New knowledge on children and young people

A synthesis of evidence from the ESRC-DFID Joint Fund for Poverty Alleviation Research

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44 grants (35% of all scheme-funded research) generated insights on children and young people. Of these two-thirds had a strong or moderate focus on CYP. Insights are diverse, with no two grants examining the same issue.

Most new knowledge has been generated on education and health, followed by livelihoods issues, transitions to marriage and sexual relationships and violence against children and young people.

55% of grants provide insights into the effectiveness of particular policies and programmes. Many studies address current policy dilemmas; others probe the impact of significant development trends on children and young people.

There was a strong youth focus in these grants with 73% of grants producing knowledge on young people aged 15 and over, or on key policy issues affecting them.

A third of research projects had achieved positive impacts on children and young people or are expected to do so.
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Acronyms and abbreviations

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<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>CSG</td>
<td>Child Support Grant</td>
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<td>CYP</td>
<td>Children and Young People</td>
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<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
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<td>EoA</td>
<td>End of Award</td>
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<td>ESRA</td>
<td>Evidence Synthesis Research Award</td>
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<td>ESRC</td>
<td>Economic and Social Research Council</td>
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<td>FGM/C</td>
<td>Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting</td>
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<td>GSCF</td>
<td>Gansu Survey of Children and Families</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
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<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goal</td>
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<td>MSI</td>
<td>Management Systems International</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>NIDS</td>
<td>National Income Dynamics Study</td>
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<td>ODFL</td>
<td>Open, Distance and Flexible Learning</td>
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<td>ODI</td>
<td>Overseas Development Institute</td>
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<td>PBF</td>
<td>Performance-Based Financing</td>
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<td>PES</td>
<td>Primary Education Stipend</td>
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<td>PI</td>
<td>Principal Investigator</td>
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<td>PRA</td>
<td>Participatory Rural Appraisal</td>
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<td>PRAF</td>
<td>Programa De Asignación Familiar</td>
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<td>PVA</td>
<td>Participatory Violence Appraisal</td>
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<td>Red de Protección Social</td>
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<td>SDG</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goal</td>
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<td>Sustainable Livelihoods Research Consortium</td>
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<td>TVET</td>
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<td>UN</td>
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Background

This report synthesises insights on children and young people (CYP) from research funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and the UK Department for International Development (DFID) Joint Fund for Poverty Alleviation Research. It identifies the major contributions the scheme has made to knowledge on CYP in low- and middle-income countries and on effective policies for promoting CYP wellbeing. It situates learning from scheme-funded research within the wider field of CYP-oriented international development research and reflects on the ways in which findings relate to contemporary development policy agendas for CYP. The report is based on a thorough review of all available documentation and outputs related to the 126 grants funded at the start of the review period (July–December 2014) and on conversations and interviews with current grant-holders.

The ESRC-DFID funding scheme has been in operation since 2005, with three phases to date. It funds social science research intended to contribute to poverty reduction in low-income countries. Within this broad framing, the scheme has been non-prescriptive about research foci or approach. Although in the second and third phases research calls identified possible research areas related to overarching themes and priorities, some of which related to CYP, and encouraged researchers to take structural inequalities, including age, into account, the scheme has at no point explicitly encouraged applicants to examine issues related to CYP.

Overview of scheme-funded research on CYP

It is thus encouraging that, overall, 44 grants (35% of all scheme-funded research) have generated insights on CYP and 30 (24% of all grants and 67% of grants generating insights on CYP) had a strong or moderate focus on CYP. The proportion of grants generating insights on CYP declined between Phase 1 and Phase 2 of the programme. Most Phase 3 grants (and some late Phase 2 grants) are in too early stages to assess the extent to which they are likely to generate insights on CYP, but another 15 grants are on topics where insights on CYP would be expected. The figure above summarises key contributions of the scheme to extending knowledge on CYP.

The scheme generated insights on CYP across 13 sectoral and thematic areas: health and nutrition; education; livelihoods; youth employment and child labour; social protection; migration; CYP experiences of poverty; exclusion and vulnerability; violence against CYP; transitions to marriage and sexual relationships; mobility and transport; access to information; and civic engagement. The two issues on which most insights have

Executive summary

24 grants generate insights on the effectiveness of policies or programmes in improving children and young people’s wellbeing

13 grants tell us how children and young people see key issues that affect them in their own words

44 grants generate new insights on children and young people

10 grants provide insights into how children and young people’s wellbeing is changing over time
been generated are education and health. Although insights on other issues have typically not been as detailed, insights on each of youth livelihoods, child labour, violence and transitions to marriage and sexual relationships emerged in nine grants (see figure above).

Many grants addressed pressing international policy concerns (e.g. reducing child mortality or enhancing access to education for the most disadvantaged groups). A second group related to country-specific problems or issues (e.g. educational policy in China, the role of religion in child mortality in India) and thus their contributions are focused primarily on those settings. A third set of grants probed developmental trends and processes that affect CYP, including internal and international migration and the spread of mobile phone technology. Within each thematic area the issues examined were diverse, with no two grants investigating the same issues in different contexts, making it particularly challenging to identify commonalities.

Research methods were also diverse, with 59% of studies using more than one approach, 83% collecting primary qualitative data research and 43% either collecting primary quantitative data or analysing secondary quantitative data. While half the studies collected data from CYP directly, only 14 grants (just under a third of those generating insights on CYP) involved participatory or qualitative approaches in their data collection with CYP. Those that did often generated very rich insights into CYP's experience and the issues that most affected them. Over half the studies (59%) took place in Sub-Saharan Africa and another 33% in South Asia, with the remainder split across Latin America, the Middle East and North Africa and Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the Caucasus. One grant involved several high-income country sites and compared children's experiences of poverty across high- and low-income country contexts.

Given this diversity of thematic foci, geographical locations and methodological approaches, insights from scheme-funded research on CYP are unsurprisingly disparate and do not add up to a cohesive body of knowledge. Rather, the main contributions of the scheme have been the role it has played in furthering knowledge in specific thematic areas and in generating granular insights of relevance to policy and practice in particular places and, for some grants, impacts on policy or practice on issues related to CYP rights and wellbeing.

Particular areas of added value

The 44 grants with insights on CYP have advanced knowledge on CYP and issues affecting them in international development in the following ways:

**Responding to pressing current policy concerns and knowledge gaps on CYP.** The report provides a detailed analysis of how far scheme-funded research has generated insights on priority issues for CYP in the post-2015 development agenda. Examples include Houweling’s research on ways of reducing infant mortality among the poorest and most disadvantaged groups, Pridmore’s research on open, distance and flexible learning for vulnerable children and Coast’s insights on the factors that put adolescent girls and young women in Zambia at increased risk of unsafe abortion.

**Examining the factors underlying policy and programme effectiveness,** in a particular setting or across a range of settings. A total of 55% of grants generated insights on policy or programme effectiveness. Examples include Attanasio and Van Stolk’s analysis of the impacts of different social protection policies on children’s health, nutrition, education and work activity in various Latin American countries and Bautista’s study of performance-based financing for health care in Rwanda.
Clarifying the significance of particular relationships or factors for child wellbeing, typically using advanced statistical analysis. Examples include Hannum’s research on multiple aspects of child wellbeing in China, Attanasio’s analysis of the relationship between parental departure from a household and children’s wellbeing outcomes and Bhalotra’s exploration of the factors explaining differences in child survival between religious groups in India.

Addressing current/emerging contemporary trends. Examples include Porter’s research on young people’s use of mobile phones in three African countries, Bryceson’s research on the social dynamics of mining in Sub-Saharan Africa and Wahba’s research on young people’s migration aspirations in Morocco and Egypt.

Providing a strong focus on youth. A total of 73% of grants examined issues related to young people’s wellbeing. Given previous neglect of young people (15 and over) in much international development research (reflecting a bias towards under-five survival and latterly primary education), and a more recent focus on a narrow set of specific issues related to youth (employment, reproductive health and violence), the exploration of issues related to intergenerational tensions and support, young people’s diverse and gendered livelihood strategies and their aspirations is welcome. Examples include Ansell’s, Bryceson’s and Kantor’s insights on young people’s gendered livelihood strategies in Lesotho and Malawi, Ghana and Tanzania and Afghanistan, respectively, and insights from Porter’s research on changing intergenerational relationships and CYP mobility and use of communications technology.

Highlighting young people’s agency. Much policy-oriented research neglects CYP agency through policy narratives that focus, understandably, on problems but sometimes invisibilise CYP’s creativity and agency in making the best of often challenging circumstances. Various examples of projects that provide insights into CYP agency include Bryceson’s research on young people’s migration to and work in mining settlements, and Kantor and Pain’s research on young people’s livelihood strategies.

Shedding light on sensitive issues. Examples include Bhalotra’s research on religion, socioeconomic status and child health and mortality in India, which probed inequalities between different religious and caste groups, and Coast’s study of abortion in Zambia.

Insights that challenge dominant policy narratives or bring texture and nuance to discussions. Examples include Walker’s study of psychosocial aspects of poverty such as feelings of ‘shame’ and related processes of self-exclusion from social interaction; Kantor and Pain’s insights on the continuum on which marriages are arranged, ranging from forced to consensual, and the extent to which economic difficulties limit young men’s marriage prospects; Ansell’s research, which challenged assumptions about HIV/AIDS-affected young people’s disproportionate vulnerability; and Pridmore’s research on the experience of HIV-affected children in schools, which examined the social and emotional vulnerabilities faced by HIV/AIDS-affected children and the value of peer support networks in helping children keep up with classes.

Researching neglected or ‘invisible’ problems or issues. Examples include Porter’s study of children’s mobility and patterns of and constraints in the use of transport and Hannum’s insights into the importance of vision correction for children’s educational success in China. Ansell’s insights on the importance of ensuring interventions are ‘time sensitive’ and can support young people at critical moments in their lives (e.g. at the time of parental death or when transitioning from school to work) are another example.

Research uptake and impacts

Although research impact is difficult to determine, particularly over a relatively short timeframe, there were examples of grants at all levels that have set in motion processes likely to lead to positive impacts on CYP. Examples include informing specific groups the research found not to have access to critical information (e.g. Coast’s impact maximisation grant, which will provide information about the law on abortion and how to access safe abortions via both social media and face-to-face events with young people in Zambia); catalysing or inspiring change in the implementation of particular policies (pilot changes to the implementation of Oportunidades in Mexico following Attanasio’s research and the emergence of a stronger commitment to accountability and effective use of public expenditure in Mombasa (Kenya) as a result of the working groups catalysed by Pridmore’s research); the initiation of projects related to research findings (e.g. a pilot walking bus in South Africa to make girls’ journeys to school safer as a result of Porter’s research); and international policy change (such as Unterhalter’s influence on the UN Girls’ Education Initiative and Walker’s influence on drafting of International Labour Organization (ILO) resolutions to include emphasis on the dignity and rights of people covered by social security guarantees). These and other positive examples of impact and engagement processes come from just under a third of the 44 grants that have generated insights on CYP, typically those with the strongest CYP focus. This suggests that further attention to research uptake and impact processes could extend the range of impacts on CYP; grant-holders may need additional support (financial and technical) to do so.

Methodological contributions

None of the grants discussed in this report pushed the boundaries of research with CYP, or developed new techniques, but all the qualitative research with CYP made effective use of visual methods and young people-led photo-based research, and of more ‘standard’ research
methods such as focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews. Furthermore, the grants sometimes introduced new methodological practices in settings where they had not previously been used and thus exposed co-researchers to new approaches to research with CYP. One study trained CYP as peer researchers, and, despite the practical challenges involved, the CYP felt they had gained confidence and learned useful skills in the process. The whole (adult and CYP) research team felt the involvement of peer researchers had expanded the range of insights the projected generated.

This set of grants also made effective use of other ‘tried and tested’ methodological approaches, with comparative case studies shedding light on both policy and programme effectiveness issues (examples include Morley’s research on widening participation and Pridmore’s research on open, distance and flexible learning) and the dynamics of particular developmental trends (e.g. Porter’s research on mobile phones and Bryceson’s insights on mining in Sub-Saharan Africa). There were also some good examples of effective use of mixed methods – often combining secondary analysis of datasets or primary quantitative data collection with primary qualitative research (e.g. Falkingham’s research on migration and grandparental care of children and Porter’s research on transport and mobility issues affecting children in Sub-Saharan Africa).

**Missed opportunities**

We identified 16 grants where there would, in principle, have been opportunities to generate insights on CYP without reframing the main research questions. Typically, generating CYP insights from these grants would have involved greater disaggregation of household data and structuring samples for primary data to include young people, and probing any differences between age cohorts. Within CYP-focused research, more systematic disaggregation by economic strata and geographical location would also be helpful.

While disaggregation by gender was more common than other types of disaggregation in the outputs examined, and although several grants generated insights on gendered childhood and adolescence, there was little analysis of the cultural norms that underpinned gender differences. In particular, the grants hardly discussed norms related to masculinity and the impacts of these norms on young men and women, boys and girls. Only two grants examined issues related to impairment or disability, although it should be noted that three grants that have not yet produced outputs have a strong or moderate focus on disability and should generate insights on CYP.

**Recommendations for future phases**

If the ESRC and DFID would like to generate a more cohesive body of knowledge on CYP via this scheme, we recommend giving CYP issues more prominence in research calls and giving a stronger mandate and guidance on the desirability of a child/youth focus. To achieve this, we suggest the following measures:

1. **More focused research calls.** If ESRC–DFID wishes to generate a more coherent body of knowledge on children and young people, it should consider framing one or more overarching questions in future calls with an explicit or clearer CYP focus.

2. **Consider giving more explicit guidance/mandate on the use of an age/youth lens in future rounds.** Specifically, this guidance could encourage researchers to:
   - Consider upfront whether there is added value in using a ‘youth lens’;
   - Extend the age range of people involved in qualitative research;
   - Disaggregate among respondents more clearly so differences related to age/youth are more apparent in analysis and conclusions;
   - Disaggregate analysis of household data to reveal trends or patterns for CYP (particularly for income poverty data, where such analysis was notably absent);
   - Disaggregate more consistently by economic strata, by geographical location and, where relevant, by other important social differences, such as ethnicity or religion in CYP-focused research;
   - Make wider use of data on children collected for specialised indices.

3. **Encourage more direct research with CYP.** Thirteen grants (30% of the grants generating insights on CYP and 10% of all grants) presented CYP’s insights in their own words. Direct insights from CYP can often shift researchers’ interpretation of findings and framing of research problems and generate deeper insights on both policy and practice issues and developmental trends.

4. **Encourage more use of data and/or projects that examine change in CYP wellbeing over time.** This is particularly important for understanding critical points of intervention to interrupt life-course and intergenerational transmission of poverty, for assessing long-term policy effectiveness and for issues related to cultural and technological change and their implications for children.

5. **Highlight priority CYP-related knowledge gaps as issues of interest in future calls.** Broad gaps that, to the best of our knowledge, are not being addressed through other major research programmes include:
   - The role of social movements in generating change that improves CYP wellbeing, and of CYP in social movements;
   - The role of religion and related political ideologies as forces affecting CYP wellbeing;
• More systematic analysis of the potential of peace-building work with CYP to help prevent violence and instability;
• The importance of and most effective ways of interrupting life-course and intergenerational transmission of poverty;
• How processes of identity-based social exclusion affect young people, and the most effective approaches to inclusion and addressing identity-based inequalities affecting CYP;
• How social norms on key developmental and CYP wellbeing issues are formed in childhood, adolescence and youth and how malleable they are in later life.

Policy and practice-oriented gaps. While there are knowledge gaps on all areas of CYP wellbeing related to the post-2015 agenda, the following areas stand out as areas where scheme-funded research could contribute to knowledge for more effective development policy and practice for CYP in resource-poor contexts:

1. **Education**, in particular related to effective strategies for extending disadvantaged groups’ access and improving quality at all levels, including pre- and post-school education;
2. **Health**: Improving adolescent girls’ nutrition and effective strategies for combating childhood and youth obesity, substance abuse and accidental injury and death, and for promoting emotional/psychological wellbeing;

3. **Violence against children and child protection**, in particular effective strategies for shifting norms that condone violence against children and for joining up social protection and child protection systems;

4. **Care economy**: There are several CYP lenses on the care economy, all under-researched. They include effective approaches to providing care for young children while parents/guardians are working; CYP as carers of siblings, sick adults and elders; the ways in which gendered divisions of care responsibility affect children’s developmental opportunities; and effective approaches to norm change around care responsibilities (that avoid increasing children’s burdens and particularly those of girls);

5. **Climate change**: There are particular gaps in knowledge about building effective climate resilience with CYP, and in CYP attitudes to, and willingness to act on, climate change in high-emission middle-income countries.
1 Introduction

1.1. Background and objectives of the report
Since 2005, the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and the UK Department for International Development (DFID) have operated a joint funding scheme for development research that is intended to contribute to improved policy and practice on poverty reduction. This scheme has been funded in three phases to date, each with a number of research calls and a variety of foci. It aims to fund world-class research on a broad range of topics to enhance the quality and impact of social science and contribute to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The scheme deliberately does not prescribe research foci in detail, although recent calls have outlined priority questions; as a result, research projects the scheme funds cover a very wide range of topics. In recent years, the ESRC has commissioned Evidence Syntheses to draw together learning from scheme-funded research and to assess the contribution of this research to the broader body of knowledge on selected issues.

