy during interviews." – ID-371; in-school boy, aged 16

Education >> Not useful for everyone

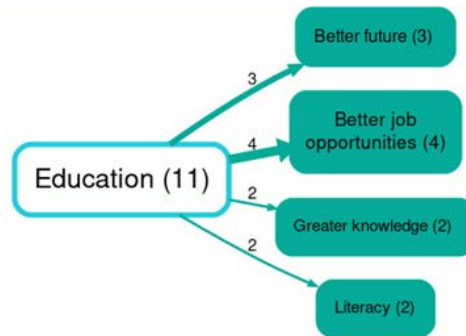
"In my case, as I am the elder son and the shop will become mine, there is no use of education. Like I said, it is not useful for everybody." – ID-131; out-of-school boy, aged 15

"Studying diligently with the goal of getting a job will lead to a promising future, but it's only beneficial to those who are genuinely interested in getting a job." – ID-331; out-of-school boy, aged 17

6.4.2 By gender

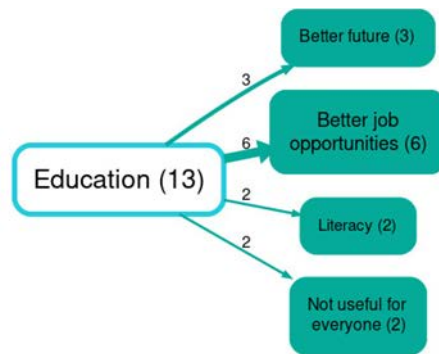
Figures 36 and 37 illustrate the usefulness of education as described by 11 girls and 13 boys, respectively. While both boys and girls cited better job opportunities and better future, only girls cited greater knowledge as a value of education. Education not being useful for everyone was only cited by two (boys).

Figure 36: Adolescents' perceptions on the value of education (girls)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.44%: 11 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.

Figure 37: Adolescents' perceptions on the value of education (boys)

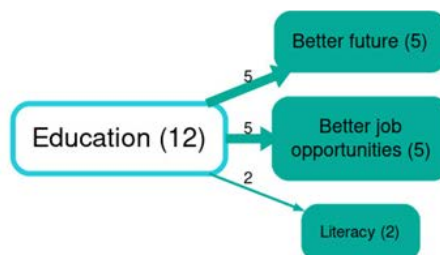


Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.56%: 14 of 2494 total citations and 13 of 108 total coded sources are shown
 Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
 Numbers on links show source count.
 Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

6.4.3 By school-going status

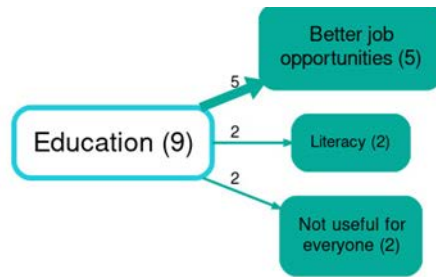
Figures 38 and 39 illustrate the usefulness of education as described by 12 in-school adolescents and 9 out-of-school adolescents, respectively. Many in-school as well as out-of-school adolescents reported that education is useful for better job opportunities (cited by five each). However, two out-of-school adolescents cited education as not being useful for everyone.

Figure 38: Adolescents' perception on the value of education (in-school adolescents)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.48%: 12 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 39: Adolescents' perception on the value of education (out-of-school adolescents)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.4%: 10 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.

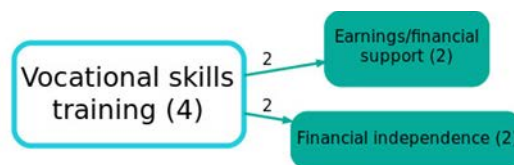
6.5 Adolescents' perceptions on the value of vocational skills training

In-school adolescents were asked whether vocational skills training was offered in their school. If they said it was, adolescents were then asked whether they opted for any such course and to describe it (this information was recorded in plain coding). Further, the adolescents were asked whether they found the vocational skills training useful. If they responded positively, they were prompted to describe the usefulness of the training and the skills they learnt (plain coding). If they responded negatively, they were prompted to describe the reasons why the training was not useful.

The analysis is based on a total sample of 14 adolescents (in-school adolescents).

Figure 40 reveals that among adolescents who received vocational skills training, only four cited vocational skill training as being useful for earnings and financial independence (cited by two each).

Figure 40: Adolescents' perceptions on the value of vocational skills training



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

6.6 Summary of child QuIP findings

Schooling outcomes

- As per adolescents, a good teacher (a school-level factor) was the most important driver of improvements in schooling across *attendance*, *time spent doing homework* and overall *academic performance*. Higher interest in education (a child-level factor) emerged as the second most important driver of *improvement in schooling*.

- This hierarchy differed by gender, with good teachers being the most important factor followed by school exams for girls, whereas for boys their own interest in education was more important than the role of a good teacher.
- The causal pathway clearly shows a good teacher led to higher interest in education which, in turn, led to improvement in schooling outcomes at the individual level.
- The top two factors for school dropout were financial difficulties and absence, illness or death of a family member (both family-level factors). Dropout, in turn, resulted in higher *participation and time spent on work*.

Increased time spent on work or labour

- The most important factor causing *increased time spent on work or labour* (across all types of child work or child labour) was absence, illness or death of a family member (a family-level factor). The second most cited factor varied by category of work: For *increased time spent on domestic chores*, it was increased responsibilities (a child-level factor); for *increased time spent on the family enterprise*, it was both increased age and increased responsibilities (child-level factors); and for *increased time spent on paid work outside the home*, it was both financial difficulties (a family-level factor) and employers demanding more time from adolescents engaged in work (a community-level factor).
- For girls, absence, illness or death of a family member, followed by own increase in age, were the top two factors causing *increased time spent on work*. For boys, this hierarchy differed, with absence, illness or death of a family member as a top factor, followed by increased responsibilities.
- For in-school adolescents, absence, illness or death of a family member and increased responsibilities were the most cited drivers of increased time spent working by adolescents. Out-of-school adolescents reported absence, illness or death of a family member most often, followed by increased responsibilities. For out-of-school adolescents, one pathway of change appears: Lower interest in education led to school dropout which, in turn, increased time spent on the family enterprise.

Reduced time spent on work or labour

- The most important factors causing *reduced time spent on domestic chores* were higher interest in education (a child-level factor) and higher parental interest in education (a family-level factor), followed by increased age and improvement in work-related skills (both child-level factors).
- The most important factor causing *reduced time spent on economic activities within the family* was higher parental interest in education (a family-level factor) followed by higher interest in education (a child-level factor).
- There were no cases of reduced time spent on paid work or work involving hazardous conditions.
- Comparison of causal maps generated for girls and boys clearly highlights that *reduced time spent on work* was limited to chores for girls, while for boys it additionally included time spent on the family enterprise. For girls, improvement in work-related skills, increased age and higher parental interest in education were the top factors causing *reduced time spent on domestic chores*. For

boys, a critical pathway of change emerged: A good teacher increased own higher interest in education which, in turn, was a top factor causing *reduced time spent on work*, followed by higher parental interest in education.

- A higher number of in-school adolescents reported *reduced time spent on domestic chores* and on the family enterprise than out-of-school adolescents (no causal maps were generated regarding drivers of reduced time spent working by out-of-school adolescents, based on the applied filters).

Gender difference

- All adolescents interviewed noted that there would be a difference in the work undertaken by them if they were born as the opposite gender. For both boys and girls, the most important factor causing *gender differences* was societal rules and expectations, followed by physical strength. Boys mentioned security concerns as an additional causal factor. The most important finding related to gender variation in domestic chores, with both boys and girls categorically stating that boys would not participate in domestic chores.
- Most adolescents (both boys and girls) in the 12 focus group discussions acknowledged the gendered nature of work given to children on the basis of their sex and highlighted that girls were expected to undertake domestic chores while boys were encouraged to undertake paid work. The boys in the discussions also highlighted safety concerns as a reason for gendered variations in work observed in their communities, with girls being given work within the confines of the home.

Value of education

Most adolescents interviewed noted the importance of education offered in schools. Regarding the value of education, *better job opportunities* was the most cited answer, followed by *better future*.

Of the 14 in-school adolescents interviewed, only four cited vocational skill training as useful for leading to earnings/financial support and financial independence.

7. QuIP study findings: Parents' perspectives

7.1 Changes in schooling outcomes and main pathways of change

In the parent QuIP questionnaire (for parents of in-school adolescents), schooling outcomes were defined to include the schooling outcome related to their child as well as to the overall school.

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

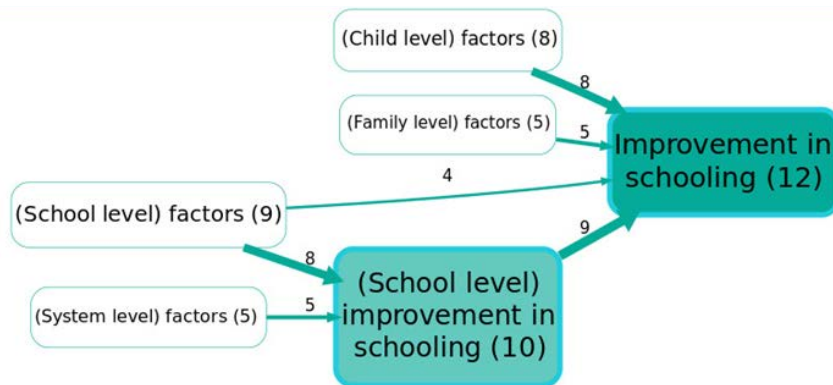
At the school level, the QuIP questionnaire included questions on changes in teaching quality, school infrastructure and school safety. In cases where a change was reported, a follow-up question was asked to ascertain whether there had been an improvement or decline in school-level outcomes. Furthermore, the impact of school-level improvement or decline on individual level schooling outcomes was assessed and noted in plain coding. Since changes in schooling outcomes and main pathways of change were only discussed with parents of in-school adolescents, the analysis is limited to a sample of 14 parents.

In the parent QuIP questionnaire (for parents whose children had dropped out), the questionnaire enquired about the causes for dropout. Parents were also asked questions around what could have assisted in their child's retention in school. Since reasons for dropout were only discussed with parents of adolescents who were no longer in school, the analysis is limited to a sample of 14 parents.

7.1.1 Improvements in schooling outcomes (parents of in-school adolescents)

Figure 41 shows the drivers of improvement in schooling outcomes at both the individual and the school level, according to parents of in-school adolescents. Among the 14 interviewed parents, 12 reported improvements in their child's schooling outcomes, while 10 reported improvements in the school-level outcomes.

Figure 41: Factors causing improvement in schooling outcomes (zoom 1)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 4.2%: 105 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 1 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

The most important drivers of improvements in adolescents' individual schooling outcomes were school-level improvements (cited by nine) followed by child-level factors (cited by eight). With respect to overall school-level improvements, the most important drivers were school-level factors (cited by nine) followed by system-level factors (cited by five). Box 8 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 41.

BOX 8: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

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

"Children are attending school. Even poor children attend school because it is clean." – ID-1711; parent of in-school girl

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

"She is safe and we have the assurance that nothing will happen to her in school. Her education is also improved because of that." – ID-1511; parent of in-school girl

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

"Children are going to school regularly in our Dudyal village. So I feel good teaching is making a difference." – ID-2211; parent of in-school boy

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

"Better teaching has led to her getting better grades and her interest in studies has improved." – ID-4811; parent of in-school girl

"I think because teachers are good, students are doing well. So definitely the two are linked." – ID-2411; parent of in-school boy

(School-level) factors; good teachers; headteacher >> (School-level) improvement in schooling; school infrastructure

"Because of the headmaster. People complained to headmaster. He put efforts and has done a good job." – ID-1111; parent of in-school girl

School-level factors; good teachers >> (School-level) improvement in schooling; school safety

"Yes, ma'am, teachers are very strict, so the children are sacred of misbehaving. This is very good for school safety as children need to be checked if they misbehave." – ID-1911; parent of in-school boy

"Teachers' attention towards students has improved. Now, I can see that they have increased attention on the improvising the academic performance of children due to the strict instructions and monitoring from the government. All this is very positive." – ID-2211; parent of in-school boy

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

"Teachers. They are the main people responsible for children doing well. There is pressure on the teachers also." – ID-2211; parent of in-school boy

"Teachers are paying a lot of attention to children in Class 10 [Grade 10] and want them all to pass the exams." – ID-2211; parent of in-school boy

Figure 42 applies a zoom 3 filter and reveals further insights on the pathways of improvement in child- and school-level education outcomes. At the child level, the most important drivers of change vary by outcomes (i.e., time spent doing homework, academic performance and attendance).

- The most important factor causing improvement in *time spent doing homework* was **own interest in education** (a child-level factor, cited by three). Three causes appeared as the second most cited drivers: higher **grade** (a child-level factor), higher **parental interest in education** (a family-level factor) and **good teachers** (a school-level factor), cited by two each.
- The most important factor causing improvement in *academic performance* was improvement in **teaching quality** (a school-level factor, cited by six), followed by higher **own interest in education** (a child-level factor, cited by five).
- The main drivers of improvement in *school attendance* were higher **own interest in education** (a child-level factor, cited by four) and higher **parental interest in education** (a family-level factor, cited by three).

At the school level, the causes for improvement across school safety, teaching quality and school infrastructure are noted below:

- The most cited factors improving *school safety* were **good teachers** (a school-level factor) and **government initiatives** (a system-level factor), cited by three each.
- The most cited factors improving *teaching quality* were **good teachers** (a school-level factor, cited by seven) and **government initiatives** (a system-level factor, cited by three).
- The main driver of improvement in *school infrastructure* was reported as initiatives by the **state government** (a system-level factor, cited by three).

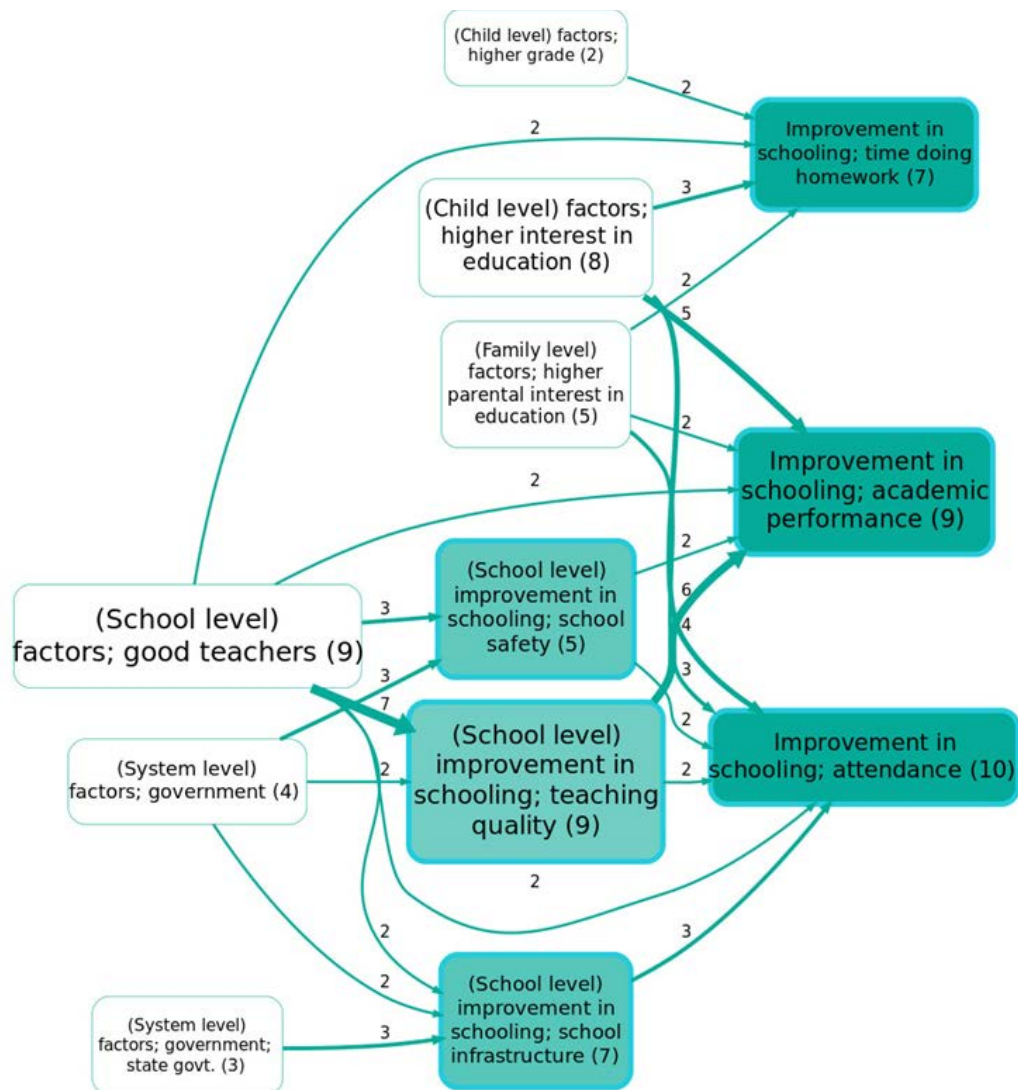
Five key pathways of change appear in Figure 42. The parent interviews reinforced the critical role played by teachers (as reported from adolescents), as three out of these five key pathways of change focused on teachers.

The first pathway of change shows that good teachers led to improvement in overall *school safety* which, in turn, affected adolescents' academic performance and attendance. The second pathway shows that good teachers additionally led to overall improvement in *teaching quality* at the school level, which affected adolescents' academic performance and attendance. The third pathway of change, again starting at the level of the teacher, shows that an impact on improvement in overall *school infrastructure* led to improved school attendance.

The remaining two pathways of change show that government initiatives led to improvement in overall *school safety* which, in turn, led to improvement in academic performance and attendance, and that government initiatives led to overall improvement in *teaching quality* which, in turn, led to improvement in adolescents' academic performance and attendance.

As mentioned in section 4.5.1, all maps generated in this study (other than where expressly identified) used a source count of "at least two". No causal maps were generated using this filter for decline in schooling.

Figure 42: Factors causing improvement in schooling outcomes (zoom 3)

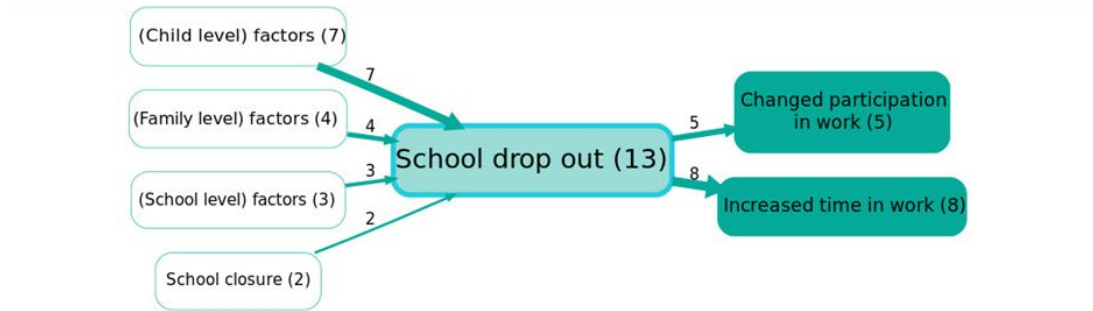


Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 3.6%: 91 of 2494 total citations and 12 of 108 total coded sources are shown. Numbers on factors show source count. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness. Numbers on links show source count. Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

7.1.2 School dropout and non-enrolment (parents of out-of-school adolescents)

Figure 43 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 14 parents interviewed, 13 provided reasons for the dropout of their child, with the most cited factors being child-level factors (cited by seven) followed by family-level factors (cited by four). Dropout has a consequence on participation in work as well as increased time spent on work or labour: The correlation between school dropout and work or labour can clearly be seen in Figure 43. Box 9 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 43.

Figure 43: Factors causing school dropout and its consequences (zoom 1)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 1.5%: 38 of 2494 total citations and 13 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 9: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Child-level) factors; peers >> School dropout; post-pandemic (> 2022)

"His friends are a bad influence and really frightened him. He was very clear that he did not want to go to school in a different *mandal* and be away from his family. His father tried very hard to convince him to go to school and there were lots of family fights on this topic. Eventually, he is a very stubborn child and refused to go to school." – ID-1311; parent of out-of-school boy

(Child-level) factors; lower ability to learn >> School dropout; post-pandemic (> 2022)

"He has a lot of difficulty in reading. I know he has tried to learn very hard and in spite of his efforts, he is unable to concentrate and do well in exams." – ID-1411; parent of out-of-school boy

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

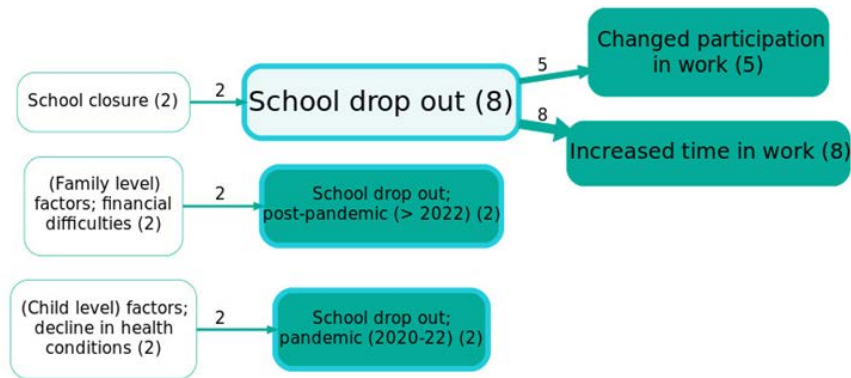
"He was suffering from typhoid and high fever and that is why we have not sent him [to] school since a year." – ID-1811; parent of out-of-school boy

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

"As soon as he completed his tenth [Grade 10], he decided he wanted to take up paid work, so that he can contribute to the household." – ID-2511; parent of out-of-school boy

Figure 44 applies a focus filter on school dropout and zoom 3 to allow additional insight. It highlights that child-level factors – decline in health conditions – led to school dropout during the COVID-19 pandemic (2020–22), as noted by two parents. In addition, family-level factors – financial difficulties led to school dropout post-pandemic (after 2022), as cited by two parents. Regarding pathways of change, the impact of school closure was also reported to have directly resulted in school dropout which, in turn, led to changes in participation and time spent on work or labour, as clearly demonstrated in the figure. Box 10 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 44.

Figure 44: Factors causing school dropout and its consequences (zoom 3)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 1%: 25 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.

BOX 10: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

School dropout >> Increased time spent on work

"As he is not in school anymore, he is involved in work." – ID-1311; parent of out-of-school boy

"Earlier he was in school. Now that he is at home and idle, it is very important for him to do work." – ID-1411; parent of out-of-school boy

"As she is not going to school, she can do more work." – ID-2111; parent of out-of-school girl

"He completed his tenth grade and decided to drop out of school. Now, he is spending all his free time working." – ID-2511; parent of out-of-school boy

"He has also dropped out of school, so I am sending him to do some work in our family farm. It is very basic work and there is not much pressure on him." – ID-3511; parent of out-of-school boy

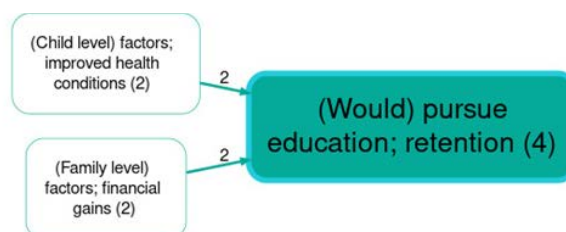
"Since her father died, she had to stop going to the school. She is a dropout now." – ID-4411; parent of out-of-school girl

"No... this is the reason. Now that she is at home and does not have any studies, she has to contribute in some way." – ID-4711; parent of out-of-school girl

"Earlier he was in school. Now that he is at home and idle, it is very important for him to do work." – ID-1411; parent of out-of-school boy

Figure 45 highlights that parents noted child-level factors – improvement in health conditions – and family-level factors – financial gains – as measures which could have assisted in their child's retention in school (cited by two parents for each). Interestingly, improvements to the schooling system were not cited by the parents as a strategy that could have ensured their child's retention in secondary education.

Figure 45: Factors which could have assisted in adolescents' retention in school



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.

7.2 Changes in child work and child labour and main pathways of change

Parents were asked whether there had been a change in their child's participation in work (other than school and leisure activities) compared with previous years. In cases where parents observed a change, a follow-up question was asked to ascertain the drivers and pathways of change as well as whether the time spent by the adolescents on this work increased or reduced. In cases where parents noted that their children were participating in economic activities (within or outside the home), they were also asked whether any of the work conditions could be considered hazardous. If they reported hazardous conditions, a follow-up question was asked to ascertain any changes in the amount of time adolescents spent on hazardous work and the reasons for these changes.

Unlike the child QuIP questionnaire, which delved into the drivers and pathways of change for child work (domestic chores, economic activities within the family enterprise and paid work outside the home) and child labour (work involving hazardous conditions), the parent QuIP questionnaire only covered changed participation in any child work (other than school and leisure activities) and changed participation in work involving hazardous conditions.

The above questions were discussed with all 28 parents. Disaggregated analysis by the adolescents' school status was also undertaken below.