Undertaken as one of three Evidence Synthesis Research Awards (ESRAs) over the period July-December 2014, this report synthesises insights on children and young people (CYP) from research funded by the joint ESRC–DFID scheme. It reflects on these findings in the context of broader trends in international development research on CYP and in relation to contemporary development policy agendas concerning CYP rights and wellbeing. To the extent possible, given the diversity of insights on CYP, this report aims to assess and highlight the added value of scheme-funded research to policy- and practice-relevant knowledge on different areas of CYP wellbeing. It also identifies priority gaps in areas of knowledge on CYP that future rounds of the scheme or broader development research funding could address.

1.2 Methodology
The report is based on a review of the outputs of 126 grants funded by the ESRC–DFID joint funding scheme on poverty alleviation between 2006 and 2014, and on follow-up interviews or email conversations with principal investigators (PIs) or co-investigators. We also (in collaboration with the teams conducting the gender and research methods evidence syntheses) emailed all PIs to identify any outputs not on the ESRC website. Where grant-holders had set up project websites, we examined these and downloaded and examined additional outputs.

We reviewed all available outputs and extracted thematic and methodological insights on research with CYP and coded them in EPPI-Reviewer to enable the quantification of patterns. Grants were divided into four categories: 1) those that generated insights on CYP; 2) those that generated limited insights (typically where one sub-section of a project addressed issues related to CYP or where insights were limited to a few lines in a report); 3) those with potential insights on CYP (typically grants at an early stage where no outputs were available); and 4) those with no insights or very unlikely to generate insights on CYP.

If the End of Award (EoA) report for a project did not mention CYP, we searched other grant outputs using terms such as ‘child’, ‘youth’ and ‘young people’. If these searches found no instances of these terms being used, the grant was classified as not generating insights on CYP. For grants identified as generating insights on CYP, we read all available outputs to develop as comprehensive a profile of CYP research project as possible and to ensure all CYP insights were identified. We recorded these insights in EPPI-Reviewer and on a spreadsheet that pulled together key information about each grant. Team members discussed grants that did not fall clearly into one category to ensure correct classification. As analysis proceeded, spot-checks both of grants identified as generating insights on CYP and of those classified as not generating CYP insights were carried out to ensure all coding was correct and consistent; we reclassified some grants as a result.
Forty-four grants generated either substantial or partial insights into CYP wellbeing and/or the effects of development policies on children or young people. The age range we consider in this analysis is approximately 0-24 years, although we did not apply strict cut-off criteria and included any project that discussed young people. Fifteen grants, mostly recent grants or grants that started late in Phase 2 of the scheme, have the potential to generate insights on CYP, but are at too early a stage for insights to be included. The table in Annex 1 outlines detailed information on all grants generating or with the potential to generate insights on CYP. Sixty-eight grants (53% of the total) generated no insights on CYP. This was usually because the research topic was focused at a macro or upstream level.

For both grants that generated limited CYP insights and those that generated no CYP insights, we examined the methodology and research questions to identify any missed opportunities for using (or for more systematically applying) an age lens. While we recognise that the thematic focus of some grants meant an age lens would have added little value, we identified 16 projects (13% of the total) where a child/youth lens could have enabled the project to generate insights on CYP. Sixty-eight grants (53% of the total) generated no insights on CYP. This was usually because the research topic was focused at a macro or upstream level.

1.2.1 Categorisation of grants and extraction of information
We then analysed the thematic areas in which insights on CYP emerged, recording this information and the details of research findings in EPPI-Reviewer. Across the 44 grants, scheme-funded research generated insights in the following sectoral and thematic areas: health and nutrition, education, livelihoods, youth employment and child labour, social protection, migration, CYP experiences of poverty, exclusion and vulnerability, violence against CYP, transitions to marriage and sexual relationships, mobility and transport, access to information and civic engagement. This categorisation emerged inductively from analysis of the research outputs. An important area of focus was differentiation between different groups of CYP, and we thus paid particular attention to any disaggregation by socioeconomic group, age, location, gender or other factor (e.g. orphanhood or religion).

1.2.2 Analysis of methods used
We developed a descriptive overview of the methods used in research on CYP to identify the main approaches. Specifically, we examined the proportion of grants that undertook primary research, secondary research or both. Within each category, we further identified the main research methods used (e.g. collection of primary quantitative data, collection of primary qualitative data, secondary analysis of datasets, systematic review etc.). We also identified the grants that had generated or made use of longitudinal data. To avoid duplication with the methods evidence synthesis taking place simultaneously, our analysis of methodological innovation focused on innovations in engaging CYP in research (e.g. through peer research) or in participatory practice with CYP. We did not, for example, examine innovations in statistical techniques developed in grants looking at datasets on CYP. As part of our broad methodological analysis, we also recorded the main disciplinary approaches of grants generating insights on CYP, using the researchers’ disciplinary categorisation of their research.

1.2.3 Contextualisation of findings
To locate CYP insights within broader trends on international development research on CYP, we undertook a brief scan of the main research priorities of key development funders and the current or recent foci of major publications on CYP. We also scanned recent journals focusing on CYP to identify key current theoretical/conceptual approaches and agendas; our analysis of these conceptual approaches and thematic priorities informs our analysis of both the added value of the scheme and knowledge gaps that future rounds of the scheme could fill.

1.2.4 Analysis of communication and uptake activities
We also analysed insights on communication and uptake activities and impact issues among grants generating insights on CYP, through extraction of relevant information from EoA and Impact reports, and, where relevant, sought to supplement this through interviews with PIs.

1.3 Report structure
The report is structured as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the grants that generated insights on CYP and outlines the methodologies used. It then discusses in more detail the use of qualitative and participatory methods, young people-led research, and the treatment of particular ethical issues in conducting research with CYP among these grants, identifying innovative or promising practices. Sections 3-7 highlight insights on factors affecting different areas of CYP wellbeing, and on the effectiveness of various policy and programmatic approaches in enhancing this. Section 8 discusses insights on uptake and impact issues. Section 9 brings together findings across the portfolio of projects. It presents reflections, comments on the areas where the scheme has added value to existing research on CYP, identifies some of the key gaps and make some recommendations on how to generate more extensive insights on particular areas of CYP wellbeing in future rounds of the scheme.

Annex 1 provides a detailed overview table with key research questions and insights from the grants that generated insights on CYP. Annex 2 provides an annotated bibliography of research outputs cited in this report.
2 Overview of studies

2.1 Overview and distribution across phases
Forty-four grants (37% of the total) generated knowledge on CYP. Of these, 30 generated substantial insights and 14 limited insights. We also identified 16 grants with the potential to generate insights on CYP (mostly late Phase 2 and Phase 3 grants where the research was still in progress). Figure 1 shows how these grants were distributed across phases of the funding scheme. There is a clear downward trend in the proportion of grants generating insights on CYP or expected to generate insights on CYP between Phases 1 and 2 and into the first round of Phase 3 (Figure 1). Three of the seven Development Frontiers grants (made in Phase 3) are likely to generate CYP insights. At the time of research only one of three main calls for Phase 3 had been completed and none of these grants had produced outputs - hence all relevant Phase 3 grants are considered as generating potential rather than actual insights.

The decline in the proportion of grants generating or likely to generate insights on CYP may reflect trends in the scheme’s research calls. Initially, the scheme issued relatively general calls for research that could inform policy and practice related to poverty reduction. Later calls highlighted priority themes for investigation, which would run alongside other research on poverty reduction on important issues that fell outside these priority areas. The foci of the overarching themes have generally been broad, such as security, conflict and development, economic crisis, poverty and growth and cities and development in Phase 2, and the political and institutional conditions and effective approaches for enabling people to exit from poverty in Phase 3. While call documents have suggested some possible topics for investigation, the scheme has always been deliberately non-prescriptive. Although none of the overarching themes relate specifically to CYP, each call document has outlined potential questions specifically related to CYP or where an age (youth) lens would clearly be relevant. Box 1 highlights some examples of CYP-related sub-questions from the call documents.

Furthermore, call documents since Phase 2 have emphasised the importance of grant-holders analysing structural inequalities, including those related to age. For example, the Phase 3 call document states:

*Applicants should make a genuine effort to integrate adequate analysis of gender and other structural inequalities in their research design, even where this may not be the central focus of the project. We strongly encourage researchers to ensure that relevant data - where feasible - are disaggregated by sex, age and other structural inequalities, but also to analyse the different*

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**Figure 1: Number of grants generating insights on CYP**

![Graph showing the number of grants generating insights on CYP across phases.](image-url)
roles and responsibilities, constraints and opportunities or power differentials between, for example, girls/women and boys/men.

However, disaggregation by gender seems more common than that by age, and further guidance or support to researchers to consider age difference more systematically might help ensure a higher proportion of research in future rounds generates insights on CYP.

2.1.1 Disaggregating among CYP

Figure 2 shows the proportion of grants that generated insights on children only, on young people only and on children and young people. Children were classified as people aged 0-14 and young people aged 15 upwards. There was no upper age limit, with some studies including people in their late 20s as examples of young people, although the majority focused on people between approximately 16 and 24 years. Of the grants examined, 42% generated insights on CYP. This reflects the permeability of age boundaries and the fact that many of the education projects focused on secondary school, with students spanning both early and late adolescence. Some projects, such as Porter’s two grants, focused explicitly on a wide age range. It is notable that the fewest grants (12%) generated insights on children under 5 years, followed by grants generating insights on children between 5 and 14 years (16%).

By contrast, although young people are often seen as a neglected group in international development action, young people aged 15 plus were strongly represented: 73% of the 44 Phase 1 and 2 grants discussed in this report generated insights on young people. In addition to the fact

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box 1: Examples of CYP-relevant questions in call documents</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phase 2, Call 1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the relationship between urbanisation, urban poverty, exclusion and the youth bulge? How can the potential of urban youth be harnessed for positive development? How can we address the challenges of urban youth and gang violence?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phase 3, Call 1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the relationship between social differentiation and exclusion – at the intra-household level (gender and generational) – and at the level of social categories (e.g. ethnic, cultural, religious, regional, caste etc.) and poverty, and how can this be broken?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What measures are effective in tackling the symptoms and causes of violence against women and girls, specifically in conflict and post-conflict situations?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2: Grants focusing on children, young people or both (%)
that a group of research projects focused on secondary school and youth labour market issues, the relatively strong representation of insights on young people may reflect the relative perceived ease of undertaking research with young people (less adaptation of ‘standard’ research tools is needed) or the fact that young people formed part of adult samples. Relatedly, some researchers may have been deterred from including children as respondents by the perception that there would be a need for special research tools in which they lacked experience. The relative dearth of insights on children under five years also reflects the limited attention to early childhood education (addressed by one grant), young children’s nutrition (addressed by five grants) and issues of care for young children (addressed tangentially by three grants), and the strong focus on school education (and thus CYP people aged five and over) in this set of grants.3

2.1.2 Geographical foci of grants generating insights on CYP

Figure 3 shows the geographical foci of insights on CYP. By far the largest number of projects involved research in Sub-Saharan Africa, followed by research in South Asia, with similar projects examining issues relevant to CYP wellbeing in South-East and East Asia (principally China and Vietnam) and Latin America. At the other end of the spectrum, only two grants generated insights in countries of the former Soviet Union and three in Middle East or North African countries, and none focused on Caribbean or Pacific countries. This distribution is not surprising, given the scheme’s focus on low income countries. Within Sub-Saharan Africa, there was a strong Anglophone bias in the countries selected for research, with only two generating insights in Francophone (Côte d’Ivoire) or Lusophone countries (Angola), although two Phase 3 grants are likely to generate insights on CYP involve research in francophone countries (Dean and Akers). Seven grants involved research in more than one region.

2.1.3 Level of focus on CYP among grants and relationship to insights

Overall, 17 grants generated substantial insights on CYP, 13 generated a moderate level of insights and 14 generated limited insights. Unsurprisingly, grants with a strong CYP focus were most likely to generate substantial insights on CYP. However, it is notable that almost half the CYP insights (48%) came from grants where CYP were not the main focus. This suggests that, in these grants, researchers were successfully disaggregating by age (e.g. Davila, Walton, Walker, R.), were exploring issues related to CYP as part of a wider portfolio of issues (e.g. Newell, Thirtle) or developed a partial focus on children or youth as projects progressed (e.g. Bryceson). This is encouraging as it indicates a degree of mainstreaming of an age/youth lens.

Numbers add up to more than 44 because many grants involved research in multiple countries.

Figure 3: Distribution of grants with CYP insights by region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of Grants</th>
<th>By Region*</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle East/North Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
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<td>Ethiopia</td>
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<td>Nigeria</td>
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<td>Angola</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Côte d’Ivoire</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>India</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>East Asia/Pacific</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Timor-Leste</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Europe/Central Asia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Armenia</td>
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<td>Azerbaijan</td>
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<td>Georgia</td>
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<td>Kyrgyzstan</td>
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<td>Tajikistan</td>
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<td>Uzbekistan</td>
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<td>Norway</td>
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<tr>
<td>UK</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

4 Falkingham and Locke both discuss issues related to care of children in the absence of their parents, and Noble’s grant also led to some insights on child care, but none of these disaggregates between age groups to reveal specific insights on under fives.
2.1.4 Thematic foci of projects with insights on CYP

As Figure 5 shows, the two areas on which scheme-funded research has generated most insights on CYP are education and health. This may reflect the general MDG emphasis of Phase 1, and the absence of more specific overarching priorities to which researchers found it harder or were less inclined to apply an age/youth lens. Reflecting the overall decline in CYP-focused projects over time, the number of grants examining education issues declined between Phases 1 and 2, although the number examining health issues was only slightly smaller in Phase 2.

Taking grants that have looked at youth livelihoods, employment and migration and child labour together, CYP livelihood activities are also reasonably well represented. Insights on effective social protection crosscut several thematic areas, specifically health, education and income poverty. Young people’s transition to adulthood is an important theme, discussed via the lens of emerging sexuality, sexual relationships and marriage, marriage and adult relationships and young people’s transitions to work. Three grants have also commented on how the changing nature of young people’s transitions to adulthood is contributing to intergenerational tension. Relatively few grants have addressed issues of violence – both violence against children and that against young people – and the effects of violent conflict on CYP. However, the number of grants generating insights on violence-related issues rose between Phase 1 and Phase 2, perhaps reflecting the fact that Phase 2 highlighted conflict and security as a priority theme. Other themes where only a few projects have generated insights include young people’s access to information and use of communication technology (this was the other theme where the number of grants generating insights rose between Phases 1 and 2), care issues (both care of children and children as carers) and CYP mobility and access to transport. Three projects noted some impacts of adult civic or political engagement on child wellbeing issues (health and education) (Walton, Bebbington, Manor); two generated insights on young people’s civic engagement directly (Moser, Walton).

2.1.5 Disaggregation Among CYP

Thirty-one grants, 72% of the total, either disaggregated between different groups of CYP or focused on specific disadvantaged social groups (Figure 6). These grants most commonly disaggregated insights by gender (23 grants), age (18 grants) and socioeconomic group (12 grants). Surprisingly few (seven) explored differences between urban and rural CYP, possibly reflecting the fact that the majority of grants focused on either rural or urban areas. Disaggregation along other axes of inequality, such as ethnicity, religion and caste, was also rare. One notable exception that focused entirely on an often-ignored issue was Bhalotra, whose research examined the relationship between religion and child death in India. Four grants (Ansell, Campbell, Pridmore, Timaeus) focused entirely on one specific group of disadvantaged children – children affected by HIV/AIDS. Only one grant (Hannum) explored issues related to childhood disability – the effect of uncorrected vision problems on children’s educational wellbeing in China – and one (Morley) examined the experience of young university students with disabilities in Ghana and Tanzania. However, three recently completed or current grants have the potential to generate insights on childhood disability (Groce, Kett, Winters).
Numbers add up to more than 44 as many grants generated insights on more than one theme.