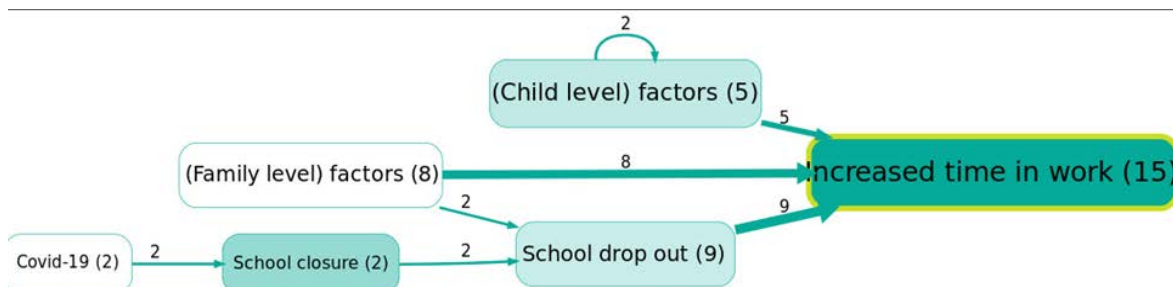
7.2.1 Increased time spent on child work or child labour, as reported by parents

This section covers instances where parents noted increased time spent working by their children, as well as the drivers and pathways of change for this.

All parents

In Telangana, of the 28 parents, 15 reported increases in the time their child spent working compared with previous years. Figure 46 shows that among all the factors causing increased time spent on work or labour, school dropout (cited by nine) was the most important factor, followed by family-level factors (cited by eight).

Figure 46: Factors causing increased time spent by adolescents working, as reported by parents (zoom 1)

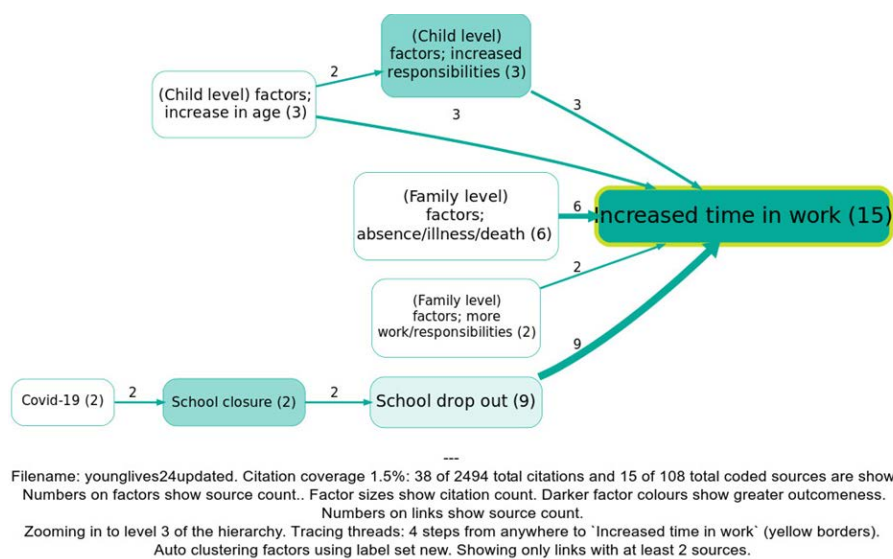


k: . Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 1.7%: 43 of 2494 total citations and 15 of 108 total coded sources are shown here.
Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness.
Numbers on links show source count.
Zooming 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.

Figure 47 reveals further insights on the drivers and pathways leading to increased time spent by adolescents working, as reported by their parents. The most important factor causing increased time was school dropout (cited by nine) followed by absence, illness or death of a family member (a family-level factor, cited by six).

Two pathways of change can be drawn from Figure 47. The first shows that the COVID-19 pandemic led to school closures which led to school dropout, resulting in increased time spent on work. The other pathway shows that increased age led to increased responsibilities which, in turn, led to increased time spent on work.

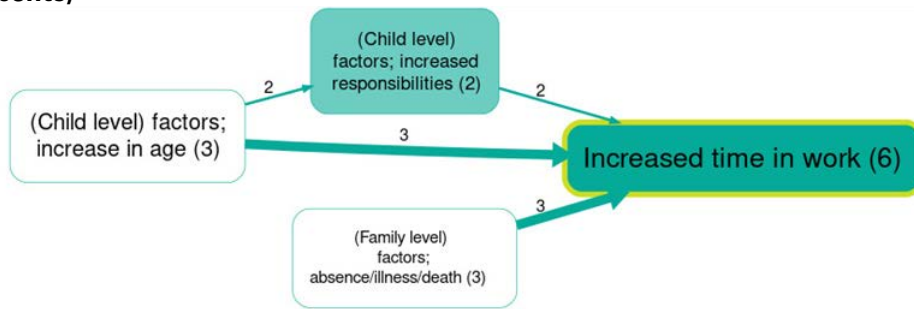
Figure 47: Factors increasing the time spent by adolescents working, as reported by parents (zoom 3)



By school-going status

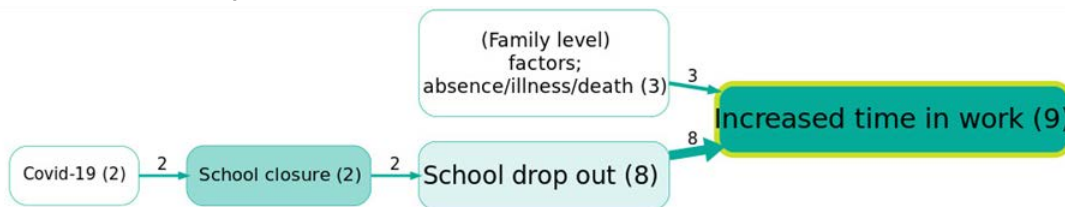
Parents of in-school adolescents noted that increased responsibilities (a child-level factor) and absence, illness or death of a family member (a family-level factor) were the main drivers of increased time spent by adolescents working, each cited by three (see Figure 48). Parents of out-of-school adolescents noted school dropout (cited by eight) as the most important factor causing increased time spent by adolescents working, followed by absence, illness or death of a family member (cited by three). While the hierarchy of factors differed across the two groups, absence, illness or death of a family member had an important role as a driver of increased time spent working for adolescents across both groups.

Figure 48: Factors increasing the time spent by adolescents working (parents of in-school adolescents)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.6%: 15 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.

Figure 49: Factors increasing the time spent by adolescents working (parents of out-of-school adolescents)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.76%: 19 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. 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.

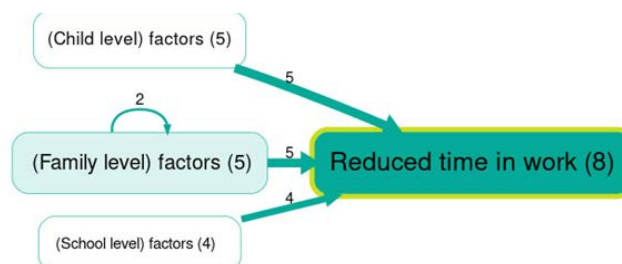
7.2.2 Reduced time spent on child work or child labour, as reported by parents

This section covers instances where parents noted a reduction in time spent by their adolescents working, as well as the drivers and pathways of change for this.

All parents

Of the 28 parents, only eight recorded reduced time spent by their child working compared with previous years. Figure 50 shows that among all the factors reducing time spent working, family-level and child-level factors were equally important (cited by five each), followed by school-level factors (cited by four). Box 11 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 50.

Figure 50: Factors reducing the time spent by adolescents working, as reported by parents (zoom 1)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.8%: 20 of 2494 total citations and 8 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 11: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

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

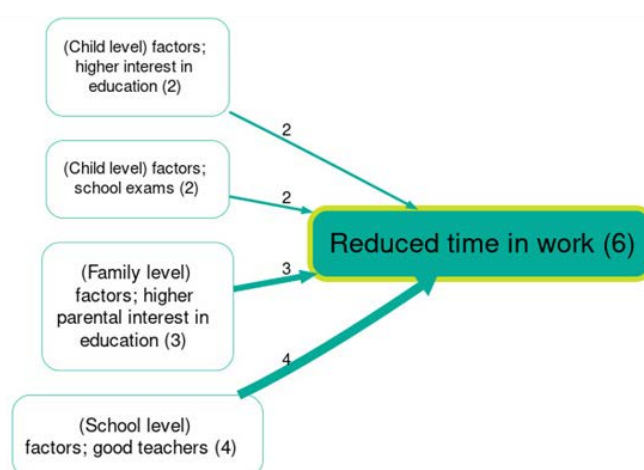
"Nowadays, we're encouraging him to focus more on his studies. We emphasize that a bright future awaits if he excels academically. I've faced challenges due to lack of education, but with diligent study, he can achieve greatness."
– ID-3211; parent of in-school boy

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

"She is a mother of a one-year-old and that is why she has stopped doing all other work." – ID-2311; parent of out-of-school girl

Figure 51 applies a zoom 3 filter. It reveals that the most important factor reducing the time spent by adolescents working was a good teacher (a school-level factor, cited by four), followed by higher parental interest in education (a family-level factor, cited by three). This suggests that both the teacher and parental interest towards their child pursuing education need to be factored in when designing programmes to reduce child labour. Box 12 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 51.

Figure 51: Factors reducing the time spent by adolescents working, as reported by parents (zoom 3)



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. 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 12: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(School-level) factors; good teachers >> Reduced time spent on work

"The headmaster held a meeting and mentioned that my son hasn't taken any days off from school. He acknowledged that my son is studying diligently and since he's doing so well in his studies, it is important for us to allow him to focus on his studies. The headmaster thinks my child can go to college, once we heard this we are focusing on his education." – ID-3611; parent of in-school boy

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

Parents were given a hypothetical situation: If their child was born the opposite sex, would there be a difference in the kind of work undertaken by them? In cases where the parents noted a difference, they were asked to describe the changes in work that would have been undertaken by their adolescents. The analysis is based on the total sample of 28 parents (14 parents of in-school adolescents and 14 of out-of-school adolescents).

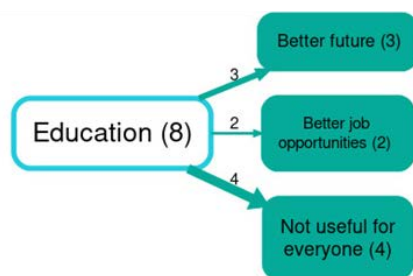
Many parents noted there would be a difference in the work undertaken by their adolescents if they were born the opposite sex. Similar to the findings in Figure 32, the most important factor emerging as a cause for these gender differences was societal rules and expectations, followed by physical strength. The gender difference, in turn, translates (in the hypothetical scenario) to parents believing they would assign different work to their child based on their child being born the opposite sex.

7.4 Parental perceptions on the value of education

Parents of out-of-school adolescents were asked whether they believed that the education offered in their community schools was useful for adolescents' future. Parents also described the usefulness of education. The analysis is based on a total sample of 14 parents (of 14 out-of-school adolescents).

Figure 52 highlights that eight parents of out-of-school adolescents noted the importance of education offered in schools in the community. Four parents observed that education is not useful for everyone – (i.e., only beneficial for some sections of society) while three cited education as being useful for a better future. Box 13 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 52.

Figure 52: Parental perceptions on the value of education (parents of out-of-school adolescents)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.36%: 9 of 2494 total citations and 8 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 13: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

Education >> Better future

"There is a different confidence and courage which comes with education. I think he would have learnt to deal with customers. Also, by studying difficult subjects like maths he would be able to handle the accounts efficiently."
– ID-1311; parent of out-of-school boy

"We are told by teachers that studying is important for our future. If we do not listen and study, we might end up doing hard labour. But if we study well, we can achieve a good position and bring pride to our school and parents."
– ID-2111; parent of out-of-school girl

Education >> Not useful for everyone

"Many parents think that by studying more, there will be no change. As girls, even if we study more, we still end up getting married." – ID-2111; parent of out-of-school girl

"I have seen many cases in the village. There is no use of education. Many people are roaming on the streets after studying. They can neither work in agriculture nor get a job in a city. Sending girls to higher education has no use. Instead, we should teach them important skills at home and in the field." – ID-4211; parent of out-of-school girl

"School is good. Even then, there are kids like my sons who don't study at all, they are not interested in school and books." – ID-4311; parent of out-of-school girl

7.5 Community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards adolescents' education, child labour and child marriage as drivers of change

7.5.1 All parents

Figure 53 shows that of the 28 interviewed parents, the most common positive change in community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour was noted towards *child marriage* (cited by 24), followed by *child education*, including girls (cited by 23) and *child labour* (cited by 22).