Figure 5: Thematic distribution of insights by phase (n = 44)

- CYP transport and mobility: Phase 1 = 1, Phase 2 = 4
- Sexuality and transition to marriage: Phase 1 = 6, Phase 2 = 4
- Governance and Civic Engagement: Phase 1 = 1, Phase 2 = 1
- Migration: Phase 1 = 5, Phase 2 = 2
- Social exclusion: Phase 1 = 3, Phase 2 = 3
- CYP access to information and communications: Phase 1 = 1, Phase 2 = 2
- Youth employment & livelihoods: Phase 1 = 6, Phase 2 = 3
- Child Protection and Violence: Phase 1 = 4, Phase 2 = 5
- Social protection: Phase 1 = 2, Phase 2 = 2
- Child poverty & vulnerability: Phase 1 = 2, Phase 2 = 4
- Child Labour: Phase 1 = 5, Phase 2 = 4

Figure 6: Frequency of disaggregation between social groups (n=44)

- Disability
- Ethnicity
- Caste
- Orphans/OVC
- Religion
- Rural/Urban
- Age
- Gender
- Socio-Economic Group

Numbers add up to more than 44 as many grants disaggregated among CYP in multiple ways.
2.2 Methodologies used for generating insights on children

The main disciplinary traditions of the studies that generated insights on CYP were anthropology, sociology and economics, with four grants held by human geographers using similar approaches to the sociological studies. Six were based within the public health field or drew on public health perspectives. Only eight projects were explicitly interdisciplinary, but many involved researchers from different traditions or with different skill-sets for different elements of the project. Several proposals – often those specifically engaged with analysis of policy approaches, often in education – located the research within a broad social policy tradition, but used tools, analytical frameworks or perspectives specific to other disciplines.

As Figure 8 shows, the vast majority of grants generating insights on CYP involved primary research. Only three grants involved secondary research only (Teal, Bhalotra, van Stolk). The very high proportion of grants involving primary research may reflect the fact that, even in grants where the main activity was analysis of datasets, researchers frequently complemented this analysis with policy-maker interviews (e.g. Baulch) or linked qualitative components (e.g. Timaeus, Hannum). Similarly, many of these grants combined primary research with extensive literature reviews (e.g. Walker, Pridmore’s open, distance and flexible learning (ODFL)), with analysis of datasets (e.g. Falkingham, Thomas and Peng, Quisumbing) or with administrative or medical records (Davila, Coast, Moser).

As Figure 9 shows, the majority of studies (59%) used mixed methods to generate insights on CYP. Figure 10 illustrates in more detail the methodological approaches used. The majority of grants (79%) involved more than one approach, with collection of qualitative data by far the most common, taking place in 36 grants (83%). Collection of quantitative data and analysis of existing datasets were the next most common approaches, used in 19 grants (43%) each. Ten projects made use of, or contributed to the generation of, longitudinal or panel data. Eleven used participatory methods with CYP and two made use of school essays. Section 2.3 discusses these methods in more detail.

Over half the grants (56%) generated insights on policy or programme effectiveness (not shown here). Of these, three tested policy or programme effectiveness via randomised control trials or quasi-experimental research designs; the others made use of longitudinal or panel datasets and/or qualitative research to generate insights on the impacts of particular policies and programmes. The

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Explicitly Interdisciplinary</th>
<th>Philosophy</th>
<th>Planning</th>
<th>Geography</th>
<th>Social policy</th>
<th>Psychology</th>
<th>Demography</th>
<th>Public Health/Medicine</th>
<th>Politics</th>
<th>Anthropology or Sociology</th>
<th>Economics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7: Main disciplines in studies generating insights on children and young people (n = 44)

Numbers add up to more than 44 as many grants disaggregated among CYP in multiple ways.
Figure 8: Distribution of main research approaches in grants generating insights on CYP (n=44)

- Primary research only: 19
- Secondary research only: 3
- Primary and secondary research: 22

Figure 9: Overview of methods used to generate insights on CYP (n = 44)

- Quantitative only: 10
- Qualitative only: 26
- Mixed Methods: 8
relevant thematic sections discuss these insights in more detail and Section 9 consolidates them.

2.3 Methodological innovations and challenges in research with CYP

A total of 11 of the 44 projects (25%) involved elements of child-focused participatory research. These studies were principally a sub-set of those with a strong focus on CYP, although in Bryceson’s study of mining in Angola, Ghana and Tanzania the ‘digging deeper exercise’ with young people emerged from and was part of a broader study of socioeconomic issues related to mining, and in Walker’s study of poverty, social exclusion and shame research with CYP complemented similar research with adults.

Ansell’s grant had a strong bottom-up emphasis, drawing on community inputs in two stages. The first stage involved participatory rural appraisal exercises in order to profile community assets and associated risks, as well as to loosely map social networks and extended families. The second component focused on the engagement of young people themselves, particularly those affected directly or indirectly by HIV/AIDS. The research with young people made use of several tools, including mental maps, activity calendars, social network diagrams and life maps, as well as more innovative exercises such as participatory photography. Ansell et al. (2012) developed a standalone journal article on methodological findings, which discusses the methods used, data produced and contradictions in the findings. The paper unpacks the practical challenges encountered in conducting field research with multiple child and youth respondents who provide conflicting knowledge, and also gives guidance on handling contrasting evidence and valuing nuance, rather than necessarily seeking generalisable empirical evidence.

Bryceson’s study of urban growth and poverty in mining in Africa included a standalone consultation phase in order to triangulate findings. This work concentrated on dissemination of research findings at local, national and international levels. ‘Digging deeper’ participatory programmes involved secondary school students who were asked to express their perceptions of life in mining settlements. In Tanzania and Ghana, students presented poems, songs, drawings, sculpture, plays and dances, with participatory photography the focus in Angola. The research programme initiated the development of a cultural festival to showcase these outputs and provided a collective space for sharing and creating dialogue on these outputs. The discussion of the digging deeper exercises does not, however, explore how far these activities strengthened research insights.

Campbell’s study of school support for HIV-affected children in rural and small-town Zimbabwe included children’s views as a key source of insights for developing child-relevant interventions and policy. One component of this study involved 128 school children (aged 10 to 14 years) writing a story about an HIV-affected peer and how
school had assisted them in tackling their problems. Driven by a social constructivist approach, the researchers took as a point of departure the position that an analysis of the stories would not lead to any generalised empirical ‘truths’ about the extent of support for children affected by HIV/AIDS, but rather to a deeper understanding of the powerful symbolic resources and frames of references children use to contextualise their everyday experiences. The feedback from children in the participatory research, although nuanced at the outset, ultimately became generalised in the final analysis stage. Consequently, a degree of detail regarding children’s everyday experiences was lost.

Moser’s study on tipping points of urban conflict focused on four cities – and involved a strongly participatory research methodology in two of these. This work included focus group and key informant discussions with a range of stakeholders, including youth gang members and those not involved in gangs. The aim of the participatory approach was to understand the interpretation and normalisation of different forms of violence in the local environment. Although the write-up of the methodology gives little insight into the gender and age disaggregation of focus groups and findings, it is clear young people identified some factors more commonly than did other participant groups. For example, young people in Kenya highlighted tribal politics as a key trigger of violence. One of the case studies (Kenya) drew on a Participatory Violence Appraisal (PVA) method – inspired by Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques. The PVA is a relatively unexplored and untested method, and focuses on the use of community perspectives to systematically inform researchers on both the causes and the consequences of violence. This exercise also proved to be a form of action research in that it pointed to direct and tangible impacts on existing conflict negotiations taking place in some communities. Although the methodological notes in the papers refer to the targeting of ‘ordinary’ people for participation in the research, it is unclear how far marginalised and vulnerable groups were involved.

Porter’s study of children’s daily mobility and transport constraints in Sub-Saharan Africa involved peer research by 70 child/young researchers and an adult-led component. In addition to a survey, the latter involved the development of mobile ethnographies by peer and academic researchers, which enabled improved interaction with child respondents. These mobile ethnographies involved children developing written travel diaries and photo-journals and undertaking accompanied travel/walks with adults. This research methodology was intended to counter asymmetrical power relations between adult and child researchers and to address the additional complexities of supporting child researchers in African contexts. Particular challenges encountered were the disconnect between this relatively new and empowered role for children and existing norms and expectations of intergenerational relations, which led child researchers to be more comfortable conducting research activities and enquiries with respondents of their own age or younger. Although details were not provided, it was stated that these issues were nevertheless catered for and adapted as the research was undertaken, and it was noted that children showed a remarkable capacity to handle challenges from adults, including refusals to participate, requests for compensation and other criticisms.

Walker’s study on shame associated with poverty in seven countries included participatory inputs from over 300 adults and children. It used a combination of ethnographic and in-depth interviews with these groups in a mix of rural areas (India, Pakistan, Uganda) and urban areas (China, Norway, Pakistan, South Korea, the UK). Children themselves were a specific focus in India, Pakistan, Uganda and the UK. The write-up of these four country studies includes insights from CYP and adults and compares and contrasts their perspectives. These studies reveal both child-specific insights and the extent to which children and adults’ experiences of poverty were similar (see Section 3 for further discussion).

Walton’s study made use of hypothetical scenarios to probe young people’s perceptions of sensitive issues, such as marriages of people of different castes and religions, and how they expected social norms to change over time. The researchers asked young people what they would do if they fell in love with a boy or a girl of another caste or religious community, and how they expected they would react in the future if their son wished to marry outside his caste or religion. They also probed perceptions of norms concerning domestic violence and the trustworthiness of police, the importance of caste or religion in voter behaviour and the extent to which people felt socially excluded on grounds of poverty or caste via different scenarios.

Wessells’ grant involved coordinating inter-agency research on community-based child protection systems strengthening for vulnerable children in Sierra Leone. The baseline for the quasi-experimental research approach focused on inputs from 570 13-19 year olds in target and control communities. As part of the development of this baseline, the questionnaire was itself co-constructed with community members – including children and youth – to ensure terminology and priority concerns of the community were maintained. This approach was used in order to ensure communities – particularly adolescents – approved of and saw added value in the intervention, thereby increasing the likelihood that the intervention (to reduce teen pregnancy) would have sustainable impacts. Wessells’ research is also innovative in that it is the first randomised trial approach looking at informal child protection systems – that is, those focusing on household, community and customary care practices.

Ten studies either made use of panel or longitudinal research on CYP or contributed to reducing the paucity of longitudinal research through generating further rounds of data. Kantor’s grant built on panel data to reconstruct a
longitudinal dataset, and in itself represented a significant contribution, given the limitations of other datasets in post-conflict Afghanistan. The researchers used this dataset to inform ongoing work with the Overseas Development Institute’s (ODI’s) Sustainable Livelihoods Research Consortium (SLRC) and the Feinstein International Center that aims to understand informal barriers preventing youth accessing and sustaining formal and productive employment in fragile states. Hannum’s grant both made use of and generated a further wave of the Gansu Survey of Children and Families (GSCF). This dataset examines poverty, education, physical and mental health and economic mobility among 2,000 children between the ages of 9 and 12 years in rural northwest China, gathered across 2000, 2004 and 2008. The research included a retrospective qualitative component in 2 of the 100 sample villages in order to determine background and determining factors observed in the statistical data.

Although Timaeus’ grant drew on panel studies rather than longitudinal data, these panels contained consistent data back to 1993 (i.e. over a period of five-year intervals), with a relatively unusual number of three separate panels. This enabled analysis of the impacts of a major child-oriented programme in South Africa – the Child Support Grant – as well as allowing analysis of changing patterns on a number of child wellbeing indicators. Bhalotra’s study also draws on three large and complex panel datasets, from the National Family Health Survey of India, in order to determine several child health characteristics differentiated by religion and socioeconomic status. The extended nature of the time series data – from 1992 to 2006 – enables an analysis of child mortality, height and maternal characteristics. The study provides specific contributions to methodological enquiries by isolating the effects of religion on mortality and fertility.

Baulch’s research drew on fewer rounds of panel survey data (1993 and 2004) in order to understand the experiences of ethnic minorities in Vietnam in accessing the benefits of economic growth welfare improvements. However, the panel studies have only a minor component addressing children and youth, with limited disaggregation of household members to include the 0-6- and 6-17-year age groups. Lehrer’s grant seeks to provide a comprehensive picture of senior high school achievement and of the opportunities and challenges facing recent graduates in Ghana by collecting survey data between 2008 through 2012 on employment status and job search activities, post-secondary school applications and attendance, expectations and life satisfaction. These students and recent graduates will continue to be interviewed at regular intervals, creating a panel dataset of socioeconomic characteristics of senior high school graduates in the years following their graduation. Wahba’s research on migration aims to understand the experience and process of migration for young people from Morocco and Egypt. The first round of panel data was collected in 2009 before migration and the second round, to be analysed in 2015, looks at the experience of migration and the changes that have occurred in these young people’s lives.

Porter’s study is somewhat different to the above in that it focuses on following up on a (primarily) qualitative baseline from the study on children’s mobility in Sub-Saharan Africa. The mobile phone study therefore uses the same mixed method, participatory child-centred, studies conducted in the same 24 sites across Ghana, Malawi and South Africa (urban, peri-urban, rural, remote rural in two agro-ecological zones per country). It will build on data for 9-18 year olds through repeat and extended studies, plus additional studies with 19-25 year olds (to capture changing usage and its impacts as the initial cohort moves into their 20s).

2.4 Discussion of ethics of research with CYP

Only a handful of End of Award Reports or Research Reports discussed specific ethical issues related to research with CYP. (All scheme-funded research involves consideration of ethical issues in line with the ESRC’s research ethics policy). For the most part, where research ethics related to CYP are discussed at all, they are given fairly significant space and attention. For instance, Unterhalter’s project identified issues concerning the anonymisation of child respondent data, the appropriate engagement of children, and the fact that teachers and NGO workers engaging children in interviews were often harsh, which led to the children being distressed. The researchers reflect that such problems arose from the late inclusion of CYP in the research process and the fact that many people engaging with children were unprepared for the challenges that could arise (Unterhalter et al, 2011b).

Walker’s study of shame associated with poverty observed that the research had ensured child respondents were isolated from the influence of peers and adults, had drawn on informed consent and had maintained clear and communicated lines of responsibility regarding confidentiality and the reporting of findings. Ansell’s and Porter’s outputs had particularly detailed discussion of research ethics related to CYP. The former demonstrated a sophisticated appreciation of the asymmetrical power relations that characterise work with children, especially those at risk of being affected by HIV/AIDS or in impoverished environments. Ethical issues concerning children affected by HIV/AIDS were specifically singled out, and specific training on ‘research ethics in practice’ was given to all enumerators and researchers in the project (Ansell, 2007; Ansell et al., 2014).

Porter’s study took into account children’s time availability for schooling, domestic and other responsibilities, and worked flexibly within these constraints to develop research outputs collectively with children. The researchers also provide a justification of their choice to provide remuneration to children in recognition of their
contributions, arguing that this was an important signal to children that their time and efforts had not been wasted and that they had played a significant role in the research. A sub-component of Porter’s mobility and transport study (Hampshire et al., 2012) also involved an enquiry into the long-term impacts of children’s engagement in research activities through conducting follow-up interviews with child participants two years after their participation. The authors were unable to attribute any changes in life trajectories of participants, although respondents did highlight that their experiences of participating in the research were, in retrospect, much more productive and empowering than they had originally expected.

Surprisingly, none of these studies referred to any theoretical or practice-based guidelines or toolkits focusing on child participation and research ethics, although Ansell’s and Porter’s grants both drew on accumulated academic experience of conducting research with children. Interestingly, none of the outputs made explicit reference to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), despite the extent to which the UNCRC has galvanised efforts to promote child participation in many spheres of activity.
3 Livelihoods, social protection and children’s experience of poverty and vulnerability

None of the grants explored trends in the proportion of children living in income poverty, or in the intensity of their poverty. However, 18 studies generated insights on CYP’s experiences of poverty, young people’s livelihoods and ways of managing vulnerability and policies intended to reduce poverty directly, such as social protection policies. Six studies generated insights into the impacts of migration on CYP – either as migrants or as children left behind. While livelihoods and employment are important thematic foci of the grants examined, few generated insights into child labour: most explored livelihood and employment issues as they related to young people. Three of the studies from Southern Africa had a specific focus on the effects of HIV/AIDS (Timaeus, Ansell, Campbell), with one (Timaeus) generating quantitative insights. These three studies also provide some insights into issues related to social protection, in particular concerns associated with the categorical targeting of orphans and the unintended ways in which social policies can generate stigma. As this overview suggests, the grants this section discusses are particularly disparate, making analysis of commonalities especially challenging.