The main driver of positive changes in community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards *child marriage* was **laws, policies and schemes related to child marriage**, followed by **police** (system-level factors, cited by eight and five, respectively). Of the 24 parents who noted a positive change in community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards child marriage, 17 stated that this translated to fewer or no child marriages within the community. The key takeaway from Figure 53 is that strong laws, policies and schemes related to child marriage as well as policing were perceived to have translated to positive change in knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards child marriage.

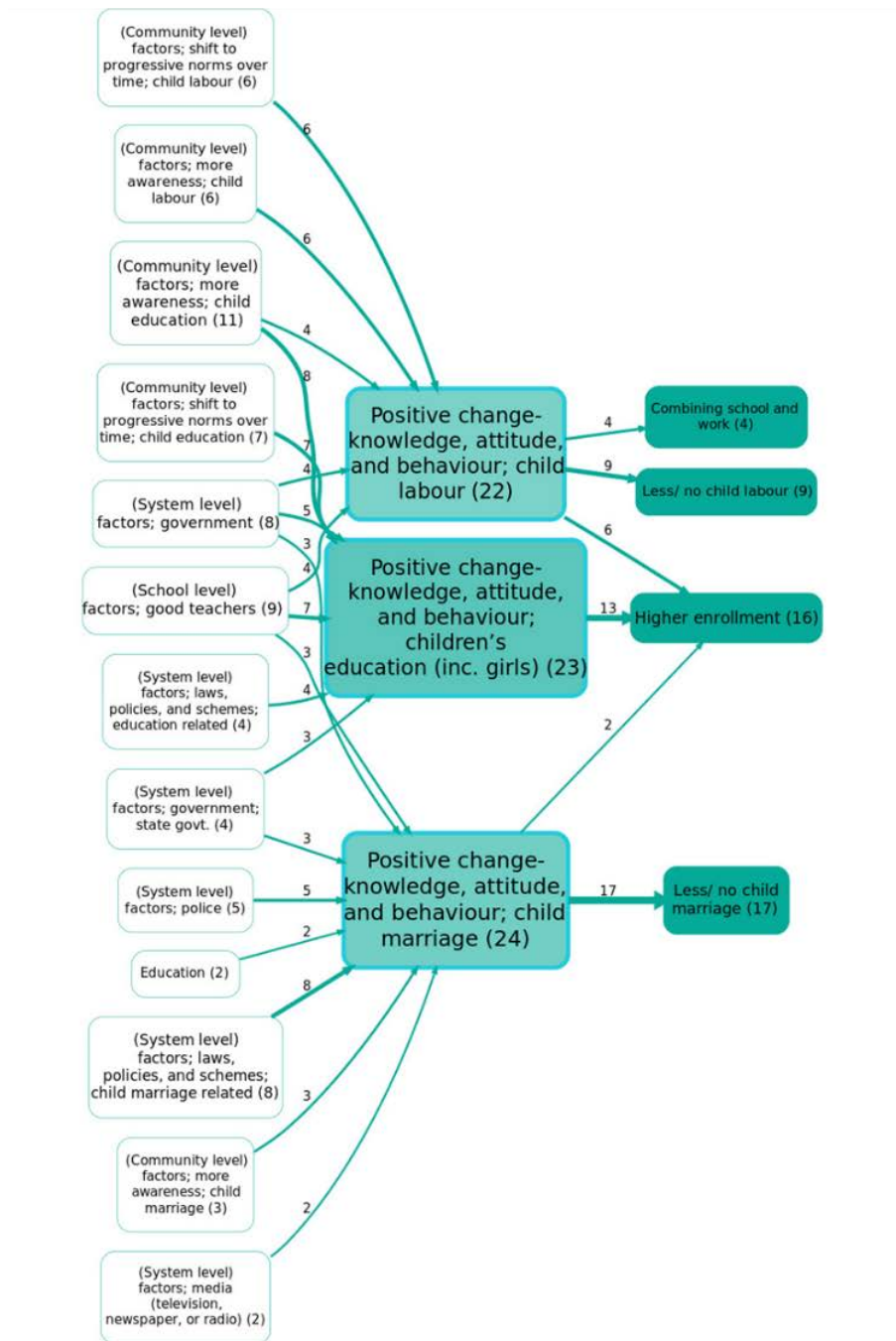
The main drivers of positive change in community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards *child education* were more **awareness regarding child education** followed by a **shift towards progressive norms over time regarding child education** (community-level factors, cited by eight and seven, respectively). This positive change, observed by parents at the community level, has translated to higher enrolment according to 16 parents.

The most cited factors for positive changes in knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards *child labour* were a **shift toward progressive norms over time regarding child labour** and more **awareness regarding child labour** (community-level factors, cited by six each), followed by **more awareness regarding child education** (a community-level factor, cited by four) and **government initiatives** (a system-level factor, cited by four). These factors, in turn, resulted in nine parents stating that there was less or no child labour and four parents noting adolescents combining school and work.

These findings are interesting because the role of laws, policies and schemes as well as police were not identified as drivers of change for community views towards child labour, although they were critical for influencing community views on child marriage. It is indeed unsurprising that parents viewed police enforcement with respect to child labour as weak, which has been evidenced clearly by

the National Crime Records Bureau report showing only 476 cases registered under the Child Labour Act in 2020.⁵⁹ Further, regarding laws, policies and schemes being ineffective at tackling child labour, it is critical to acknowledge Bharadwaj et al., who noted that the child labour ban was ineffective in reducing child labour, while alarmingly the policy increased the likelihood of child employment by 2.6 percentage points (22 per cent over the pre-ban mean).⁶⁰

Figure 53: Drivers of change in community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards education, child labour and child marriage



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 6.1%: 152 of 2494 total citations and 27 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.

Boxes 14, 15 and 16 contain a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 53.

BOX 14: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(System-level) factors; laws, policies and schemes; child marriage-related >> Positive change – knowledge, attitudes and behaviour; child marriage

“Due to government regulations, marriages now only occur after the age of 18.” – ID-3211; parent of in-school boy)

“Now rules have come. So, we cannot get our children married before 18 years. If we get them married early, we will have to deal with the police.” – ID-4211; parent of out-of-school girl

(System-level) factors; laws, policies and schemes; child marriage-related; shaadi mubarak >> Positive change – knowledge, attitudes and behaviour; child marriage

“There are schemes like *Shaadi Mubarak* which help in eliminating child marriages.”

– ID-2511; parent of out-of-school boy

(System-level) factors; laws, policies and schemes; child marriage-related; kalyana lakshmi scheme >> Positive change – knowledge, attitudes and behaviour; child marriage

“The Kalyana Lakshmi Scheme introduced by KCR [Kalvakuntla Chandrashekar Rao] withholds financial benefits for marriages conducted before this age. This change has led to a decrease in early marriages, which were more common before.” – ID-3211; parent of in-school boy

“After KCR became the chief minister, Kalyana Lakshmi Scheme made a big change. That is the main reason in my mind.” – ID-2311; parent of out-of-school girl

BOX 15: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

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

“Parents believe that a life without education is waste. Everyone thinks that we are lagging because we do not have education and that our children should be educated well to do well in life.” – ID-3311; parent of out-of-school boy

“There are people who tell us the benefits of the education. [Probe: Who are these people?] Better educated people. They always tell children to study.” – ID-4611; parent of in-school girl

“There is improvement in thinking in the village. Many believe that if children are educated, their future will be better. In some cases, there is a need for improvement. It is better, if children are sent to school.” – ID-4611; parent of in-school girl

BOX 16: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Community-level) factors; shift to progressive norms over time; child labour >> Positive change – knowledge, attitudes and behaviour; child labour

“We are scolded by the elders for making the children work. So, everyone from the elders to the parents are becoming forward thinking.” – ID-2411; parent of in-school boy

“Change in the mindset.” – ID-4611; parent of in-school girl

“There’s been a shift in mindset now. People don’t want to keep children at home; they want to send them to school. If children start working, they’ll be preoccupied with work and won’t focus on their studies. That’s why parents prefer sending them to school rather than to work.” – ID-3611; parent of in-school boy

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

“People are learning from each other, sir. We are seeing this in the current generation.” – ID-3211; parent of in-school boy

(Community-level) factors; more awareness; child labour; community members being aware of the negative repercussions of child labour >> Positive change – knowledge, attitudes and behaviour; child labour

“If kids go to work and start earning money, they might think there’s no need to go to school. That’s why children are being discouraged from working and encouraged to attend school.” – ID-3611; parent of in-school boy

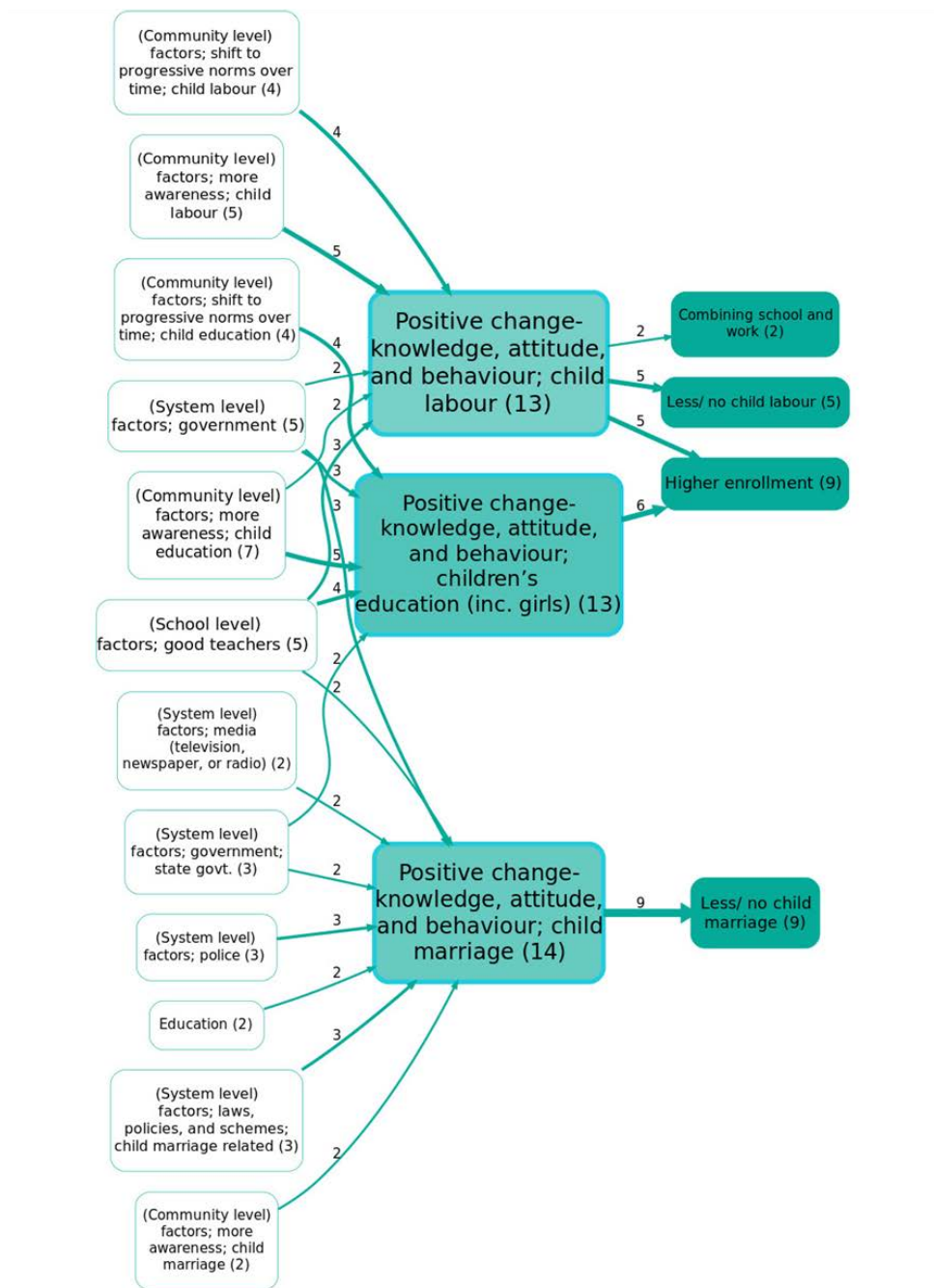
“We figured it out on our own. We come from a background where we use thumb impressions instead of signatures. Our parents used to send us to tend to the buffaloes. We don’t want our children to follow the same path as us.” – ID-3611; parent of in-school boy

7.5.2 Parents of in-school adolescents compared with out-of-school adolescents

Comparison of Figure 54 (parents of in-school adolescents) and Figure 55 (parents of out-of-school adolescents) highlights that more in-school adolescents’ parents reported positive change in community views towards child labour (cited by 13), child education (cited by 13) and child marriage (cited by 14) than parents of out-of-school adolescents (cited by 8, 10 and 10 respectively).

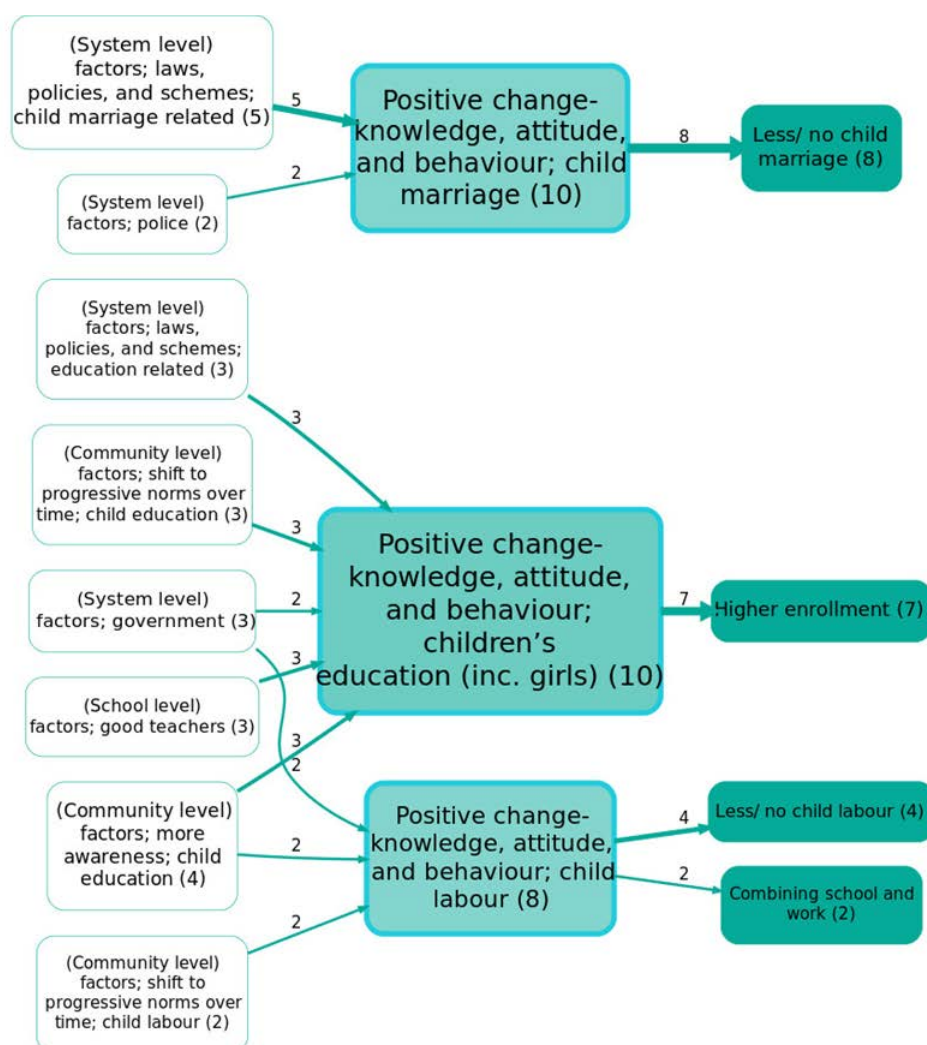
- Both parents of in-school and out-of-school adolescents reported police and laws as well as policies and schemes related to child marriage (system-level factors) as the key drivers of change in views, resulting in a reduction in child marriage.
- Both parents of in-school and out-of-school adolescents noted positive changes in knowledge, attitudes and behaviour toward child education due to community-level factors – more awareness regarding child education (cited by five and three, respectively). The second most cited factor was a good teacher (cited by four and three, respectively). Both groups noted that positive changes in community views resulted in higher enrolment.
- For parents of in-school adolescents, community-level factors – more awareness regarding child labour (cited by five) followed by shift in progressive norms over time toward child labour (cited by four) were the reasons for positive changes relating to child labour. In contrast, for out-of-school adolescents’ parents, a system-level factor – government (cited by three) was most important, followed by community-level factors – more awareness regarding child education and a shift in progressive norms over time towards child labour (cited by two each).

Figure 54: Drivers of change in community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards education, child labour and child marriage (parents of in-school adolescents)



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 3.5%: 87 of 2494 total citations and 14 of 108 total coded sources are shown. Numbers on factors show source count. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomes. 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 55: Drivers of change in community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards education, child labour and child marriage (parents of out-of-school adolescents)



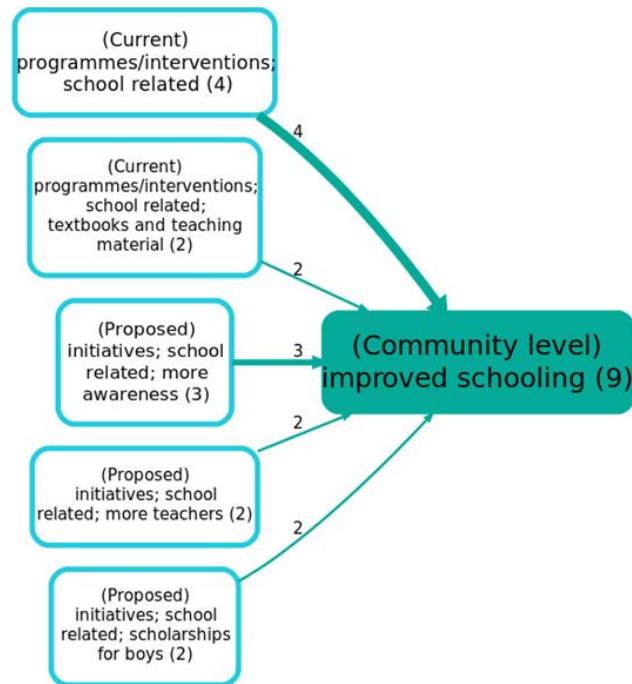
Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 2.2%: 54 of 2494 total citations and 13 of 108 total coded sources are shown. Numbers on factors show source count.. Factor sizes show citation count. Darker factor colours show greater outcomeness. Numbers on links show source count. Zooming in to level 3 of the hierarchy. Auto clustering factors using label set new. Showing only links with at least 2 sources.

7.6 Current and proposed programmatic initiatives on child labour and education

Parents of in-school adolescents were asked to identify both current programmes and 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 14 parents.

Figure 56 highlights that six parents reported that current school-related programmes and interventions have led to community-level improvement in schooling. Free textbooks and teaching material (cited by two) were reported as examples of school-related interventions. Parents also felt that proposed school-related initiatives, such as more awareness (cited by three), greater number of teachers (cited by two) and scholarships for boys (cited by two), would lead to improvement in schooling in their community. Box 17 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 56.

Figure 56: Current programmes, interventions and proposed initiatives related to child education



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.6%: 15 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.

BOX 17: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

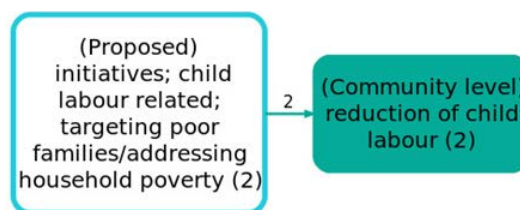
(Current) programmes/interventions; school-related >> (Community-level) improved schooling

"Now the government is giving us good schemes and a good life." – ID-2411; parent of in-school boy)

"KCR has introduced many schemes." – ID-3211; parent of in-school boy

Figure 57 reveals that only two parents shared their views on proposed child labour-related initiatives to reduce child labour. These two parents felt that targeted programmes, which focus on poor families and seek to address household poverty, would help to reduce child labour. Box 18 contains a subset of quotations generated from the causal map in Figure 57.

Figure 57: Current programmes, interventions and proposed initiatives related to child labour



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 0.08%: 2 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 18: EXTRACTS OF QUOTATIONS

(Proposed) initiatives; child labour-related; targeting poor families/addressing household poverty >> (Community-level) reduction of child labour

"There should be more programmes by the government especially for poor people. If the government does well then the change will occur." – ID-1111; parent of in-school girl

"Parents should get money if children are regularly attending school. This is a good way to motivate parents to send children to school." – ID-3611; parent of in-school boy

7.7 Impact of COVID-19 on adolescents' education and work or labour

All parents were asked whether the COVID-19 pandemic affected their child's education and participation in work or labour. Parents who reported an impact were asked to explain how the pandemic affected their child's education and/or work or labour. A total sample of 28 parents (14 of in-school and 14 of out-of-school adolescents) was considered for this section. Disaggregated analysis by schooling status was additionally undertaken.

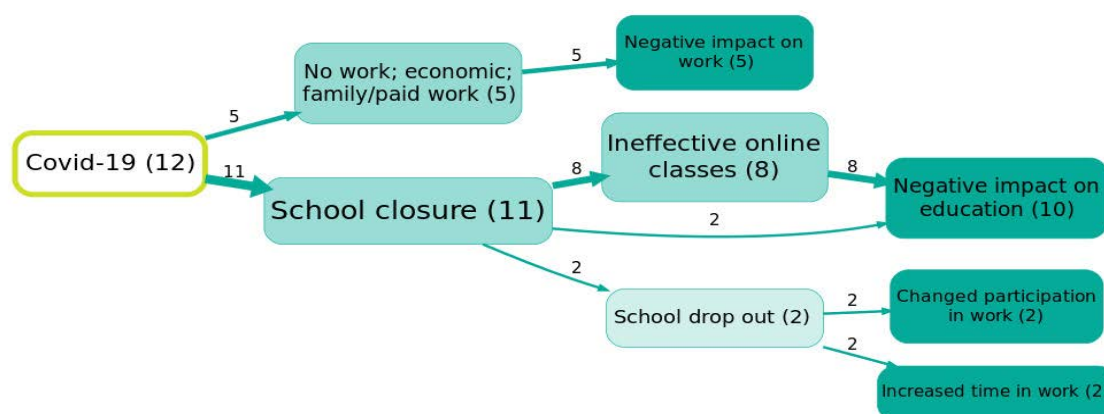
7.7.1 All parents

Figure 58 shows the impact of COVID-19 on adolescents' education and work or labour according to their parents.

Five parents reported that COVID-19 had a negative impact on their adolescents' work or labour due to lack of availability of work within the family or lack of paid work opportunities. Eight parents reported that school closure due to COVID-19 led to ineffective online classes, which resulted in an overall negative impact on their child's education.

Regarding pathways of change leading to child work, two parents reported that school closure due to COVID-19 caused school dropout which, in turn, led to changes in children's participation in work and increased time spent on work (cited by two each). The impact of COVID-19 on the education and work trajectories of the adolescents can clearly be observed.

Figure 58: Understanding the impact of COVID-19 on adolescents' work and education



Filename: younglives24updated. Citation coverage 1.9%: 48 of 2493 total citations and 12 of 108 total coded sources are shown here. 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.

7.7.2 Parents of in-school adolescents compared with out-of-school adolescents

It is interesting to note that Figures 59 and 60, which are based on responses of parents on the basis of their child's schooling status, shows that both groups' adolescents were negatively affected by COVID-19 in terms of education as well as work or labour. Regarding work or labour, three caregivers of in-school adolescents and two caregivers of out-of-school adolescents reported that COVID-19 had a negative impact on their child's work or labour due to lack of availability of work in the family enterprise or lack of paid work outside the home.

Both groups of parents reported that COVID-19 led to school closure, with five parents of in-school adolescents and three parents of out-of-school adolescents noting that this, in turn, resulted in ineffective online classes, leading to a negative impact on education. Parents of out-of-school adolescents further noted that school closures resulted in school dropout (cited by two) which, in turn, led to changes in participation in work and increased time spent by their child on work or labour.