3.1 Youth employment and working conditions

Seven grants generated qualitative and quantitative insights into young people’s livelihoods and working conditions, and on school-to-work transitions. These grants were split almost evenly between Phase 1 and Phase 2 and covered countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and Latin America.

Kantor’s research in Afghanistan generated insights on the employment and livelihoods of young people, and this area was the subject of follow-up research and additional papers produced by the research team. Nezami and Kantor’s (2010) report on Faryab district describes the importance of women and girls’ work to household finances and the financial problems that losing this labour can cause. It also illustrates how changing markets and a decline in the carpet trade have had a negative impact on household income.

A subsequent paper, Pain and Mallet (2014), draws on additional research undertaken in conjunction with the ODI. The paper looks at how young men and women gain skills and enter the urban labour market, with a particular focus on the tailoring sector. The research involved qualitative interviews with young men and women, tailoring teachers and older tailors in Kabul. It found strong social networks were essential for both young men and women who wanted to enter the trade, and that these connections were easier to access for young men. Young women faced significant restrictions to their work, with limited access to physical marketplaces and less opportunity to develop skills. The meaning of work for young men and women was also different: young men were more concerned with economic concerns whereas young women felt their employment was part of a larger struggle against their restricted opportunities and the result of a significant process of negotiation with their families.

De Neve’s research on the garment industry in India also brings out the different experiences of young men and young women in the labour market and how these have changed over time, arguing that young women’s experiences, in particular, provide insights into flexible labour regimes. Jansi’s story is used to illustrate the labour trajectories of young women. Jansi left her parents’ house to work in a garment factory in Tiruppur, which

5 May and Timaeus (2014) provide a snapshot from South Africa: over 80% African under fives live in poor households as compared with 8% of whites, and 93% rural children are living in poor households.
paid enough for food and a place in a hostel; however, the work became erratic and the shifts longer so she left to join a different company, one that provided food and accommodation. When she marries, Jansi expects to leave her job, but until then she enjoys the independence and control that working gives her.

Young men who migrate to Tiruppur to work in the garment industry are more concerned with the ability to earn and ‘come up in life’. The research reveals the factories these young men work in are intensely competitive, and the workers take great pride in their work. Male workers are under pressure to achieve rising wages for their families once they have married. Many of the men observed for the study aspired to set up their own business or become a contractor by recruiting their own team; however, neither of these options is likely to provide a secure livelihood.

Changes in the type of employment available to young people are explored in Teal’s grant. Nsowah-Nuamah (2010) draws on data from Ghana to show that, regardless of level of education achieved, the probability of entering a public sector job has fallen and many more young people enter the labour market through employment in small businesses, in what tends to be low-paying jobs. Walton’s study found young women from the New Delhi slums who had managed to complete secondary education were typically using this education to run small tuition businesses. Those who were employed were typically working as sales assistants.

Bryceson’s study of the impact of mining booms on employment in mining settlements in Tanzania (Bryceson et al., 2014) finds communities experience inward migration from adult and young male miners, and from girls and young women who are engaged in bar work and prostitution. Barmaids, nicknamed *dogo dogo* (‘spring chicks’), work on a casual basis, with erratic working hours and an ever-present risk of violence, and rely on tips rather than a regular wage. Bars also provide a setting in which girls and young women form transactional relationships with men, with varying degrees of commercialisation and companionship. Bryceson et al. (2014) identify three trajectories for girls in mining settlements. First, girls who do not establish relationships with men find it difficult to survive in the settlements and often leave quickly. Second, girls may try and develop the relationship, with men finding it difficult to survive in the settlements and many of these had failed. However, this was primarily problematic if they had borrowed money for the business, and many young people considered that their failed businesses had given them useful contacts and provided some money. More lucrative businesses did not necessarily lead to greater livelihood security. The researchers conclude that, in addition to vocational training, young people need business training to help them spot opportunities that do not rely on limited local markets (Ansell et al., 2009c). The outputs examined do not refer to young people’s access to credit (either formal or ‘microcredit’), suggesting it did not play an important role in livelihood security in these contexts.

Three other grants generated more limited insights on youth employment: Davila’s research on the impact of the introduction of a cable car system in Medellín, Colombia, found increased business activity in the area around the cable car stations, an increase in tourism and the improved quality of the street environment and leisure facilities had led to new job opportunities through the opening of restaurants and other business activities. Some respondents also noted that some young people who acted as local visitor guides appeared to be involved in ‘sex tourism’ (Davila, 2013). Attanasio’s analysis of the comprehensive social protection policy Chile Solidario found it had a positive effect on the employment of young male heads of households, although more limited impacts on other population groups (Attanasio, 2009). Walton’s grant generated some insights into the gendered livelihood trajectories of young women and men in the slums of Delhi. These are currently being written up.

There is relatively limited discussion in these grants of child labour as a contribution to children’s and their households’ livelihoods, and only one grant (Thirtle’s) indicates an intention to examine changes in child labour as an indicator of child wellbeing. This may reflect a decline in interest in this issue after the flurry of research and policy activity in the 1990s and 2000s. However, through their exploration of various aspects of CYP wellbeing and experience, eight grants generated insights into children’s work activities. The Pakistan component of Walker’s study revealed specific insights into children’s working conditions. Choudry (2013) argues that large families have promoted the acceptance of child labour,
opportunities. In 1996 only 25% of boys aged 5 to 14 had reduced women's and children's labour market had made their work less essential to household survival, 1980s and early 2000s, as improving opportunities for men paid labour force had decreased markedly between the community in western Tamil Nadu. The research found that the proportion of both women and children in the work outside the home.

Porter's study of children's mobility and transport in Africa reveals some insights on portering as a means for children to earn money in Malawi and Ghana. The research found that on average 5% of children reported earning money, for themselves or their family, through portering. The highest percentage of children involved (9.5%) was found among boys in rural Malawi, although data collected from in-depth interviews suggest portage is more common than these figures suggest. In Malawi, both in- and out-of-school youth reported load-carrying; this was more common among boys as girls’ time is consumed by domestic chores. In poor rural households, earnings commonly went towards general household expenses; urban and peri-urban area children reported using the money as pocket money for sweets, snacks and watching videos (Porter et al., 2012). Ansell et al (2014) indicate that some boys in Lesotho were either choosing for themselves or were being directed by their families to work as herd-boys, a livelihood pathway with the potential for accumulating assets (livestock).

Bryceson’s study of mining in Tanzania revealed that, while the mean age of miners was 26, a minority started as pre-teens (7%) or teenagers. The youngest miners tend to be living in mining settlements as children and start mining as assistants for family members or neighbours. Older teenagers migrate to the mines independently; many view mining as a stepping stone to other work; some initially come to work intending to earn money to support their education but often end up staying and continuing to mine. While the majority of miners are male, Bryceson’s study found higher than expected numbers of 10-14-year-old girls in one of mining settlements examined. This may reflect the common practice of relying on the labour of young migrant girls from the extended family to assist with child care and domestic labour, which facilitates mothers’ involvement in the services sector and mineral processing work outside the home.

Heyer’s (2010) research conducted under De Neve’s grant reveals insights on change in child labour in a Dalit community in western Tamil Nadu. The research found that the proportion of both women and children in the paid labour force had decreased markedly between the 1980s and early 2000s, as improving opportunities for men had made their work less essential to household survival, and had reduced women’s and children’s labour market opportunities. In 1996 only 25% of boys aged 5 to 14 were still herding or going out to work, and only 5% of girls. Fifty percent of 5-14-year-old Dalit boys and 65% of 5-14-year-old Dalit girls were in school. By 2008/09, there was practically no child labour in the study villages; children were in school instead.

Attanasio and Van Stolk both find some evidence of social protection programmes reducing the number of hours worked by children in Latin America:

- Gee (2010), cited in Diepeveen and Van Stolk’s (2012) systematic review of social protection in low-income contexts, found the Red de Protección Social (RPS) programme in Nicaragua had resulted in a statistically significant decline in a child’s probability of working; Progresa, in Mexico, had resulted in a statistically significant decline in work hours per week for children who worked. However, no impacts on children’s work were found as a result of the Programa De Asignación Familiar (PRAF) II in Honduras, which actually seemed to have increased the number of hours worked by children living in poor households. Gee suggests that these differences might be the result of variation in programme targeting, subsidy amounts and educational requirements.

- Carpio and Macours’ (2009) study of Atención a Crisis in Nicaragua, also discussed in Diepeveen and Van Stolk’s (2012) systematic review finds the programme contributed to decreased child labour, mainly for boys, as a result of larger decreases in agriculture and livestock activities. Older boys benefit most relative to their siblings; this appears to have lessened intra-household gender and age differences in child labour allocations. The change in intra-household allocation of labour has also contributed to a reallocation of boys with lower skills or ability away from agricultural labour, potentially indicating compensation for lags in academic achievement.

Attanasio et al. (2008a) examine the impact of the Familias en Acción conditional cash transfer in Colombia on children’s work. A central finding of the data analysis is that children’s work and school attendance are not fully substitutable, meaning attendance at school is sometimes drawn from children’s leisure time rather than time that had been allocated to domestic or labour market work. The analysis found that the impact of the transfer on children’s domestic work had been most significant in urban areas and among younger children: in urban areas there was a 13% reduction in the amount of time spent undertaking domestic work among children aged 10-13 years, compared with a reduction of 10% for children aged 14-17 years. There was no impact of the cash transfer on children’s participation in domestic work in more rural areas, and no significant impact on time spent on paid work in either rural or urban locations. Although data used for this analysis show girls undertake more work within the home, and boys are more engaged in income-generating
activities, the analysis does not specifically disaggregate the effects on children by gender. Hannum’s grants also generated insights into the effects of work on children’s educational outcomes: Section 5 discusses these.

Also examining the role of changes in policy or practice, two grants generated more limited insights into impacts on child labour. Thirtle (2009) generated some insights on child labour in a study of the introduction of a herbicide tolerant maize variety in Malawi. An in-depth survey, designed to capture labour allocation across the seasons, found there had been no marked reduction in the amount of child labour undertaken, reflecting a limited overall impact on labour hiring. The discussion in Anderson de Cuevas (2012), produced as part of Theobald’s grant, includes some comments about children in Yemen selling qat in order to pay for tuberculosis treatment, but does not examine this in any detail.

### 3.2 Migration

Seven grants generated insights on issues related to migration and its impact on young people. Eight grants generated insights on issues related to migration and its impact on CYP: Kantor, which considers the migration of young men from and within Afghanistan; Ansell, which examines young people’s migration in Malawi and Lesotho; Wahba, which considers migration of young people from Morocco and Egypt; and Falkingham’s and De Neve’s grants, where migration is a more limited area of focus. Three grants considered the impact of parents’ migration on children left behind and the experience of alternative carers: Hannum (China), Locke (Vietnam) and Falkingham (Moldova, Central Asia and the Caucasus). There are also some insights from Kantor’s study on migration having a transformative effect on social norms and attitudes affecting CYP. The majority of these projects used qualitative interviews to obtain insights on experiences of migration; only Hannum draws on a large-scale quantitative survey. It is also likely that Porter’s grant on the impact of mobile phones on young people’s lives and life chances in Sub-Saharan Africa will generate insights around young people’s decisions to migrate and the role of mobile phones in accessing social networks and job opportunities.

#### 3.2.1 Young people’s migration

Projects generating insights on CYP’s migration examine the push factors that influence decisions to migrate, in particular migration to access better livelihoods options, education and schooling. Kantor’s analysis of the reasons behind young people’s decisions and desires to migrate from Afghanistan reveals that young men are migrating to Iran and Dubai, usually for work but also to escape undesired marriage. The research examined migration decisions in two sites: in Kandahar, young men were choosing to migrate even when their household was relatively successful economically (Pain, 2010a), whereas in Badakhshan migration seems to be more local and seasonal, in response to immediate household needs (Pain, 2010b). The need for money in order to marry is also a push factor in migration, related to the rising costs of marriage and fear of political insecurity at home.

Ansell et al. (2014) discuss a different motivation behind migration for paid work. Interviews in the study sites found a high level of previous migration in Malawi – 10 of the 27 interviewees had previously migrated – and a lower level in Lesotho, where 2 of the 20 interviewees reported previous migration for work. Girls in Malawi reported that they had migrated while very young, aged 13-15; those in Lesotho tended to be slightly older, around the age of 18; the research write-up does not give any insights into the reasons for these differences. The opposite pattern was observed for boys: the average age of migration in Malawi seemed to be 18, whereas some boys in Lesotho had migrated to work at 15 and boys as young as 8 or 9 had found herding work. The type of work undertaken was primarily domestic work, although some worked on agricultural estates or in factories. Migration for work is also discussed in De Neve’s grant, which examines the experiences of young women migrant garment workers, and is considered in more depth in the livelihoods section.

In Ansell’s research project, the majority of the young people interviewed viewed migration as a short-term strategy to save money to invest in education or training. Some young people had made detailed plans for their future employment and education, either drawing heavily on their social networks or relying on recruitment agents who had visited their village in search of unskilled workers. Experiences of domestic work were mixed. Some girls reported that they had been well paid and treated fairly, although few had made any savings and several had experienced sexual abuse (Ansell, 2009e). Work on agricultural estates was seen to be the most physically taxing and least well remunerated, while poor wages and insecure conditions in factories often meant young people were able to save very little money (ibid.). Kantor also discusses the risks of migration, including examples of failed migration where young people could not find quality employment or had been deported (Pain, 2010a; 2010b).

In research conducted as part of Falkingham’s project, youth in Moldova almost universally agreed that migration was essential to survive, in a context where secure local formal sector employment, with wages sufficient to support a family, is almost non-existent (Grant et al., 2009). Young people were also reported to be pulled into migration by the promise of greater prosperity, as demonstrated by returning migrants who clearly exhibit material success.

Wahba’s research to date has focused on young people’s preparation for migration by examining the relationship between migration aspirations of young people in Egypt and Morocco and education. Quantitative panel data collected in 2009 suggest the education choices and
performance of young people are influenced by their migration aspirations: young people who wish to migrate invest more in education. This varies by desired destination: young people who aspire to migrate to European countries invest more in their education than those who aspire to migrate to the Gulf states, who invest less as they perceive that, even with lower levels of education, they will be able to find a job. Analysis on the second round of panel data is currently in process and will examine whether youth migrated or not and their experiences.8

3.2.2 Migration of parents and carers

These grants also generated insights on the impact of migration on young people's wellbeing, the wellbeing of families left behind and the factors that support successful migration. Three papers deal with the impact of migration of parents on children's care arrangements and wellbeing. All the projects find grandparents play a critical role by supporting families and providing children with a home, a finding that echoes much research on skip generation migration (Bakker et al., 2009; De La Garza, 2010).

Falkingham's grant focused on the impact of migration on older people in Central Europe and includes some insights on the experiences of young people. This grant combined qualitative research in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Moldova with the analysis of secondary data from Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Many of the respondents recognised migration as inevitable because of limited livelihood opportunities in their home communities, although older people also associated migration with emotional loss and isolation as well as increased responsibility for looking after grandchildren (Falkingham and Evandrou, 2010). The research in Moldova (Grant et al., 2009) identifies a change in the shape of families created by migration, with villages consisting only of grandparents and grandchildren becoming the norm in some areas.

Grandparents expressed conflicting feelings about their caring responsibilities: they love and feel responsible for their grandchildren, but also experience financial strain because of caring for them. Financial strain is particularly problematic when the remittances received from parents are insufficient to pay for care and schooling costs. Grandparents also expressed concerns about the behaviour left-behind children displayed and their ability to discipline children. One concern respondents expressed related to children receiving money directly from parents, as they felt that children having money they had not earned was a poor lesson in life (Grant et al., 2009). The same conflicting feelings are seen in the research from Kyrgyzstan and Moldova (Ablezova et al., 2008; Grant et al., 2009), where grandparents observed that their caring responsibilities limited the time they had available for socialising and expressed concern about their ability to provide discipline.

Locke's research shows the other side of migrant relationships – involving separation from children – in its examination of the experience of migrant parents within Vietnam. Life history interviews with 77 low-income rural to urban migrant parents reveal that parents feel extremely concerned about separation from their children and the impact on children's social development. Parents attempt 'remote parenting' and mothers in particular visit frequently. However, respondents acknowledged that, as children grow older and require more supervision and discipline, fulfilling a parental role becomes more and more difficult. Migrants were reluctant to bring children to the city because of the high cost of living, discriminatory attitudes and restricted access to services for migrants in the city (Locke et al., 2010).

Falkingham's research also examined the impact of grandparental care arrangements on children's education. Interviews with teachers conducted as part of the study revealed that children looked after by grandparents were more likely to skip classes, which was largely attributed to a lack of discipline and grandparents having limited time to check on school attendance. The research in Kyrgyzstan interviewed teachers who felt children looked after by grandparents were more likely to have poorer academic performance and to miss school than children in the care of their parents. Grandparents were seen as less likely to cooperate with the school, in part because of their own low level of education, which meant they were unable to help with homework and less likely to value education (Ablezova et al., 2008). However, Bennett et al.'s (2012) analysis of data from the 2007 Tajikistan Living Standards Survey found the long-term migration of parents had a significant positive effect on secondary school enrolment, whereas migration of siblings, or other family members, is negatively associated with children's enrolment.

Substantive impacts of parents' migration on children's education are also discussed in a paper developed under the auspices of Hannum's grant. Lee and Park (2010) identify a lack of literature about the impact of migration on the wellbeing of children left behind by migrant parents in China – a significant phenomenon. Analysis of the Gansu Survey shows fathers’ migration reduces the school enrolment of sons, with a son 21.2% less likely to be enrolled in school, but finds positive impacts on girls’ enrolment (although this change is not statistically significant). Migration has a positive impact on both girls’ and boys’ educational outcomes, as children are less likely to be held back a year and generally have higher test scores. However, migration of fathers may increase the likelihood of behavioural problems at school (see Section 4.4).

8 Interview with Jackline Wahba, 4 December 2014.
3.2.3 Wider impacts of migration

Migration is widely accepted to have potentially positive impacts on changing social norms and attitudes through the exposure to new ideas and ways of life (Marcus with Harper, 2014). Kantor’s findings are consistent with this literature. The research includes some insights that suggest migration, and the experience of being refugees, has had impacts on households’ attitudes to girls’ education and to decision-making about marriage. There is some interview evidence suggesting families that have lived as refugees in Pakistan, despite experiencing mixed fortunes economically, have developed more positive attitudes towards girls’ education. Interviews in Kandahar also include one example of women’s increased decision-making power, where a married daughter living in Pakistan was able to influence her father in order to marry her sisters to her brothers-in-law (Pain, 2010a). This is an interesting variation on the majority of the migration literature, which has focused on women’s increased decision-making power in contexts where husbands have out-migrated (Jolly and Reeves, 2005; Lopez-Ekra et al., 2011).

3.3 Children’s and young people’s experiences of poverty

Three grants provided direct insights into CYP’s own words of their experiences and perceptions of living in poverty (Walker, Campbell, Noble). It should be recognised that other grants that included CYP respondents (e.g. Ansell, Porter, Walton) also provide insights from the perspective of how poverty constrains young people’s choices and life paths.

Walker’s study of poverty and shame involved discussions with children in four of the seven study countries. This study was unique in that it compared across high-, middle- and low-income contexts, and countries with profoundly different policy approaches to poverty. Nonetheless, there were strong commonalities in children’s experience of poverty. For example, in all four countries, children spoke of shame and unwillingness to invite school friends home because of their living conditions. In three of four countries (less so in Pakistan), schools reinforced the shame and humiliation of poverty, as peers exposed children’s lack of specific possessions. At home, children’s reference points were limited such that the experience of extreme poverty sometimes seemed normal. ‘School broadened horizons but the stark differences it exposed were a source of shaming: smartly dressed or not, more than one set of uniform or not, hungry or not, pocket money or not, calculator or not, the list was endless’ (Walker, 2013). Unlike adults, who had more room for manoeuvre in avoiding social interactions in which they might experience stigma, exclusion or shame, children had little opportunity to avoid such interactions at school.

Children across the four countries also occasionally admitted to being angry. This anger sometimes erupted when they were told they could not have the things they wanted, or it stayed just below the surface, directed against their parents and society at large. Children in Uganda, for example, were often deeply ashamed of their circumstances and blamed their parents, yet felt confused because they saw their parents struggling to feed and clothe them. Their counterparts in the UK also talked about anger and the need to control it when faced by peers gloating over possessions and deliberately coaxing a response from those who could not afford them. In Uganda, respondents sought to demonstrate that they were upstanding and respectable by reference to behaviours of which they disapproved and which were associated with stereotypes of poor people, such as begging, theft, not sending children to school or sending them in an unkempt state, heavy drinking and promiscuity.

While children’s experiences of poverty was not as central a focus of Campbell et al.’s study as it was for Walker’s, the former’s participatory research approach revealed insights into the experiences of poor children in rural and urban Zimbabwe affected by HIV/AIDS. Children in Grades 5-7 were asked to write stories about children affected by HIV. Analysis of the themes they raised suggests excessive burdens of chores, social neglect and abuse by caregivers, emotional stress and hunger are significant challenges facing HIV/AIDS-affected children (Campbell et al., 2014b). Stigma and discrimination against children affected by HIV/AIDS was also a common theme in the children’s stories – sometimes, this discrimination was related to HIV/AIDS itself, and sometimes to poverty – for example against orphans who lacked shoes (ibid.). The children’s stories also strongly bring out emotional stresses related to the intersection of HIV/AIDS and poverty. For example, three of the stories quoted in Campbell (2014a) highlight these effects: ‘this boy is always crying because of his sick parents’, ‘he is always crying as he is abused by the people he stays with’, ‘she is constantly stressed due to the fact that she is an orphan’.

Although it did not involve research with children, Wright et al.’s research with lone mother Child Support Grant (CSG) recipients in South Africa as part of Noble’s grant provides insights from mothers’ perspectives on the practical and emotional impact of poverty on children. Respondents describe the shame of not being able to provide properly for their children, being trapped living with relatives who mistreat them and their children and taking their frustrations out on their children. Two mothers reported being so malnourished they were unable to make sufficient breast milk for their babies. As in Walker’s study, some respondents reported that poverty undermined their children’s respect for them. For example, one mother observed, ‘I can’t even give my child R1 (1 South African Rand) if he asks for it. He’ll say; “what kind of mother are you, can’t even give me R1?” [...] Poverty destroys our dignity as mothers’ (Wright et al., 2014a).
Box 2: Insights on poverty and shame from research with children in India, Pakistan and Uganda

In Uganda, both children and adults reported that they perceived as degrading many of the coping and livelihood strategies in which they engaged. For example, both adults and children described casual labour, usually involving digging in other people’s fields, as being both financially unrewarding and extremely degrading. Young people who did resent their families of birth despised the means by which their parents earned a living, deriding subsistence farming as unproductive and shameful. They especially resented being compelled to engage in what they considered degrading casual labour in order to help sustain their family income. Children gave accounts of situations where they avoided inviting their friends home to visit to avoid seeing the full extent of their poverty, which they believed was obvious from the poor quality of their home. This shame appeared for the most part to be self-inflicted and, unlike in the case of their parents, there was limited evidence of it being directly imposed on them by others. For example, children’s accounts did not mention incidents of direct shaming by teachers, fellow pupils or others in the community. Children and their families in Uganda also referred to the stigma of attending free government Universal Primary Education schools, perceived to be of lower quality than those in the private sector.

In Pakistan, while the sense of poverty-related shame was quite pronounced in the views of children engaged in child labour, many school-going children, and particularly younger children, did not see a connection between money and respect. They thought the latter was connected with moral attributes such as ‘character and good deeds’ or demographic ones, such as clan, family or elders. Adults and older children mostly viewed social status as closely linked to money. Because parents tended not to discuss money worries with their young children, these children sometimes demanded commodities beyond their parents’ means. Some children expressed disappointment at what they perceived as their parents’ failure to fulfil customary obligations, such as buying new clothes at Eid. While some children concealed their disappointment and frustration from their parents, others expressed overt anger, directed against their parents or society at large. Children from poor households reported making use of free recreation opportunities, such as parks and outdoor spaces. There was also evidence of children self-excluding from social events, such as birthday parties, because their families could not afford a gift.

In India, children reported discrimination based on both caste and economic status, and that poverty limited their opportunities to form social relationships. In the Kerala study site, church was an important site for social exclusion, and children reported not feeling able to socialise after church because the richer people did not want to associate with them. Children also reported being shamed for poverty-related reasons at school, such as being unable to pay school fees, taking free midday meals, being seen using a charity school bag, notebook or umbrella or being categorised as poor or lower caste. Older children eligible for free meals at lunch times reported self-excluding, as they did not want to be the only ones in their class or among their friends to take up the free meals. Although the government had since 2009 required private schools to admit a few pupils from poor backgrounds, children and their parents felt profoundly shamed by others at these schools and the schools also tried, covertly, to exclude them. Among older girls and for their families, there was strong stigma attached to failing to provide a daughter with a good dowry. Likewise, if unmarried girls continue to live in the parental home, possibly because families cannot afford the costs of dowries, they become symbols of shame for the whole family. Fear of such shame drives poor parents to incur debt in order to meet dowry demands and is often a reason for them to remain trapped in poverty. Dowries perceived to be inadequate are a common justification by grooms’ families for violence against young married women.

Source: Bantebya-Kyomuhendo (2013); Choudry (2013); Pellissery and Mathew (2013). All outputs of Walker’s grant on Poverty and Shame.

3.4 Orphanhood and child poverty

As noted above, three grants explored the impact of HIV/AIDS on children. Insights from Campbell’s study, which relate to stigma and school-related practices, are discussed in Sections 3.1.3 and Section 5. Timaeus et al.’s analysis of South Africa’s National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS) dataset examined the impact of adult death (much, though not all, from HIV/AIDS) on child poverty and wellbeing. Their insights are consistent with a wider body of research from East and Southern Africa that has found mixed evidence of the effects of paternal death on children’s wellbeing outcomes. A literature review undertaken by Hosegood (2009) as part of this grant points out that child-headed households and skip generation households are not common (and form around 1% of households in Eastern and Southern Africa), despite their focus in policy and advocacy circles. Most orphaned children live with a surviving parent, or are absorbed into other households, and members of such households or their relatives actively seek to rearrange such atypical household arrangements. The proportion of households in East and Southern Africa where children are being cared for by grandparents is also small (around 3%), although, as Falkingham and Evandrou’s (2010) research on older people indicates, for both the older people and the children concerned, such arrangements can cause strain and challenges to wellbeing (see Section 3.2 above).
Timaeus (2010) found that, in poor households whose income derives largely from state transfers, the death of working-age adults often increases per capita consumption. By contrast, adult deaths reduce consumption in better-off households, with their impact being largest when it is a young adult who dies or the death is from AIDS. Specifically examining patterns of income for households with orphans, McEwan and Woolard (2012) found all categories of orphans were significantly worse-off in terms of income than children whose parents were still alive, and dual orphans particularly so. Average caregiver income for orphans was R792 for paternal orphans, R774 for maternal orphans and R297 for dual orphans. In comparison, the average caregiver income for children with both parents still living was R1,935. The figures are higher for household income but exhibit the same trend, with the average income per adult in the household at R1,010 for paternal orphans, R1,191 for maternal orphans and R553 for dual orphans. The corresponding figure for children with both parents living is R2,230.

Illuminating broader dimensions of the impact of HIV/AIDS, Van Blerk et al. (2008) (a paper generated as part of Ansell’s grant) observe that HIV/AIDS in a family leads to heavier work and care burdens for young people. Young women and girls are more likely to look after young siblings, cook and clean, while young men and boys take on a greater volume of agricultural tasks. However, in some cases, these gender roles become blurred; for example, young men may find themselves caring for sick family members in the absence of a female relative. In the short term, these activities can undermine young people’s future livelihood opportunities by reducing access to education and social resources, including peer interaction and intergenerational knowledge transfer (although they can also lead to the development of valuable skills in relation to caring and household duties). Hajdu et al. (2010) (a paper produced as part of Ansell’s grant) highlight the importance of understanding when in a young person’s life AIDS hits them for understanding its effect. In Malawi, in particular, a young person has a window of opportunity after leaving school but before getting married, when they are actively encouraged by parents to start income-generating activities to support themselves. If AIDS hits a family at this time, a young person not only loses support at a crucial point in life but also might instead have to provide support to parents. AIDS deaths can mean young people miss out on skills their parents might have passed on, but there was plenty of evidence in both Lesotho and Malawi of young people learning such skills from friends and others in the community.

The two studies that examined the role of young people’s social networks in helping them cope with poverty both focused on CYP affected by HIV/AIDS. Ansell (2009b) found many young people borrowed money from relatives to start up businesses. Campbell et al. (2014a; 2014b) show schools play a role in material and psychological support for children – some teachers in the schools they studied in Zimbabwe recorded donations of food and uniforms to HIV-affected children; children reported emotional support (as well as stigma) and shared food, school materials etc. from their peers. Children who performed well despite their difficulties were often commended for overcoming life’s challenges, and this helped them develop positive identities. However, as Campbell et al. point out, such support has not been institutionalised, depends largely on kind individuals and is not particularly widespread. Furthermore, children affected by HIV/AIDS are often stigmatised by their peers at school.

Campbell’s grant has also revealed ways in which family could undermine social and material support for HIV/AIDS-affected young people in Zimbabwe: rural children frequently mentioned inheritance theft (removal of assets by relatives in the event of children’s parents dying), while in the small urban area they investigated families were more likely to refuse to support orphans, who thus had to bear additional expenses, such as rent (Campbell et al., 2014a; 2014b). Campbell et al. found small-town HIV-affected children seemed to experience more challenges and to find dealing with them more overwhelming.

3.5 Income poverty and social protection for vulnerable children

In this section, we discuss only insights related to social protection against income deprivation. Social protection against other dimensions of childhood poverty (e.g. nutritional and educational deprivation) is discussed in Sections 4 and 5. Only three grants generated insights on income-related aspects of social protection and its adequacy for children; all of these focused on Southern Africa.

McEwan and Woolard’s (2012) (undertaken as part of Timaeus’ grant) review of literature on the impact of South Africa’s CSG indicates it is commonly spent on food and educational supplies. Qualitative research conducted by Wright et al. (2014a) (Noble grant) found that, although the grant is appreciated, the amount provided is insufficient to meet children’s needs and, given high levels of unemployment, it constitutes an inadequate safety net. Wright et al. found young mothers felt torn between buying food with the grant and pressures from their children, who had been told by their teachers they should have certain school supplies since they were grant recipients. Many also reported insulting comments from neighbours, who were reluctant to lend them money or food because they were grant recipients. These mothers felt the stigma attached to receiving the CSG undermined their dignity and the low level of the transfer stymied their ability to adequately fulfil their roles as mothers by meeting their children’s food, educational and housing needs and avoiding livelihood activities such as transactional sex.

In less vulnerable households, the CSG facilitated recipients’ investments in their children’s education, and
offered the promise of children’s material conditions being better than their own. Wright et al. (2014a) also found the CSG was enabling dispersal of children among households – for example to access better educational provision in urban areas. Mothers (typically) would claim the grant for their non-co-resident children and remit to an urban relative with whom the child actually lived. There is also some evidence that the grant facilitates mothers undertaking paid work (e.g. by allowing mothers to pay for child care) (Eyal and Woolard, 2010; Wright et al., 2014a), although neither grant examined the effects of such work on child poverty levels.

In addition to issues of adequacy, problems or perceived problems accessing the grant undermine its effectiveness. In 2008, around 60% of eligible children received the grant. McEwan and Woolard (2012) report that, among eligible households not receiving the grant, 20% said they did not have the correct documentation to apply, while 11% had ‘not yet got round to it’ – this was particularly the case for households with young children.

Consistent with other literature from South Africa, McEwan and Woolard (2012) find rates of receipt of the CSG are lower for orphans, particularly maternal orphans. Maternal orphans are also very unlikely to receive the foster care grant. McEwan and Woolard estimate that, in 2008, half a million eligible maternal orphans were not receiving any form of grant. This may reflect difficulties in proving who is a child’s caregiver after his/her mother’s death or in obtaining documents, or a reluctance among fathers to apply for grants perceived as a ‘mothers’ grant’.

McEwan and Woolard (2012) also examined the fiscal sustainability of South Africa’s child-oriented grants. They found the CSG can be fiscally sustainable as the child population is not projected to rise. Addressing the under-serving of orphans by the foster care grant (access to which is limited by difficulties in applying and the overburdening of social workers) would have much more significant fiscal implications, although econometric modelling indicates extending this grant to all orphans would be still be affordable.