Figure 59: Understanding the impact of COVID-19 on adolescents' work and education (parents of in-school adolescents)

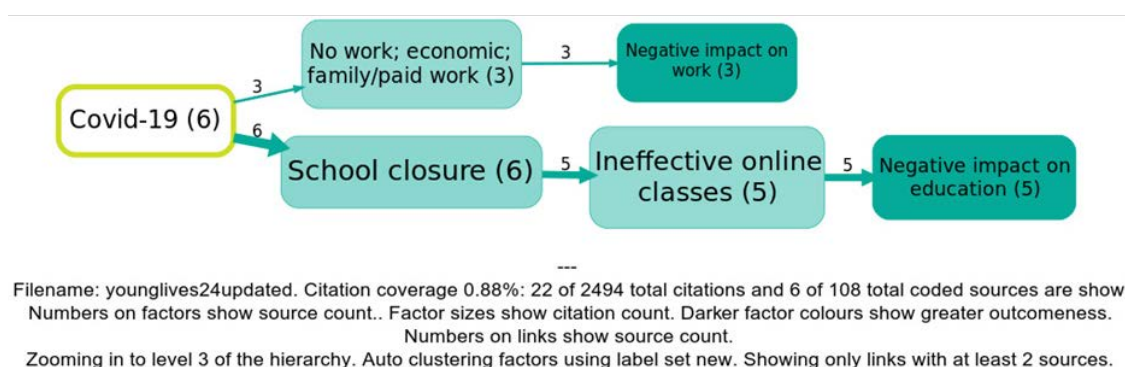
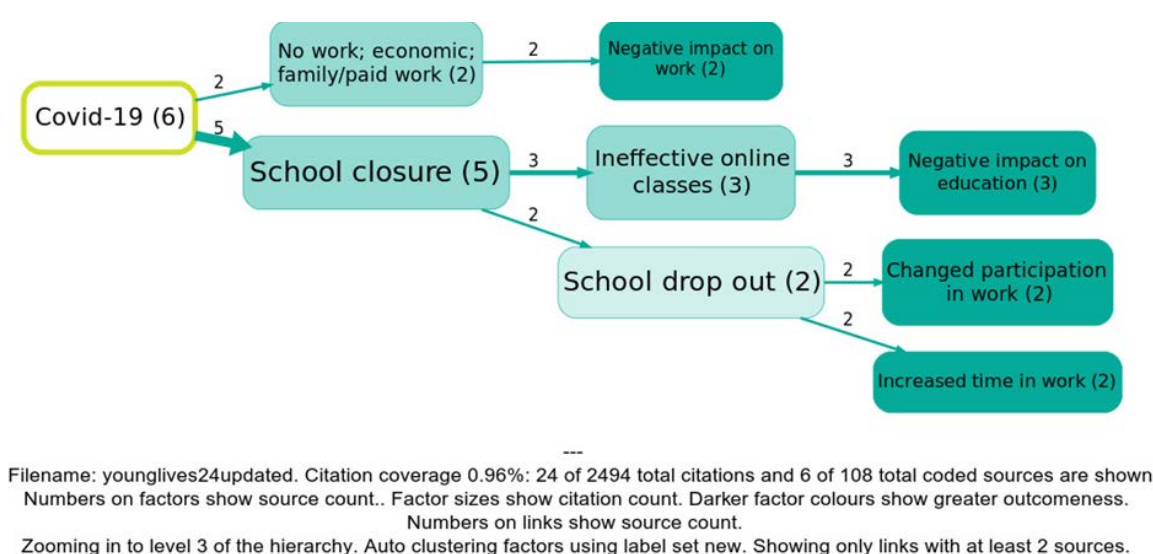


Figure 60: Understanding the impact of COVID-19 on adolescents' work and education (parents of out-of-school adolescents)



7.8 Summary of parent QulP findings

Schooling outcomes

- The most cited factor causing improvement in *time spent doing homework* was own interest in education (a child-level factor). Three causes appeared as the second most cited drivers: higher grade (a child-level factor), higher parental interest in education (a family-level factor) and good teachers (a school-level factor).
- The most important factor causing improvement in *academic performance* was improvement in teaching quality (a school-level factor), followed by higher own interest in education (a child-level factor).
- The most important factors causing improvement in *school attendance* were higher interest in education (a child-level factor) and higher parental interest in education (a family-level factor).
- The most cited drivers of improvement in *school safety* were good teachers (a school-level factor) and government initiatives (a system-level factor).
- The most cited drivers of improvement in *teaching quality* were good teachers (a school-level factor) and government initiatives (a system-level factor).
- The most cited factor causing improvement in *school infrastructure* was reported as initiatives by the state government (a system-level factor).
- The first pathway of change shows that good teachers led to improvement in overall *school safety* which, in turn, affected adolescents' academic performance and attendance. A second pathway shows that good teachers additionally led to improvement in *teaching quality*, which affected adolescents' academic performance and attendance.
- Two pathways of change show that government initiatives led to improvement in overall *school safety* which, in turn, led to improvement in academic performance and attendance, and that government initiatives led to improvement in *teaching quality* which, in turn, led to improvement in academic performance and attendance.

Increased time spent on work or labour

- The most important factor causing increased *time spent on work or labour* was school dropout, followed by absence, illness or death of a family member.
- The first pathway shows that COVID-19 led to school closure which led to school dropout, resulting in increased *time spent on work*. The other pathway shows that increase in age led to increased responsibilities which, in turn, led to increased *time spent on work*.
- For both parents of in-school and out-of-school adolescents, absence, illness or death of a family member (a family-level factor) was a major driver of *increased time spent by adolescents working*. School dropout appeared as the most important driver for *increased time spent by adolescents working* according to parents of out-of-school children.

Reduced time spent on work or labour

- The most important factor causing reduced *time spent on work* was a good teacher (a school-level factor), followed by higher parental interest in education (a family-level factor).

Gender difference

- Only 21 out of the 28 parents interviewed acknowledged the presence of gender differences in adolescents' engagement in work.
- The most important factor emerging as a cause for *gender differences* in the work undertaken by adolescents was societal rules and expectations, followed by physical strength. The gender difference, in turn, translated (in the hypothetical scenario) to parents believing they would assign different work to their child based on their child being born the opposite sex.

Value of education

- Most parents noted the importance of education offered in schools in the community.

Changes in community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards children's education, child labour and child marriage

- The most cited driver of positive changes in *community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards child marriage* was laws, policies and schemes related to child marriage and police (both system-level factors).
- Changes in *community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards children's education* were caused by higher awareness regarding child education, followed by a shift in progressive norms over time regarding child education (both community-level factors). This positive change observed by parents at the community level has translated to higher enrolment of children in schools.
- With respect to changes in *community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards child labour*, the most cited factors were a shift to progressive norms regarding child labour and more awareness regarding child labour (both community-level factors), followed by more awareness regarding child education (a community-level factor) and government initiatives (a system-level factor).

Current programmes, interventions and proposed initiatives

- Parents of in-school children reported that current school-related programmes and interventions, such as free textbooks and teaching material, led to improvement in *schooling in their community*.
- Parents also felt proposed school-related initiatives, such as more awareness, greater number of teachers and scholarships for boys, would lead to improvement in *schooling in their community*.
- Regarding child labour, parents felt that targeted programmes focused on poor families which seek to address household poverty would help in *reduction of child labour*.

Impact of COVID-19 on children's education and work

- Five (out of 28) parents reported that COVID-19 had a negative impact on adolescents' *work* due to lack of availability of work within the family enterprise or paid work opportunities.
- Eight parents reported that school closure due to COVID-19 led to ineffective online classes which, in turn, resulted in an overall negative impact on their *child's education*.
- Regarding pathways of change leading to child work, two parents noted that school closure due to COVID-19 caused school dropout which, in turn, led to changes in *participation in work* and increased *time spent on work*.

8. Implications for policies, programmes and research

8.1 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 adolescents in work or labour, including social and economic inequity, poverty, norms, 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".⁶¹ 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".⁶² 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".⁶³ 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".⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ 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).⁶⁶ 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 research study are consistent with numerous ethnographic research studies which reveal that the relationship between adolescents' schooling and work cannot be viewed as mutually exclusive. Rather, this relationship is complex, with adolescents not seeing their choices only in 'either/or' terms.⁶⁷ This, in turn, translates to various combinations of school and work or labour trajectories, affected by family circumstances, prevailing social norms, and the gender and age of the adolescent.

Accordingly, because this study finds that child work (including domestic chores, economic activities in family enterprises and economic activities outside the home) and child labour (economic activities under hazardous conditions) are undertaken by both in-school and out-of-school adolescents, 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 adolescents (14–17 years) in the 12 focus group discussions, in which a majority observed combining school and work to be a common occurrence.

Moreover, time-use data collected as part of this study (from adolescents themselves) reveal that in-school adolescents spent on average 14 hours per week on domestic work, 28 hours per week on economic activities within the family enterprise and 11.9 hours per week on paid work outside the home.

Accordingly, 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 adolescents considered in this study – both in-school and out-of-school adolescents and both boys and girls – as they were all found to be vulnerable to child labour in the context of Vikarabad, Telangana.

Out-of-school adolescents were found to be particularly vulnerable to engagement in economic activities and school dropout clearly emerged as a push factor for child labour in the considered context. Time-use data highlight that their weekly engagement translated to an average of 44.8 hours spent on work in the family enterprise and 35.7 hours spent on paid work outside the household. In terms of the ILO and UNICEF age-specific thresholds, this means that out-of-school adolescents' engagement in the family enterprise qualifies as child labour in the form of "long hours in economic activities".⁶⁸ Thus, focused attention on this vulnerable group must be included in all child labour-related interventions.

The role of school dropout as a push factor for child labour, as described above, is consistent with previous studies.⁶⁹ However, the literature also highlighted that children who work are more likely to drop out of school.⁷⁰ 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 schools are child labourers", as clearly in-school children are engaged in child work or labour as well. There is an urgent need to broaden the scope of ongoing programmes undertaken by government agencies and civil society organizations to address the multidimensional factors associated with engagement in work or labour by both in-school and out-of-school children.

8.2 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 both in-school adolescents and their parents reveal that a good teacher (a school-level factor) is critical – not only to improve adolescents' academic performance, but also to generate overall school improvement at the system level (safety, infrastructure and teaching quality). What is especially relevant to note is that a good teacher emerged from interviews with parents as a principal driver for reduced time spent on work or labour. According to adolescents, teachers are influential in reducing adolescents' engagement in work or labour. Adolescents' interest in education is also influenced by the teacher, resulting in reduced time spent on work or labour – both domestic chores and economic activities within the family enterprise.

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.⁷¹ The Government of India acknowledges the vital role of teachers, stating that "Teachers have a very important role in eliminating the social evil of child labour from the country."⁷² 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".

Despite these policy initiatives, the value of education is not a given. Getting out-of-school adolescents into school also requires a more responsive education system, with opportunities for adolescents to rejoin school with adequate support and coaching. Furthermore, for those adolescents who are in school but at risk of dropout, quality education that is responsive to their needs and aspirations is key.

This study has noted the critical role that teachers play in increasing adolescents' engagement in school by encouraging them to focus on studies, leading to, for example, increased time spent doing homework. Teachers' role should be leveraged to bring out-of-school adolescents 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 in the community about the importance of education and the negative repercussions of child 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.

For addressing school dropouts, 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, including increasing their awareness of available child protection schemes.

To address out-of-school children, teachers must work with the communities to ensure 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, labour and schooling.

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.

8.3 Expand social protection measures for vulnerable households

One of the most important drivers of adolescents spending increased time on economic activities (in the family enterprise and paid work outside the household) and increased likelihood of school dropout relates to familial shocks such as the death, illness or absence of a family member. Accordingly, the most vulnerable households must be provided with safety nets in the form of social protection schemes to address some of the root causes of child labour, especially poverty and income volatility, which underpin this form of economic exploitation.⁷³ The recent COVID-19 pandemic, as noted by UNICEF, the ILO and Human Rights Watch, eroded global progress against child labour.⁷⁴ However, this could be mitigated with focused efforts on social protection coverage. Social protection interventions can offer measures to address some of the root causes of child labour, specifically poverty, disadvantage and income volatility.⁷⁵

Despite the unprecedented social protection response to the COVID-19 crisis, most measures are noted to have been temporary and insufficiently sensitive to children and gender.⁷⁶ Few measures, if any, have addressed the heightened risks of child labour among children forced to move, affected by disabilities or belonging to other vulnerable groups.

Implications

It is of vital importance that vulnerable households be provided with safety nets in the form of social protection schemes which can address some of the root causes of child labour, especially poverty and income volatility, that underpin this form of economic exploitation.

As cited by the parents in the study, targeted scholarships for the most vulnerable girls and boys, as well as residential schools, could be part of the social protection measures, particularly in the face of shocks.

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

Societal expectations about the role of boys and girls influence child labour practices, at home as well as outside the home.⁷⁷ Men are trained to become breadwinners in the family, with women as family maintenance agents.⁷⁸ As a result, child labour in income-generating activities is found to be common among boys, whilst restrictive social norms confine girls to predominantly domestic duties.

The study clearly shows the unbalanced distribution of household chores between boys and girls: girls had higher chore responsibilities, while boys could focus on schooling. This inequity, which held for both younger and older children, became stronger as children grew up and so it particularly affected adolescent girls. Both children and their parents stated that perceptions of gender roles and societal norms and expectations drove gender differences in time use and hence patterns of participation in schooling, work and labour.

The study also indicates that parental interest in schooling was one of the main drivers of reduced time spent by girls working. Parents further identified awareness of the importance of education and progressive norms regarding education as key drivers of positive changes in community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour towards education. These findings underscore the need for gender-transformative investments and interventions, including in the school curriculum.

What is fundamental, and often forgotten, is the need to devise programmes and strategies that empower families to choose education over labour. This means addressing social and economic disparities through social protection, livelihoods assistance and access to social services, as well as advocacy and awareness-raising to tackle the harmful social norms that contribute to perpetuating child labour.⁷⁹ Further, UNICEF notes the need to invest in improvements in schooling, mitigate poverty and household vulnerability, and raise household awareness of the value of education as well as the damage caused by child labour, as part of a broader strategy to address both child labour and non-attendance at school.⁸⁰

The role of parental attitudes in influencing child labour outcomes is also highlighted in previous literature.⁸¹ However, in the context of India, a review of experimental or quasi-experimental research did not identify any studies measuring the effects of awareness-building activities with parents on child work outcomes.⁸²

Implications

Targeted household-level social and behaviour change interventions should be implemented to sensitize caregivers and children.⁸³ 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.

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

Many adolescents were seen to combine school and work, with out-of-school adolescents spending long hours working in the household enterprise. Even if conducted within the home, long hours of work can interfere with adolescents' schooling and so be detrimental to them.

The research findings also show that in the considered district, adolescents were frequently engaged in work under harmful conditions, such as carrying heavy loads, working with dangerous tools or exposure to extreme heat.

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".⁸⁴

The prevailing Indian law must be reviewed to acknowledge long hours of work as hazardous to adolescents, even if conducted within the household enterprise, to ensure that children are not denied time for schooling, leisure or studying after school hours.

While the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Act, 2016 provides that "No adolescent shall be employed or permitted to work in any of the hazardous occupations or processes set forth in the Schedule", the implementation guidance must be frequently assessed and revised to ensure that it adequately captures the sectors and hazards children are exposed to. It is relevant to note that the agricultural sector, even within the household, can expose children to hazards, for instance, in the form of working with dangerous tools or being exposed to extreme heat.

8.6 Monitor child labour prevalence and patterns through child labour surveys

While it is encouraging that 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.⁸⁵

Relying on available national surveys (e.g., Census of India, Periodic Labour Force Survey, National Sample Survey) to measure child labour presents challenges, which are due to definitional inconsistencies and use of proxy indicators to determine rates of child work and child labour.

Implications

As a first step, there is a need for standardized definitions and measurement frameworks to estimate children's engagement in work and labour.

In addition, it may be prudent to identify hotspots of child 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), there is an urgent need for a focused national survey capturing children's engagement in household chores and economic activities, including hours worked and exposure to work-related hazards.

Time-use data, with detailed reporting on adolescents' activities, should be also collected and combined with school attendance data.⁸⁶

Furthermore, national data sets only collect information from an adult member in the household, rather than the child, which may lead to under-representation by adults of children's engagement in child work and labour. Building on Article 12 of the CRC, this calls for data especially related to labour by adolescents (14 to 17 years of age) being collected directly from children as well as their caregivers.

8.7 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 adolescents to work, labour and school dropout or poor schooling outcomes.⁸⁷ 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.

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.

8.8 Conduct qualitative research, especially on the worst forms of child labour

Article 12 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989 (on the right of the child to be heard) is one of the most influential and contentious articles.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, there is burgeoning interest in social science research in giving children voices, and this is an evolving area in sociological discourses on childhood.⁸⁹ These contemporary models of childhood emphasize the criticality of researching *by* and *with* children rather than *on* them, by *listening* – critically – to their words, emotions, actions and social interactions. Without listening to their voices, the lives of children (particularly regarding a contested topic such as child labour) would not be fully understood.⁹⁰

Embedded in the Convention on the Rights of the Child is the importance of recognizing children's valuable contributions to matters in their own lives, and of these contributions being heard. Rogers and Boyd highlight that the principle of listening to children's perspectives on policy takes a social justice stance for society – children need to be considered 'active agents'.⁹¹ Therefore, we must seek to authentically understand all children's experiences and views.

Implications

To generate evidence related to child labour, particularly the worst forms of child labour, further research is imperative. Aslam et al. point towards the usefulness of qualitative research study design methodologies (including community-based participatory research or participatory action research).⁹² In the authors' view, this proposed qualitative study should keep children's voices at its core to better understand the impact of hazardous work on their life trajectories.

This is especially critical in the context of the Global South, where, as Vennam notes, children's voices are rarely heard or listened to and there is a particular "need for and importance of children's participation/consultation in issues that concern them".⁹³ Moreover, by engaging with children to understand the experiences that affect their lives, we gain perspectives that can be used to inform more effective and integrated interventions.⁹⁴

9. 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 an adolescent in work or labour.

Education alone cannot resolve child labour when adolescents are found to be combining schooling with work, including work under hazardous conditions. Instead, reducing child labour requires a multi-sectoral strategy which leverages the role of schools – and teachers in particular – while also covering other critical factors, including household poverty and vulnerability to economic or health shocks, social and gender norms, and awareness of child rights (including the right to education).

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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- 4 All project outputs are available at: <www.unicef.org/innocenti/projects/ending-child-labour>.
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- 7 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 by definitions provided in the Child Labour Act but aligns with the broader definition outlined by international conventions. The report introduction provides more details on definitions.
- 8 See Woodhead, Martin, *Children's Perspectives on Their Working Lives: A participatory study in Bangladesh, Ethiopia, the Philippines, Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua*, Rädda Barnen, Stockholm, 1998, <https://oro.open.ac.uk/28493/1/Woodhead_Children%27s_perspectives_on_their_working_lives_1998.pdf>; Kabeer, Naila, Geetha B. Nambissan and Ramya Subrahmanian, *Child Labour and the Right to Education in South Asia: Needs versus rights?*, SAGE Publications, New Delhi, 2003; Punch, Samantha, 'Youth Transitions and Interdependent Adult–Child Relations in Rural Bolivia', *Journal of Rural Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2, 2002, pp. 123–133; Punch, Samantha, 'Childhoods in the Majority World: Miniature adults or tribal children?', *Sociology*, vol. 37, no. 2, 2003, pp. 277–295; Khan, Sherin, and Scott Lyon, *Measuring Children's Work in South Asia: Perspectives from national household surveys*, International Labour Organization, New Delhi, 2015, <www.ilo.org/publications/measuring-childrens-work-south-asia-perspectives-national-household-surveys>; Kim, Jihya, Wendy Olsen and Arkadiusz Wiśniowski, 'A Bayesian Estimation of Child Labour in India', *Child Indicators Research*, vol. 13, 2020, pp. 1975–2001.
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- 10 Woodhead, Martin, 'Psychology and the Cultural Construction of Children's Needs: Postscript – "Beyond children's needs"', ch. 3 in *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood*, 3rd ed., edited by Allison James and Alan Prout, Routledge, Abingdon, 2015, pp. 61–82.
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- 13 Santhya et al., *Child Labour and Schooling*; Santhya, 'Educational Strategies'.
- 14 Emezue et al., 'Child Work and Child Labour'.

- 15 Analysis by the Centre for Economic and Social Studies highlights that among 10 surveyed districts of Telangana (covering 35,000 households), child labour was noted to be highest in the district of Vikarabad (Centre for Economic and Social Studies, *Baseline Survey of Working Children and Adolescent Workers in the State of Telangana: Child labour data, Vikarabad district*, Centre for Economic and Social Studies, Hyderabad, 2018). The district also had the presence of well-known non-governmental organizations working to eliminate child labour.
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- 19 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. Articles 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, <www.ilo.org/media/411676/download#:~:text=C138%20was%20adopted%20by%20the,age%20for%20work%20in%20general>; International Labour Organization, *An Introduction to Legally Prohibiting Hazardous Work for Children*, ILO, Geneva, June 2018, <www.ilo.org/media/411681/download>.
- 20 "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.
- 21 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.
- 22 Government of India, Notification, 2017, Ministry of Labour and Employment, <https://vvnli.gov.in/sites/default/files/Notification_to_amend_the_Schedule0.pdf>.
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- 25 This working definition draws from the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999.
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- 27 '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. QulP 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 to assessing causal questions and inferring causality in real-life programme evaluations.
- 28 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.
- 29 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?"
- 30 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.

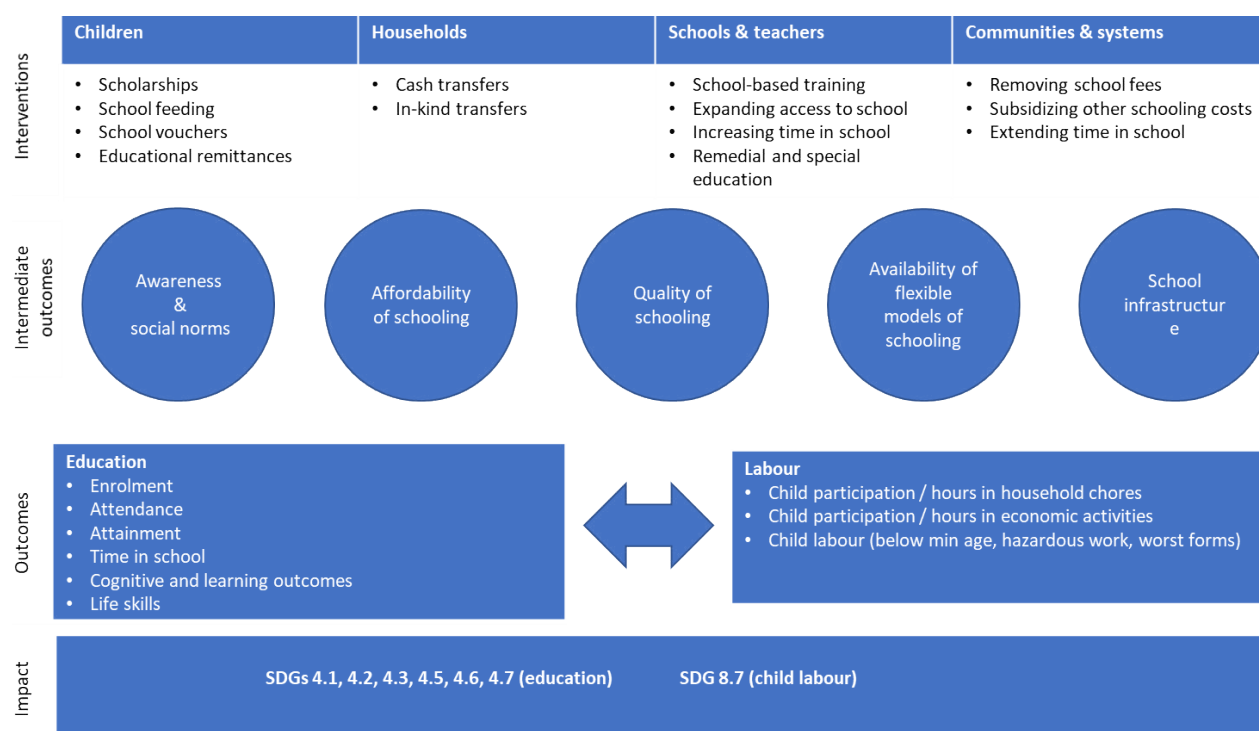
- 31 The terms Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe refer to disadvantaged socioeconomic groups, which are recognized under Article 366(24) and 366(25) of the Constitution of India and are given reservation as a means of positive discrimination for their upliftment.
- 32 Focus group discussion transcripts were not coded and causal maps only relate to the in-depth interview transcripts.
- 33 An additional investigator was trained by Young Lives India to ensure a substitute trained investigator was available in case any of the six investigators were unable to undertake the survey in the field.
- 34 For a detailed explanation of plain coding, see: <<https://guide.causalmap.app/plain-coding/>>.
- 35 For detailed explanations of top factors and links filters, see: <<https://guide.causalmap.app/filters-top-factors-and-links/>>.
- 36 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, see: <<https://guide.causalmap.app/filters-tracing-paths/>>.
- 37 For detailed explanations of the hierarchical coding and zoom filters, see: <<https://guide.causalmap.app/simplifying-causal-maps-with-hierarchical-coding/>> and <<https://guide.causalmap.app/filters-zoom/>> respectively.
- 38 For detailed explanations of the hierarchical coding and zoom filters, see: <<https://guide.causalmap.app/filters-focus-or-exclude-factors/>>.
- 39 This additional analysis was conducted using Stata 18.
- 40 Copestake et al. note that “QulP is primarily a ‘mechanism miner’ best used as part of a mixed evaluation strategy” and is able to contribute to understanding context and outcomes (Copestake et al., *Attributing Development Impact*). This reinforces the argument for using the QulP to complement quantitative monitoring of the frequency and magnitude of change in selected activities, outcomes and contextual factors over time.
- 41 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.
- 42 For more detailed discussion, refer to the field report prepared by Young Lives India, dated 15 March 2024 (available upon request).
- 43 While children were asked about changes in time for each activity separately, parents were asked about changes in time spent working overall, for any of the above-mentioned activities (domestic chores, economic activities within the household and economic activities outside the household). Parents were also asked about changes in time spent by children on hazardous work.
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- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Refer to parent QulP questionnaire B32: “Are there any specific programmes/interventions which you believe have positively impacted children’s schooling within your community?” and parent QulP questionnaire B35: “Are there any specific programmes/interventions which you believe have contributed to reducing child labour within your community?”
- 50 Santhya et al., *Child Labour and Schooling in India*.
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- 56 As per parents, girls spent an average of 2.4 hours per day on domestic chores, while boys spent an average of 2.1 hours. In contrast, adolescents' time-use data show girls spent an average of 2.6 hours per day on domestic chores, while boys spent 2.1 hours.
- 57 As per parents, girls spent an average of 2.4 hours per day on domestic chores, while boys spent 2.1 hours. In contrast, children's time-use data show girls spent an average of 2.6 hours per day on domestic chores, while boys spent 2.1 hours. Parents noted that out-of-school children spent an average of 3.4 hours per day on domestic chores while in-school children spent 1.1 hours. Parents also noted that out-of-school children spent an average of 3.6 hours per day on economic activities within the family enterprise while in-school children spent 3.9 hours. Regarding economic activities for pay outside the household, parents noted that out-of-school children spent an average of 4.2 hours per day on this while in-school children spent 1.4 hours.
- 58 Details on use of the focus filter in the Causal Map app are available at: <<https://causalmap.shinyapps.io/cm3main/>>.
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Annexes

Annex A: Conceptual framework



Annex B: 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 C: Permission letter

GOVERNMENT OF TELANGANA
SCHOOL EDUCATION (PROG.I) DEPARTMENT

Memo.No.9948/SE.Prog.I/A2/2023 Dated:04.11.2023.