Ansell (2009c) revealed specific factors in the operation of social protection programmes in Malawi and Lesotho that undermined young people’s wellbeing. For example, food aid to people with AIDS usually stops when the person dies, potentially increasing the vulnerability of surviving family members. School bursaries are difficult to obtain unless a parent has died, by which point the children may have left school anyway. The research also revealed that broader social protection programmes, such as social pensions in Lesotho, were benefiting young people since they gave households slightly more disposable income that might be invested in businesses and also stimulated demand for young people’s businesses. The fertiliser subsidy in Malawi was also seen as helpful in increasing production and freeing up time for other livelihood activities that previously would have been spent on more intensive cultivation processes – although it does inhibit people from diversifying out of maize production.

Both Timaeus and Ansell consider the question of whether social protection should be targeted at orphans. Timaeus’s analysis of NIDS data indicates that, although being orphaned has severe consequences for children, the primary mechanism involved is not heightened poverty but rather bereavement itself, and the associated disruption to children’s living and educational arrangements. The research suggests orphans and HIV/AIDS-affected children would benefit from targeted services to help them cope, and that government policy in South Africa is correct to direct financial support to all poor children, rather than specifically targeting orphans (Timaeus, 2010; 2011). Likewise, Ansell (2009a) concludes that, in the contexts studied (Malawi and Lesotho), being affected by HIV/AIDS was ‘a poor predictor of vulnerability’. In the Malawian research site, all households were poor and vulnerable. In the Lesotho site, the least vulnerable households were those where members had been employed as miners or in other relatively lucrative jobs, and which had accumulated livestock as a reserve. In many cases, the miner had died leaving orphans, but these children were seldom among the most needy. Both studies conclude that there is no case for targeting orphans with financial and/or livelihood support assistance and that such services and support should be available to all poor children and youth. Their findings add to weight to a growing body of evidence suggesting that targeting orphans is often misplaced and that to be effective social protection mechanisms should provide support to a much broader group of poor and vulnerable young people. Ansell also comments on the potential for targeted interventions to weaken the social mechanisms through which HIV/AIDS-affected children currently receive care.
Sixteen grants generated insights on issues related to children’s health, nutrition and emotional wellbeing (Attanasio, Bautista, Bhalotra, Coast, Hannum, Herrick, Houweling, Justino, Newell, both Porter grants, Pridmore, Quisumbing, Timaeus, Van Stolk, Wessells). These spanned scheme phases (eight in Phase 1, six in Phase 2, one in Phase 3) and continents (six grants involving work in Sub-Saharan Africa, five in South Asia, three in Latin America, one in East Asia). Nine of these grants used mixed methods, three involved collection of primary survey data and one involved principally qualitative methods, while thirteen involved analysis of existing data sets. In addition, three Phase 3 projects have the potential to generate insights on children’s and young people’s survival and health: Dean, Winters and Harper.

4.1 Nutrition

4.1.1 Impacts of shocks or stresses on children’s nutrition

Four grants generated insights into the impacts of different types of shocks on child nutrition. Drawing on Colombian data, Galiano et al. (2008 (an output from Attanasio’s grant) explored the impact of household economic shocks on children’s nutrition, and found girls’ weight decreased after an adult male in the household had suffered a health shock (which translates to an income shock). Papers produced under Hannum’s grant explored the impact of economic shocks on child nutrition in rural China and found the poorest children were at greatest risk of poor nutritional environments, food insecurity, stunting and wasting, and income shocks had a clear adverse effect on nutritional wellbeing (Hannum et al., 2011a). Qualitative insights from Herrick’s (2013) study of alcohol and poverty in South Africa suggest that, in some heavy alcohol-using households, expenditure on adequate food for children is deprioritised in favour of alcohol expenditure. In part, this reflects the monopolisation of resources by male heads of household.

As part of the work undertaken under Justino’s grant, Tranchant et al. (2014) used Young Lives data from Andhra Pradesh to examine the impact of climate shocks (drought) and violence on children’s nutrition (both weight-for-age and height-for-age). They examine the effects of the Naxal insurgency in Andhra Pradesh, conflict and periodic droughts, and conclude that drought exerts a strong impact on malnutrition but only when it occurs in a violent environment. Indeed, a ceasefire in 2004 completely off-set the effect of climatic shocks in affected areas, even though it lasted only eight months. The effect of political violence on child malnutrition was indirect, and occurred when the combination of conflict with drought prevented households protecting their children against nutritional shocks. Their analysis suggests a likely explanation is a failure of economic coping strategies and restricted access to public services and aid in conflict-affected communities, possibly because of fear, insecurity and isolation. Child-related evidence for this includes statistically significant discrepancies between the proportion of households with vaccination cards for their children (24.5% in conflict-affected areas and 49.9% in non-affected areas), and children having been immunised against meningitis (30.4% in conflict-affected areas and 38.8% in non-affected areas).

4.1.2 Insights into the impact of various interventions on children’s nutrition

Four studies examined the impact of a varied set of interventions on child nutrition (cash transfers and feeding via child care centres (Attanasio), inter-sectoral coordination (Pridmore), agricultural strengthening and cash transfers (Quisumbing) and conditional cash transfers (Van Stolk). Timaeus’ study also generated insights on the role of policies in leading to reductions in child malnutrition in South Africa, although it did not set out to study the impact of particular interventions.

Attanasio et al. (2009) find no significant difference between the nutritional impacts of cash transfer (Familias en Acción) and a child care programme that provided food to the children attending child care centres (Hogares Comunitarios). Pridmore’s study explored the social determinants of child stunting (Kenya) and obesity (Chile). It responded to a Lancet series on nutrition, which suggested the social determinants of both obesity and stunting could be conceptualised together. Findings from this study show the factors underlying obesity and stunting are, in fact, so different they should not be included in the same model (Pridmore, 2014). Specifically, the most important social determinant of stunting in Mombasa is poverty, affecting access to adequate nutritious food and child care practices.
among mothers engaged in casual work, with a range of other contributing factors. These include lack of access to health care and reproductive health services, which means birth intervals are low, mothers’ age and educational status, limited social capital, domestic violence and culturally specific food preparation and consumption practices. By contrast, in the low-income area of Valparaiso studied, the key determinants of childhood overweight and obesity were low availability of healthy foods and beverages, increased availability of fast food and advertising of such foods, unsafe streets and little access to outdoor recreation opportunities, leading to a sedentary lifestyle.

Again, drawing on the agenda put forward in the Lancet series, which identified lack of inter-sectoral collaboration as an important reason for lack of progress on reducing malnutrition, Pridmore’s study also examined the effectiveness of efforts to reduce stunting in urban children through facilitating inter-sectoral actions to change the social determinants of different dimensions of malnutrition – widespread stunting in Mombasa, Kenya, and growing obesity and overweight in Valparaiso, Chile. It attempted to achieve this through establishing a multi-sectoral nutrition working group in each study city and facilitating the work of this group through three bi-annual cycles of participatory action research. This interactive process built the capacity of group members to work together to plan, act and evaluate small-scale inter-sectoral, coordinated interventions. A qualitative evaluation found the process had enabled members of the multi-sectoral nutrition working groups with other sectors to build their leadership and advocacy skills and to implement and evaluate small-scale, coordinated inter-sectoral actions. In Kenya, the working groups then supported women’s self-help groups to strengthen income-generating activities, improve living conditions, access government extension services, provide psychosocial support and help reduce domestic violence. Observable impacts include increased supply of vegetables from balcony gardening and an improvement in sanitation. Despite these positive impacts, incidence of stunting increased in the intervention area over the study period, reflecting a greater decline in economic opportunities in the intervention than in the control area, and underlining the centrality of poverty reduction for greater progress in reducing stunting (Pridmore, 2014). In Chile, because of researcher illness that led to the withdrawal of the partner institution, it was not possible to collect follow-up data to assess the impact of the intervention.

Quisumbing’s research programme evaluating the impacts of various development strategies in Bangladesh found positive nutritional impacts of both livelihood enhancement programmes, involving promoting investments in agricultural technology and fishponds. Although investment in agricultural technology for enhanced vegetable production led to minimal monetary gains, early adopters achieved sustained improvements in nutritional status. The proportion of stunted girls (with Height for Age Z scores of -2 standard deviations from the reference value) decreased differentially by 28 percentage points, whereas the proportion of thin boys decreased differentially by 43 percentage points (both as compared with non-adopters). Among fishpond adopters, whereas stunting and thinness rates for boys appear to have been higher among early adopters, these rates declined for boys in early adopting households over the long term. There appeared to be no equivalent impact on girls in early adopting households, whose stunting rates were actually higher than in later adopting households.

Similarly, the Primary Education Stipend (PES) was associated with nutritional improvements among children of primary school age: boys were more likely to experience improvements on their Body Mass Index and girls were more likely to improve their height-for-age Z-scores. However, overall, the medium-term impacts of the PES are remarkably small for a programme of its size. Baulch (2010) identifies poor targeting of the PES and the declining value of the stipend as the main reasons for limited impact on nutrition (Quisumbing et al., 2011). (Section 4 discusses educational impacts).

Examining conditional cash transfer programmes in Central America, Diepeveen and Van Stolk’s (2012) systematic review found some positive impacts on nutrition:

- Morris et al.’s (2004) study of the PRAF II conditional cash transfer programme in Honduras, which was implemented in the municipalities with the highest levels of malnutrition, found no significant impacts on child stunting, height-for-age, weight-for-age, blood haemoglobin levels or rates of anaemia. One explanation for this may be a failure to implement planned improvements to supply-side services.
- In communities receiving the RPS programme in Nicaragua, households developed a more varied diet, and the proportion of stunted and underweight children under five declined by 5.5 and 3.9 percentage points, respectively, while underweight rates rose by 2 percentage points in control communities. However, there was no programme effect on haemoglobin levels or rates of anaemia. Qualitative evidence indicated this could have been because parents chose not to administer distributed vitamins (Diepeveen and Van Stolk, 2012).

These mixed findings appear consistent with broader knowledge on the nutritional impact of cash transfers, such as Manley et al.’s (2012) and Leroy et al.’s (2009) systematic reviews, which also found mixed results, and more evidence of cash transfer impact on...
anthropometric measures (e.g. stunting, underweight) than on micronutrient deficiencies. These reviews – and an emerging view in analysis of human development-oriented cash transfers more generally – stress the importance of effective services, particularly in conditional cash transfers. May and Timaeus' (2014) study of trends in child stunting, wasting and underweight in South Africa since 1993 found that, on all these measures, child malnutrition had declined, and the proportion of children nutritionally deprived on more than one measure had declined by 7%. Furthermore, improvements were greater in the lower half of the income distribution. The enormous socioeconomic differentials in child malnutrition observed in 2003 had largely disappeared and, by 2009, differentials in malnutrition rates largely reflected factors other than income poverty. Citing analysis by Aguero (2009), May and Timaeus (2014) suggest the introduction of the CSG, the rise in the proportion of children living in households with clean water and sanitation, the continual increase in the educational achievements of women of childbearing age and the introduction of free health care for children in 1994 have all played an important role in this improvement in nutritional wellbeing.

4.2 Child survival and health

4.2.1 Understanding factors affecting child survival and health

Bhalotra’s study explored an issue that has attracted little attention – the role of religion in child wellbeing outcomes. It found a strong differential in child survival between Muslims and Hindus, particularly for girls, but also for boys. It suggests this may be explained by lower son preference. Another contributing factor is related to generally better maternal health status among Muslim women. Bhalotra (2010) observes that Muslim women have gained height (a function of childhood nutrition) more rapidly than Muslim men, whereas Hindu women have lagged behind Hindu men and Muslim women. Mothers’ height lowers child mortality and makes a significant contribution to the ‘religion gap’. Muslims have committed less female foeticide than Hindus (another sharp indicator of the strength of gender preference).

Porter’s programme of research on children, transport and mobility in Africa (Ghana, Malawi and South Africa) generated insights into another neglected aspect of child health – load-carrying. It found patterns of water-carrying varied by country, age and gender, with the highest frequency among 15-17-year-old girls. In both Ghana and Malawi, over 75% of non-urban girls carried water every day, as did over 50% of urban girls. Figures were lower in South Africa (involving 31% of girls overall, 22% in urban areas and 39% in rural areas), reflecting better availability of piped water and transport for non-piped water.

Although fuelwood-carrying is rarer than water-carrying, with only 5% of children reporting doing so every day, over half the children in Ghana and a quarter in Malawi and South Africa reported doing so in the week preceding the survey. Wood-carrying is more commonly associated with falls than other forms of portering; girl respondents also reported a fear of sexual assault, as they have to travel to remote places to fetch wood. As with water-carrying, gender differentiation becomes more pronounced in adolescence, with considerably smaller proportions of boys engaged in portering. Mode of transportation also varies by country, with children primarily head-loading in Ghana and Malawi; in South Africa, there is more use of bicycles or wheelbarrows, although head-loading is still common, and boys typically have greater access to wheeled transport or donkey carts. There was evidence of children undertaking portering work for pay, as well as in domestic settings. Some qualitative evidence indicated fostered children were particularly likely to have to carry heavy loads.

Although, as Porter et al. (2012) point out, there is very little medical evidence of the impact of load-carrying in childhood, two-thirds of children in their sample reported experiencing pain related to carrying heavy loads in the previous week. This research led to a systematic review of the health effects of head-loading, which highlighted the absence of reliable research, and particularly the lack of studies addressing children’s head-loading.

Porter et al.’s study of children, transport and mobility also generated insights into distance- and transport-related barriers to accessing health care. In Ghana, 17% of 8-18-year-old respondents viewed the difficulty of transport and 17% the cost of transport as barriers to accessing health care. The percentages reporting these difficulties were lower in urban areas (respectively 4% and 5%; in remote rural areas, respectively 35% and 33% of respondents reported these as barriers). Although cost barriers were also significant problems, and although few children reported having disposable income, in-depth interviews indicate some adolescents used their petty earnings or money saved from school lunches for self-medication (Hampshire et al., 2011). Aggregating data from the three country studies, 26% of children cited travel difficulties and 13% travel costs as a reason for not having attended a health service when they were ill. Children’s ability to travel to health services is typically more constrained than that of adults because they have less money for transport, often less free time and greater physical difficulties in undertaking long journeys over hazardous terrain. Children from rural areas are particularly affected and, as a result, children from urban

10 All data cited in this paragraph come from Porter et al. (2012).
and peri-urban areas in Ghana and Malawi are twice as likely to have frequented a health facility in the preceding 12 months than those in rural areas. However, urban-dwelling children also reported fears of crossing busy roads and negotiating public transport, particularly when unwell (Porter et al., 2012).

4.2.2 Understanding the impact of health systems reforms and other interventions on child survival and health

Research conducted under the auspices of five grants examined the impact of health system reforms and/or different interventions on child survival. Bautista analysed the implications of performance-based financing (PBF) for both general health care and HIV/AIDS in Rwanda for a number of indicators of child health nutrition. The study found PBF led to an increase in institutional deliveries, and preventive care visits for children aged 23 months and younger increased by 64% and for children aged 24-59 months by 133%. It has significant positive effects on weight-for-age of children 0-11 months and height-for-age of children 24-49 months (Bautista, 2012). However, there were no increases in the proportion of women completing four antenatal visits or in children adhering to full immunisation schedules.

Bautista argues the increase in institutional delivery was likely driven by the fact that they had the highest unit payment rate ($4.59). As a result, not only did providers encourage women to deliver in the facility, but also some organised community outreach to find pregnant women to deliver in the facility. The large increase in preventive child visits is also explained by the higher payment rate. While the payment rate per child preventive visit is low, at $0.18, the rate for finding a malnourished child and referring him/her for treatment is very high, at $1.83. Given that almost 50% of children in Rwanda are stunted and could be referred, approximately half of the child preventive growth monitoring visits yielded $0.18 each, while the other half yielded $2.01 each for the growth visit plus the identification and referral of a malnourished child. The lack of impact on child vaccinations may reflect the fact that baseline immunisation rates were close to 65% and the government conducted an intensive national vaccination campaign during the period of this research, starting in 2006. An increase beyond this would have required substantial effort to identify unvaccinated children and provide them with the multiple vaccinations necessary for a complete immunisation programme. The study concludes that, while higher payments led to higher impacts, they are warranted only where more provider effort is needed to improve service delivery. For outcomes that depend more

on patients, either demand-side incentives or incentivising community health workers to conduct outreach may be more effective (Basinga et al., 2010).

Diepeveen and Van Stolk’s (2012) systematic review of the impact of conditional cash transfers in Nicaragua and Honduras finds the following impacts on use of health services and health care outcomes:11

• The RPS in Nicaragua (which provided a transfer equivalent to approximately 18% of a rural household’s income) led to a 16.3 percentage point increase in well-child check-ups in the first year of operation, followed by one of 8.4 percentage points in the second year.