Sub: School Education - Young Lives India - Approval for qualitative research study on "IN and Out of School Children in Vikarabad, Telangana - Reg.

Ref: From Dr.Renu Singh, Executive Director, Young Lives India, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi, dt:07.10.2023.
<<<>>

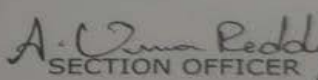
A copy of the reference cited is sent herewith to the Director of School Education/DSE & Ex-officio State Project Director, Samagra Shiksha, Telangana, Hyderabad and they are requested to take necessary action in the matter as desired therein.

KARUNA VAKATI
SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT

To
The Director of School Education, Telangana, Hyderabad (w.e)
The DSE & Ex-officio State Project Director, Samagra Shiksha, Telangana, Hyderabad. (w.e)

Copy to:
The Executive Director,
Young Lives India,
14th Floor, Narain Manzil,
23, Barakhamba Road,
New Delhi-110 001.

//FORWARDED BY ORDER//


SECTION OFFICER

Annex D: SPMVV ethics committee approval



SRI PADMAVATI MAHILA VISVAVIDYALAYAM
(Women's University)
Tirupati-517502, Andhra Pradesh, INDIA

INSTITUTIONAL ETHICS COMMITTEE

www.spmvv.iec@gmail.com

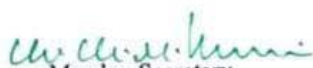
Date: 19-08-2023

To
Prof V.Uma
Department of Social Work
Sri Padmavati Mahila Visvavidyalayam
Tirupati

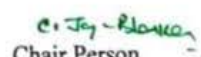
Sub: Title- Young Lives India Child Labour Project Evaluation A Study to be undertaken in Bihar and Telangana For IEC review & approval.
Ref: Your application for review & approval, dated: 19-08-2023(Presentation date)

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 hereby 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-517502
Andhra Pradesh

Annex E: Safety protocol

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:

7. Hand soap

8. Hand sanitizer (> 60% alcohol)

9. Single-use paper towels

10. Disposable nitrile gloves

11. Tissues and Extra face covers

12. Thermometer and first aid kit

13. 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.

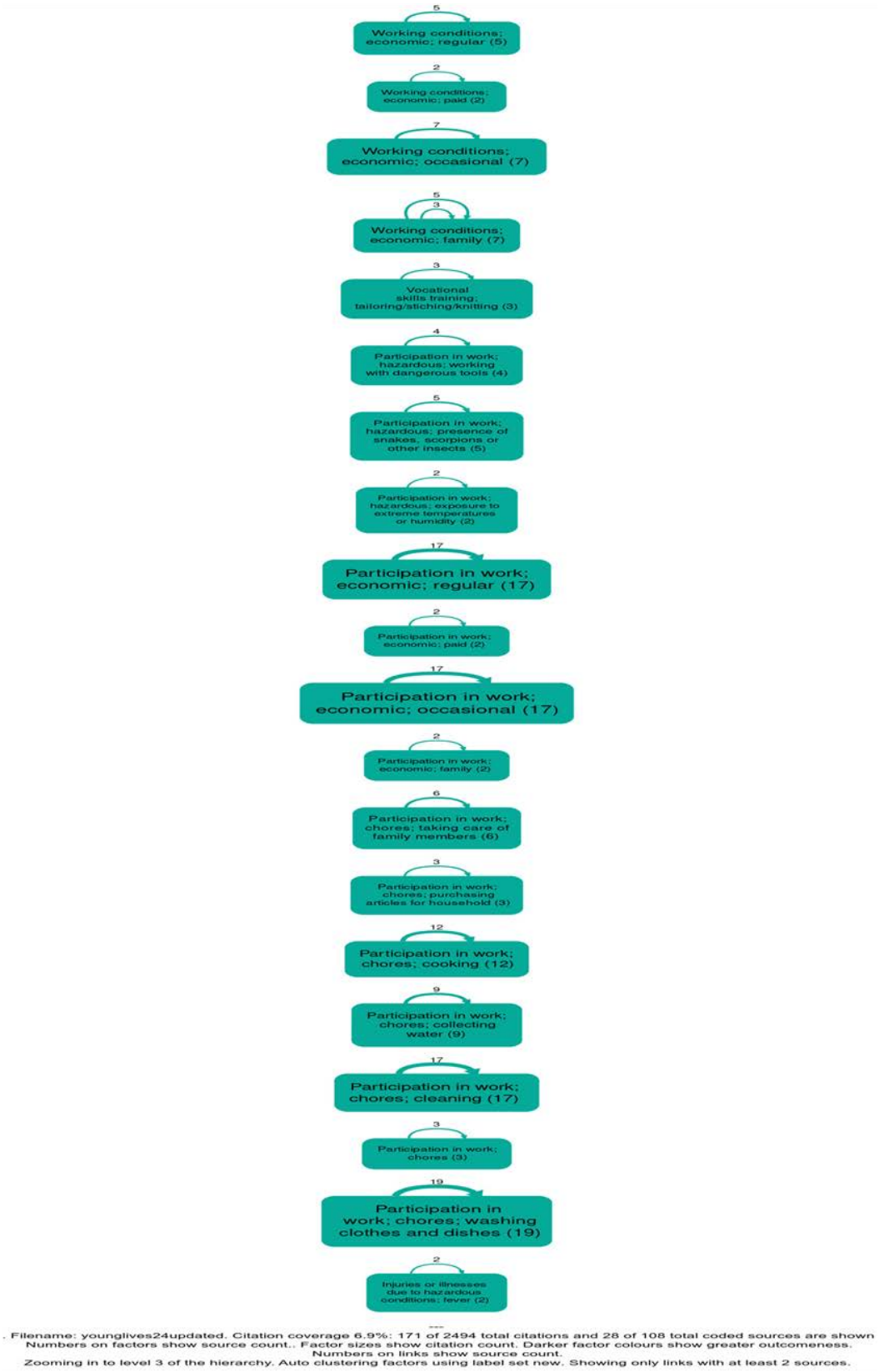
Safety protocol to be administered by field co-ordinators

- 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.

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.

Annex F: List of all plain coding



Annex G: Main factors impacting schooling (in-school children, by gender)

Figure A1: Identifying the top two factors impacting schooling outcomes (in-school girls)

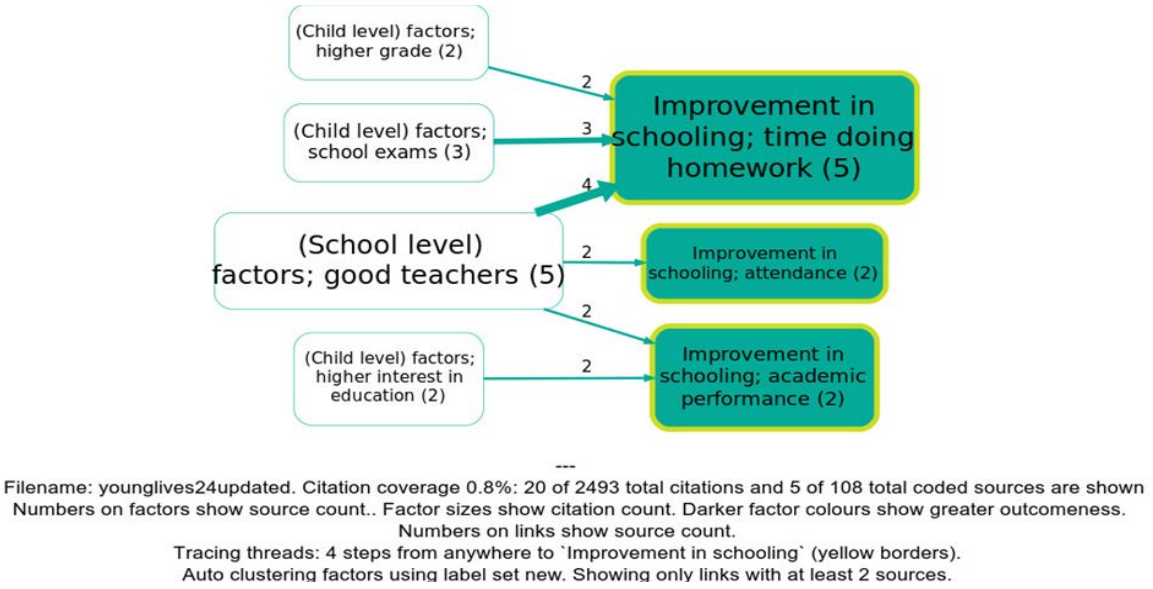
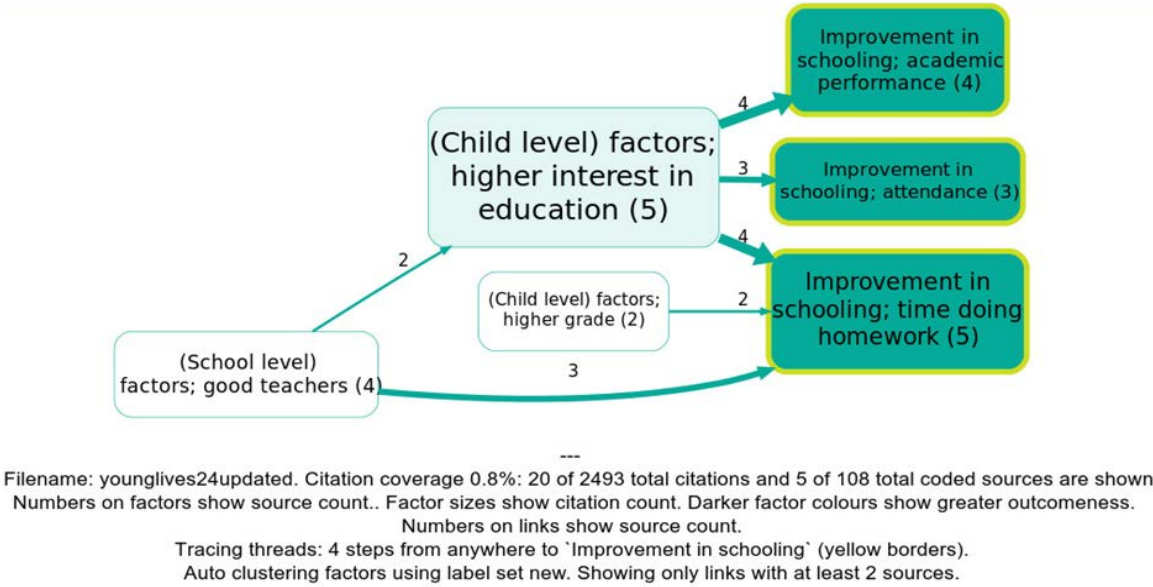


Figure A2: Identifying the top two factors impacting schooling outcomes (in-school boys)



Acknowledgements

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About us

UNICEF works in the world's toughest places to reach the most disadvantaged children and adolescents and to protect the rights of every child, everywhere. Across 190 countries and territories, we do whatever it takes to help children survive, thrive and fulfil their potential, from early childhood through adolescence.

And we never give up.

UNICEF Innocenti – Global Office of Research and Foresight tackles the current and emerging questions of greatest importance for children. It drives change through research and foresight on a wide range of child rights issues, sparking global discourse and actively engaging young people in its work.

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