• Atención a Crisis in Nicaragua, a programme that ran for a year with the intention of protecting households affected by coffee price shocks, provided a food transfer, an education transfer, support to attend training courses and a business start-up grant. Evaluations suggest it contributed to increased use of preventive health care services: treated households were more likely to have their children weighed and to receive vitamins, iron and deworming drugs. Food expenditures increased overall for participant households, with a particular increase in expenditure on nutrient-rich foods (animal proteins, fruit, vegetables), and there is evidence of increased food intake among children below the age of seven (Macours et al., 2008). However, there is no evidence of impact on children’s height or weight.

• PRAF II in Honduras appears to have had a positive impact on the overall coverage of antenatal care and well-child check-ups. Associated with this, the coverage12 of growth monitoring also rose by 15-21 percentage points (p<0.01). However, there was no significant effect on measles and tetanus toxoid immunisation (Morris et al., 2004). Analysis of programme implementation suggests this may be explained by a failure to fully implement the conditionalities: households were not necessarily aware of the conditionalities, such as participating in a check-up 10 days after birth. Furthermore, conditionalities were not enforced: for example, no family was suspended from the programme for failing to comply with preventive health measures. This said, the fact that families were required to deposit coded slips on health centre visits may have created the impression of monitoring, and thus may have contributed to impact (ibid.).

Contrasting with these findings that cast doubt on the importance of conditionality, in Familias en Acción in Colombia (studied under both Attanasio’s and Van Stolk’s grants), conditionalities had a strong effect on child health

11 All studies in this section are reported in Diepeveen and Van Stolk (2012) and are therefore not listed in the bibliography.

12 It is not clear whether the authors mean coverage – which would be affected by supply-side improvements associated with the programme – or uptake – which would be affected by a combination of supply- and demand-side changes.
outcomes and use of the preventive health care system. Attanasio et al. (2014) found children not subject to these conditionality received 50% fewer preventive health care visits than those subject to the conditionality. They also found attending preventive health care visits led to a significant improvement in a composite indicator of child health, which reflected morbidity (respiratory illness and diarrhoea), with the most significant effects on nutritional status. The debate on the role of conditionalities in cash transfers designed to improve child wellbeing outcomes continues – this research contributes to resolving that debate by helping identify the factors that lead them to be effective (where they are). Finally, Attanasio’s programme generated evidence that the Oportunidades primary school grant in Mexico had no direct effects on child health or household consumption (Attanasio, 2009), thus contributing to evidence on how far conditional cash transfers achieve child wellbeing impacts beyond those that are the ostensible target of the intervention.

Houweling et al.’s consultations with stakeholders identified a range of effective activities for reducing inequalities in newborn survival rates, such as engaging communities in planning and implementation, working directly with marginalised groups and providing free or subsidised programmes (Morrison, 2013), although they do not assess the impact of these strategies. A programme of randomised control trials to measure the impact of participatory women’s group activities on child survival is underway in all four of the focal countries for this grant. Reported results from poor areas of central and eastern India (Houweling et al., 2013a) suggest taking part in such activities led to a strong reduction in neonatal mortality, and this effect was stronger for the most disadvantaged women (who were both poor and of scheduled castes or tribes). Among the most marginalised, the neonatal mortality rate was 59% lower in intervention than control clusters in Years 2 and 3 (70%, Year 3); among the less marginalised, the neonatal mortality rate was 36% lower (35%, Year 3). The intervention effect was stronger among the most than among the less marginalised, and was strongest in winter, particularly for the early neonatal mortality rate. There was no effect on the use of health care services in either group, and improvements in home care were comparable.

It is not entirely clear what led to this reduction, but Houweling et al. (2013b) suggest the strong effects in India (and similar effects in Nepal) reflected wide coverage of women’s groups, where participatory hygiene and infant care education was undertaken. In the intervention in India, it was notable that there were no significant socioeconomic differences between participants and non-participants in women’s group activities, and in some sites the women’s groups were differentially used by more disadvantaged women (Morrison et al., 2013). Younger women with no children were less likely to participate; in Bangladesh and Nepal this may have reflected social norms that constrain young married women’s mobility. The authors conclude that targeted efforts are needed to reach this group who – and whose children – may be both socially and biologically vulnerable (ibid.).

4.3 Adolescent and young people’s health

4.3.1 Adolescent sexual and reproductive health

Two grants generated insights into adolescent sexual and reproductive health. Stark et al. (2014), a paper developed under Wessells’s grant, evaluates a community-based health education intervention, developed in participant communities, with components on family planning, sexual and reproductive health education and life skills. The programme was implemented in partnership with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and district Ministry of Health partners. The authors found the percentage of teenagers aged 15-17 in intervention areas who were willing to ask their partners to use a condom had increased by 17.1 percentage points, whereas the control villages showed a decrease of 6.2 percentage points, and that girls exposed to the intervention were nearly twice as likely (1.74 times the odds) to report intending to say no to unwanted sex. Girls and adolescents under 15 years in intervention areas showed a significant increase in their intention to use condoms regularly, while the opposite was true in control areas. Sexual activity was also found to have increased between surveys in control areas, while no increase occurred in intervention areas, suggesting possible signs of impact of the programme. Impacts were greater among unmarried young people.

Initial findings from Coast’s (2014) study of abortion in Zambia found that 15-19 year olds, who constituted a quarter of the women and girls in the study, were the only age group more likely to have unsafe than safe abortions, and that unsafe abortions were also more common among 20-24 year olds than among older age groups. Adolescents who sought abortions were less likely than older women to be using contraception when they became pregnant (Coast and Murray, 2014), because they were unaware of how to access it or ashamed to do so, feared being ‘told off’ by clinic staff for being sexually active, or believed that they would not get pregnant. Although hospital abortions are free and legal in Zambia, many young women were not aware of this.

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13 The difference reflects changes in programme design over time.

14 Timaeus and Moultrie (2012) also examined data on teenage pregnancy in South Africa. Because their analysis relates to the relationship between teenage pregnancy, education and poverty, these findings are discussed in Section 5.
This lack of knowledge, and the stigma related to having an abortion, were key reasons why adolescent girls and young women were more likely to undergo unsafe abortions. For adolescent girls, there was often a double stigma, related to being sexually active while still at school and not married in the first place, and then to having an abortion rather than continuing with the pregnancy. However, abortion was also stigmatising for young married women and they were much more likely to conceal a termination from partners, since they were ashamed of terminating a pregnancy when socially they were expected to bear children. The wish to continue their education, the shame of being pregnant while still in education (both at school or university) and financial and practical capacity for raising children emerged as key reasons. Among girls living with their parents or other adult relatives, the wish to avoid putting an extra financial burden on their household was a common financial reason for obtaining an abortion. Some of the girls interviewed, who were living with their parents or other adult relatives, also felt obliged to terminate their pregnancies because they feared their relatives’ reaction to their pregnancies. Among more established young couples, such as university students, and other girls and young women with steady boyfriends, their joint financial capacity was an important influence. In some cases, girls and young women had been told by parents or boyfriends that they must terminate their pregnancy; in others, it was the girl’s or young women’s decision.

4.3.2 Other health issues affecting adolescents and young people

Zhao et al. (2010; 2012), drawing on the Gansu Survey of Children and Families, explore an issue both of strong relevance in the particular context to which it relates and of wider significance given health transitions in which non-communicable diseases are becoming more significant: adolescent smoking. They find parental smoking has significant impacts on the probability and intensity of youth smoking. Zhao et al. (2012) find smoking one cigarette a day during adolescence can lower students’ scores on mathematics tests by about 0.08 standard deviations, though it is not associated with effects on Chinese test scores or total years of schooling. Although some qualitative studies were undertaken alongside the Gansu Survey, this particular study did not have qualitative data to draw on, which might have illuminated the processes by which smoking affects particular educational outcomes.

Newell’s study of tuberculosis and stigma in Asia (Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan) found some evidence that tuberculosis-related stigma was affecting young people’s marriage prospects. Although both young men and young women were affected, the effects were stronger for young women, and related to fear that brides with tuberculosis would not be able to work hard and would infect others. There was also some (limited) evidence of divorce and family tensions based on tuberculosis status, especially in recent marriages (thus affecting young women disproportionately) (Newell et al., 2009).

Porter’s study of children, mobility and transport in Sub-Saharan Africa also generated insights into children and young people’s health-seeking behaviour, and the role of policies in facilitating independent access to health care by adolescents. Hampshire et al. (2011) note the role of Ghana’s National Health Insurance Scheme in enabling adolescents to obtain free treatment, although this is dependent on parents being enrolled in the scheme and their parents affording to keep premium payments up to date. They further show how medicine advertising is encouraging young people to purchase inappropriate medicines, suggesting this is an area where further regulation and provision of correct information is needed.

4.4 Psychological/emotional wellbeing

Five grants explored issues related to CYP psychological or emotional wellbeing (Campbell, Hannum, Pridmore, Walker, Walton). Of these, only Hannum’s findings explore the factors affecting psychological wellbeing quantitatively: the others provide qualitative evidence of the emotional implications of poverty and social isolation and being affected by HIV/AIDS. Issues related to the emotional impacts of poverty and social exclusion on children emerge repeatedly in the qualitative research; Walton’s research also reveals how the intersection of poverty and gender norms can contribute to social isolation.

Section 3 has already discussed insights from Walker’s research on children’s emotional wellbeing. Several of the papers produced under Hannum’s grant examine influences on children’s behaviour and mental health concerns. They find children who report experiencing hunger are more likely to be reported as engaging in disruptive classroom behaviour and with internalising problems (e.g., anxiety, depression) and externalising problems (acting out, aggressive behaviour) (Hannum et al., 2011a). They find indicators of psychological wellbeing are moderately negatively correlated with academic achievement test scores, and externalising behaviours is associated with receiving corporal punishment in school and a lower likelihood of staying in school (Hannum et al., 2011a). They also find childhood health shocks affect psychological wellbeing, with a more pronounced effect on 9-12 year olds than on 13-16 year olds (Hannum et al., 2010).

15 Interview with Ernestina Coast and Emily Freeman, 5 December 2014.

16 This paragraph is based on an interview with Ernestina Coast and Emily Freeman, 5 December 2014, and a series of vignettes of young women and girls encountered through the research. These vignettes were prepared for BBC Media Action in Zambia to inform planned media work to raise awareness of the law on abortion.
Psychological wellbeing is positively associated with staying in school and subsequent labour market earnings, and negatively associated with entering the workforce (Hannum et al., 2011a). Increased parental and teacher warmth is associated with fewer internalising problems, and both play an important role in adolescents’ psychological resilience (Davidson and Adams, 2012).

Lee and Park (2010), cited in Hannum et al. (2011a), find that, in rural China, despite its positive effects on children’s education, fathers’ migration has negative effects on the psychosocial wellbeing of both boys and girls. Specifically, children record a fall of 1.624 standard deviations in their externalising index when their fathers migrate, meaning their interpersonal behaviour significantly worsens, which can lead to problems at school (Adams and Hannum, 2010, cited in Hannum et al., 2011a). However, there was no evidence fathers’ migration affected children’s internalising behaviour (anxiety, depression etc.).

Campbell’s grant, and Pridmore’s grant on Open, Distance and Flexible Learning (ODFL) in Lesotho and Malawi both generated insights on the emotional wellbeing and social relationships of CYP affected by HIV and AIDS. The stories children wrote about a hypothetical HIV-affected peer as part of Campbell’s research made frequent references to bullying and social exclusion. HIV-affected peers were described as emotionally distressed and not concentrating on their work when at school (Campbell et al., 2014a).

Pridmore’s study found in Malawi that, although some of the children interviewed mentioned support from their peers, many children with sick parents experienced feelings of isolation and anxiety and discrimination in school, particularly from other pupils. Both teacher and pupils gave examples of name calling related to HIV status and orphanhood, as in the following examples in Moleni (2008):

_They ask where my father is, they think I killed him, they also boast that their parents are still alive. They say, ‘Your mother died of the deadly disease’. 16-year-old girl, Pamoza._

_Sometimes I feel sad, especially when we quarrel and they start saying, ‘You don’t have your mother’ [...] I start thinking, are these friends saying this because both their mother and father are still alive? I just keep these things in my mind and days go by. 15-year-old boy, Duma._

Walton’s research in low-income urban areas in India found adolescent girls and young women in particular felt socially isolated because of the restrictions on their mobility resulting from the perceived risk of sexual harassment. Such restrictions also meant young men tended to socialise outside their (very small homes) in order to avoid compromising their sisters’ honour and as a result had very limited opportunities to develop strong emotional relationships with women, such as their sisters, particularly since girls tend to marry at age 16 or 17 and would then be at their in-laws’ homes and see their siblings rarely. The researchers felt this limited exposure to young women was an important factor in the perpetuation of discriminatory gender norms.

The researchers also found young people (male and female) greatly valued opportunities to discuss their opinions about politics and their views on the direction the country was taking, as their relatively restricted lives gave them limited opportunities to discuss such issues with others and to develop the confidence to express opinions.

4.5 Young people’s use of information and communication technology to access health information

Two studies generated insights on the ways in which young people use mobile phones to access health information. Hampshire et al. (2011) as part of Porter’s grant on children, mobility and transport in Sub-Saharan Africa found young people were using mobile phones to request resources from relatives for treatment; Porter et al.’s study of young people’s mobile phone use also found young people using phones to request treatment for themselves (Hampshire et al., 2014). As Porter et al. (2012) found, young people use mobile phones to build up social capital, for example by maintaining relationships with relatives, former teachers etc., which they could then call on, if needed, in the future. Hampshire et al. (2013) indicate that some young people were using phone-based businesses to earn money for their own or sick family members’ health care needs. In South Africa, where smartphones were more common than in the other research countries (Ghana and Malawi), young people were also using phones to help find health care information.

Hampshire et al. (2014) also found evidence of new risks to health, such as foregoing food in order to be able to afford to purchase air time and foregoing sleep to take advantage of cheap night-time call rates. Some respondents also mentioned negative psychological effects, for example of threatening calls, and the fear of phone-related violence (such as attacks to steal phones). Hampshire et al. (2013) report concerns about increased risks of sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies, as phones are seen as playing an important role in facilitating sexual relationships and liaisons and transactional sex and in luring girls and young women into situations where they are at risk of sexual violence.

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17 The analysis of this research is still in progress.
5 Education

5.1 Overview
Twenty-four grants generated insights on CYP’s education (Ansell, Attanasio, Baulch, Bhalotra, Bryceson, Campbell, Hannum, Harriss-White, Lehrer, Manor, Noble, Kantor, Porter, Pridmore, Quisumbing, Rea-Dickens, Thomas (both grants), Timaeus, Unterhalter, Van Stolk, Walton, Wahba, Wu). The research primarily took place in Africa (10 grants), with two in Latin America, five in South Asia, four in East Asia (all in China) and one in the Middle East and North Africa. Fourteen of the projects took place in Phase 1 and the remaining eight in Phase 2. Methodologically, 14 of the grants use a mixed methods approach, 3 are quantitative only and 4 qualitative only. In addition, it is also likely that Porter’s grant on the impact of mobile phones on young people’s lives and life chances in sub-Saharan Africa will generate insights on the linkages between mobile phones and education for young people. The vast majority of grants examined issues related to primary or secondary education, with only one discussing pre-school education and three examining post-school education.

5.2 Factors affecting children’s access to education

5.2.1 Loss of a household head
Four grants (Ansell, Attanasio, Campbell, Timaeus) generated insights around the impact of the loss of a parent to HIV or the way children’s education is affected by their HIV status. As part of Ansell’s wider study on youth livelihoods in Lesotho and Malawi, (Ansell et al, 2014) report school attendance is – contrary to much received wisdom – higher among youth who have been affected by AIDS than in unaffected groups. In both study sites, the research found participants aged 18-24 who were AIDS-affected had progressed further in school than those who were not affected. The authors argue this demonstrates a prioritisation of AIDS orphans’ futures over those of other vulnerable children in the study villages. Within the small sample, secondary school bursaries were received by only seven orphans in the study areas and by no other children, even where they were eligible for support; two of the orphans had their education supported by relatives. This contrasts with findings from Timaeus and Boler (2007), who investigate the progress of maternal and paternal orphans in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Their analysis of data from the KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Study panel data collected in 1998 and 2004 found the absence of a father, because of death or simply leaving the household, had a negative impact on school performance. Living apart from one’s mother and maternal orphanhood all had no adverse affect on schooling, while children whose fathers were members of their household were considerably less likely to be behind at school. The authors suggest it is the relationship with the child’s father that is important in this gain in school performance rather than any additional poverty caused by a father’s absence.

The loss of a household head, defined here as death or departure from the household, is examined in Fitzsimons and Mesnard (2008) as part of Attanasio’s grant. The authors use econometric analysis to consider data from a sample of very poor families with children aged 11-17 years. They show girls’ school participation increases following an adverse event and suggest this may be because of changes in the decision-making power of women in the household. For boys, there was a significant negative effect on school enrolment, which showed a decrease of around 10% accompanied by an increase of around 10% in boys’ participation in paid work. The degree of the effect was found to be largest in the poorest families, while for the richest households the loss of the household head had no impact on school enrolment or paid work.

Campbell’s grant expands on the experience of children affected by HIV through an examination of ‘AIDS competent schools’ and the experience of children living with HIV in Zimbabwe. The study reexamined survey data and conducted detailed qualitative work with young people who attend school in Zimbabwe. Analysis of the survey data showed children’s HIV status did not affect their education outcomes. However, being a young carer was associated with lower attendance at secondary school, and orphanhood decreased the odds both of primary school completion and of being the correct age for grade (Pufall et al., 2014). Campbell et al. (2014a) draw on the qualitative element of the research to reveal insights on the impact of HIV on children’s physical and mental health, as well as their ability to attend school. Stories participating school children had written reveal the most common
perception of HIV-affected children is having to do chores that compromise their physical wellbeing (27% of stories), and that their homes are dirty or lacking in essentials (13% of stories). Around 30% of stories mentioned social exclusion or bullying and 30% HIV-affected children being sad. There were, however, more examples of schools offering material support to children than of teachers having negative responses. Some of the stories collected also emphasised how successful school performance by HIV-affected children had positive impacts on their emotional wellbeing and more general sense of happiness. Box 3 gives some examples from the stories.

5.2.2 Parental health
Hannum’s was the only grant that generated insights on the affect of poor parental health on children’s school enrolment and educational attainment. Hannum et al. (2010) found that, on average, children with ill parents were more likely to take up paid labour, but that this effect was explained by the economic vulnerability of these children’s households. Impacts on children’s labour and school attendance vary by gender of the parent: mothers’ ill health has a marginally significant negative impact on children’s school enrolment, and a significant negative impact on attendance and attainment, particularly in maths. Hannum et al. (2010) show mothers’ illness led to children undertaking increased labour within the home, which may reduce the time they have available to attend school. Fathers’ health showed a stronger impact on school enrolment: 77% of children whose fathers reported poor health were enrolled, compared with around 88% of children whose fathers reported good or average health. However, fathers’ health had no impact on school attendance or attainment. There is also a strong impact on children with disabled parents: 80% of these children were enrolled in school compared with 87% of children without disabled parents. The cost barriers to accessing education may play a strong role in explaining these findings. In Gansu, poor parental health is strongly associated with poverty and associated with reduced overall household educational spending and increased likelihood of parents borrowing for their children’s education.

5.2.3 Children’s health
Hannum’s was also the only grant that looked at the impact of children’s health or disability on attainment in education. Hannum and Zhang’s (2008) analysis combines data from the Gansu Survey of Children and Families collected in 2000 and 2004 and the Gansu Vision Intervention Project, a randomised trial that ran in 165 schools in 2004. Hannum and Zhang found a significant unmet need for vision correction in Gansu: 17% of 13-16 year olds had vision problems but only 1% of the Gansu Vision Intervention Project sample and 7% of the Gansu Survey of Children and Families sample wore glasses in 2004. Vision problems were more common in pupils with higher socioeconomic status and among children who were more academically engaged, although access to vision correction is lower among poorer socioeconomic groups. Analysis of the Gansu Vision Intervention Project showed children who received glasses as part of the intervention were less likely to fail a class. Hannum’s grant also explored the relationship between nutrition and educational achievement, using data from rural China (the Gansu Survey of Children and Families). It found home nutritional environment, food insecurity and early nutritional deprivation predicted achievement, although some effects of early nutritional deprivation on achievement dissipate over time or with controls for earlier achievement (Glewwe et al., 2011; Hannum et al., 2010; Yu and Hannum, 2007, all cited in Hannum et al., 2011a). Ongoing research is investigating the impact of micronutrient deficiency on education-related behaviour and outcomes. Nutritional deprivation and poor nutritional environment in early life predict years of schooling completed (Hannum et al, 2011a).
5.2.4 Pregnancy and childbearing

Two grants (Timaeus and Porter’s transport and mobility grant) generated insights on the impact of pregnancy on girls’ school attendance and educational attainment. Timaeus and Moultrie’s (2012) paper on teenage childbearing uses data from a panel of 673 childless women aged 15-18 in 2008 to look at the odds of teenage parents finishing high school and overall educational attainment. They found girls who had had their first child by 2010 had 4.4 times the odds of leaving high school. Overall, around half of new mothers were found to be enrolled in school, and were more likely to be enrolled if they lived in a rural area and in the same household as their mother. Girls whose mothers who had completed at least Grade 7 were also significantly more likely to be enrolled in school.

Porter et al. (2010b) generated qualitative insights on the relationship between girls’ mobility, pregnancy and school completion, in Ghana, Malawi and Nigeria.19 Parents and teachers in Malawi mentioned pregnancy as a major reason for girls not completing school. Respondents in Ghana and Malawi revealed a perception that girls ‘fall into marriage’ in part because of the time and safety hazards of attending night schools and perceive marriage and pregnancy as an alternative livelihood option. Porter et al. (2010) illustrates similar attitudes in South Africa, where adults felt unfettered mobility of girls was resulting in increased levels of teenage pregnancy. Hampshire et al.’s (2011) paper looks at girls’ pregnancy using a mixture of qualitative and quantitative data collected in South Africa. The research found most of the girls in the study reported having to leave school as a result of their pregnancy and that the pregnancy was widely seen as a significant economic and social setback as well as a source of shame.

5.2.5 Gender, birth order and ethnicity

Six grants consider barriers to children accessing formal education because of aspects of their identity or household circumstances: gender (Hannum, Kantor, Porter); caste and religion (Bhalotra); and birth order (Walton).

Kantor’s research generated insights into local and context-specific gendered barriers to education in Afghanistan. In many of the study sites, girls were not able to attend school, but there were examples of changing attitudes. For example, two shuras20 had decided to use development funds to build a girls’ school instead of other potential projects. The research found strong positive feelings towards girls’ education but also strong persistent social norms limiting girls’ mobility and their ability to travel for education (Nezami and Kantor, 2010). The research in Kandahar also revealed that a poorly functioning education system, with non-attending or unqualified teachers, limited both boys’ and girls’ school attendance. Girls’ attendance is additionally constrained by marriage in adolescence (between ages 14 and 16), and by their role in making and selling handicrafts, which is seen as more important than education because of the contribution to household income (Pain, 2010a; 2010b).

Porter (2011), an output from Porter’s transport and mobility-focused grant, similarly found that issues related to mobility and rural girls’ domestic workloads affected their school attendance in Ghana. A combination of heavy domestic workloads and long distances to school often made them late for school, putting them at risk of physical punishment, which deterred them from attending that day. Safety concerns also affect both rural boys’ and girls’ school attendance. Snakes were often mentioned as a danger: 25% of girls and 18% of boys reported this risk in remote rural settlements. These findings help explain those from the Ghana Living Standards Survey from 2008, which found gender differences in school attendance increased with age, so that by the age of 19-25 attendance overall is 77% for females and 87% for males, and differences are much more pronounced in rural savannah areas, at 32% of females and 62% for males.

Not one child in remote rural settlements in Ghana and under 1% in rural settlements with services perceived sexual violence to be a risk. A very different experience of violence en route to school was found in Malawi and South Africa. Hampshire et al.’s (2010) paper reports that girls’ risk of sexual violence on the way to school has led to control of their mobility by parents, with negative impacts on education. Girls are expected to restrict their mobility and face censure for travelling alone. For example, parents encourage children to travel in groups, which can slow the journey to school even further, leading them to face corporal punishment as a result of being late to school, which in itself contributes to school dropout. Girls who attend night school in Malawi are forced to return from school in the dark, where they are at risk of attack (Porter 2011).

Attendance at secondary school or accessing vocational training can also be a point of tension related to girls’ mobility. The distances involved mean pupils often board at school or with nearby relatives, and some enter ‘fostering’ arrangements, whereby children work for their board, or rent a room. Parents expressed concerns about allowing girls to stay away from home, which may reflect apprehension about losing household labour as well as concerns about safety and the risk of pregnancy. Girls talked about a lack of livelihood support from parents when they were staying away from home. This lack of support led to girls engaging in transactional sexual relationships to pay for the items they need, putting them at risk of pregnancy.

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19 The insights from Nigeria drew on previous research.

20 Traditional formal meetings where community-level decisions are made.
and limiting their livelihood options, as in the following quote from a girl respondent in Ghana (Porter 2011):

“My parents hired a room for me and my siblings for us to attend school in Odumase [...] Life was difficult for us. The four of us were only given 10,000 cedis [i.e. old Cedis, worth about £0.50 at time of interview] for a week. I find it difficult to attend school. As a result I picked a boyfriend at the age of 16 [...] Even at my school there was one teacher who proposed to me but I refused but he kept worrying me [...] I got pregnant when I was in JHS 2 (Faustina, 20 years, Trebasia, RS forest zone).

Parents were much less concerned about boys migrating to attend school, as this was seen as an investment in the future wealth of the family (Porter, 2011).

Hannum’s grant also explored gender differences in educational enrolment, in this case in Gansu, rural China, and found small, but significant, gender differences in school enrolment and educational aspirations, although parents have generally high expectations for both boys and girls. The research found 87% of children enrolled in school in 2000 remained in school in 2004 at age 13-16, with 84% of girls and 89% of boys still enrolled. Overall, interactions between gender, wealth, prior academic performance and teacher characteristics do not have consistent effects on children’s education opportunities and aspirations. However, mothers’ and early years teachers’ aspirations along with current school performance do matter, and having a male teacher also has a marginal positive effect. This suggests parents’ calculations around the returns of investment in education are influenced by their potential achievement, and aspirations for children’s future are influenced more by their own wealth than by the gender of the child (Adams and Hannum, 2008).

A review of Vietnamese policy on ethnic minorities, conducted by Nguyen as part of Baulch’s grant, shows that, despite policies designed to remove barriers to education, dropout rates remain high in some ethnic minority groups, and at each school transition ethnic minority pupils are more likely to dropout than their Kinh counterparts. Interviews with policy-makers highlight three reasons for ethnic minority dropout: 1) distance from school; 2) the economic circumstances of parents; and 3) a lack of awareness of the benefits of education, with many households withdrawing children from school in order to contribute to household labour. Bhalotra (2009), in a report commissioned as a Background Paper for the 2010 Education for All monitoring report that draws on research from her DFID–ESRC grant, generates insights on the factors that affect children’s access to basic education in India and how social and economic gaps in education have evolved over time. She analyses data from three rounds of the National Sample Survey, between 1993 and 2005, to consider the impact of caste, gender, wealth, family education and location on education attendance, completion and dropout. In an overall national context of improved school attendance, her analysis shows sustained disadvantages for low-caste Hindus and Muslim children. Muslim girls from poor and uneducated families in rural areas are identified as the most disadvantaged when compared with high-caste Hindu boys from wealthy and educated families. The analysis also shows caste, and more generally religion, seem to have stronger effects on school attendance in rural areas, and that a religion gap seems to some extent to be replacing the caste gap in education attendance. Bhalotra (2010) notes the paradox that Muslim children are more educationally deprived but better nourished than their Hindu counterparts, arguing these findings challenge narratives that present Muslim human development in India as universally lower than that of Hindus as a result of widespread social exclusion. Finally, analysis of data collected as part of Walton’s grant (currently in progress) indicates that birth order appears to have an important role in dropout patterns among households living in low-income areas of Delhi.21

5.3 Interventions to improve attendance and attainment

Ten grants generated insights on interventions to improve school attendance and attainment. Six of these examine social protection or cash transfer programmes, in Africa, Latin America and India, and generate insights primarily on school enrolment. Three further grants look at programmes and policies designed to create a more supportive and inclusive school environment.

5.3.1 Social protection programmes

Attanasio’s research programme explored the impact of conditional cash transfers with education conditionalities in three Latin American countries. Its examination of data on the impact of the Familias en Acción programme in Colombia found increased school participation among 14-17 year olds of 5-7%, with lower levels of impacts among children aged between 10 and 13 (Attanasio et al., 2008a). Attanasio and Rubio-Codina’s (2009) paper from the same grant examines the impact of the primary school stipend element of the Oportunidades cash transfer in Mexico on child outcomes including secondary school enrolment. The analysis shows Oportunidades has increased secondary school enrolment for both boys and girls, but finds no difference in secondary school enrolment between households that received the primary school grant and those that did not. The authors argue that, with near universal primary school enrolment, a larger grant for

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21 The statistical significance of the patterns observed is currently being tested.
secondary school attendance would have a stronger impact on overall school enrolment.

Another output from Attanasio’s grant, Angelucci et al. (2009), generates insights on Progresa in Mexico. The programme, the forerunner of Oportunidades, provided cash transfers conditional on school enrolment, with larger transfers at higher school grades and for girls. Implementation of Progresa was designed as a randomised control trial with a panel of 22,000 households. The authors’ analysis of the data demonstrates the importance of the redistribution of resources among networks. Eligible but isolated households show no impact on levels of girls’ enrolment, whereas connected households do. The impacts are also mediated by the wages available. For instance, there is no impact on boys’ enrolment in villages where wages are high. Wealthier households have significantly higher enrolment rates at baseline and, where one family member experiences a reduction in poverty, members of related households also experience a rise in school enrolment.

Van Stolk also generates insights on the impact of conditional cash transfers in Central America on education outcomes. Diepeveen and Van Stolk’s (2012) systematic review of such transfers in Honduras and Nicaragua found the following effects on education: they report that Fiszbein and Schady (2009) found an overall positive effect on demand for education services from the RPS in Nicaragua, with an average net increase in school enrolment of 13 percentage points, and of 20 percentage points on current attendance. Maluccio (2005) finds that the RPS has a larger effect on girls’ school enrolment and school attendance in coffee-growing communities. In Honduras, Glewwe and Olinto (2004) found the effect size of PRAF II on school enrolment after two years of implementation was twice the average impact for those 1.7 standard deviations below the median level of expenditure, while those 1.7 standard deviations above the mean level of expenditure were not affected by the cash transfer – that is, it was more effective in supporting education in poor households.

Manor’s and Quisumbing’s grants generate less in-depth insights on the educational impacts of social protection programmes in South Asia. Manor’s analysis of the impacts of India’s National Rural Employment Guarantee Act notes that the extra income both protects families from the impact of shocks and enables children to attend school. Quisumbing’s mixed methods study looked at the impacts of the PES in Bangladesh. The study showed that, at an individual level, the PES had a significant impact on grade progression as well as small nutrition outcomes for both girls and boys. However, overall medium-term impacts are small. While educational transfers were viewed positively in the life histories of 29% of respondents, these transfers were considered a main cause of life improvement by only 8% (Quisumbing et al., 2011). Concerns as to whether transfers are large enough to meet basic schooling needs are also evident in Noble’s grant, which is centrally concerned with the role of social security programmes in enabling lone mothers to live dignified lives. Respondents spoke of the shame they feel when they are unable to provide their children with the things they need for their education (Wright et al., 2014a). When women talked about the impact of receiving the South African CSG on their ability to provide care, there was some evidence that receipt of the grant made it easier to pay fees and for school lunches, which improved children’s experience of school. However, respondents also spoke with anger about the low value of the grant compared with the old age grant and how they struggle to meet the expenses associated with children’s schooling (Wright et al., 2014b). There is also evidence from Timaeus from South Africa that better targeted support services and grants for children affected by HIV would improve school performance, as would easier access to disability grants (McEwen and Woolard (2012)), and some qualitative evidence of this – for example grant money being spent on school uniforms (Timaeus and Moultrie, 2012).

Ansell’s research indicates that cash transfers targeted at older people can increase CYP’s ability to attend school. However, the research found social protection programmes often miss the transitions in the lives of vulnerable children. For example, the death of a parent can mean a household is no longer entitled to food aid, but now entitled to bursaries to help children attend school: ‘from the child’s perspective it is quite illogical that they can start schooling but stop eating when a parent dies’ (Ansell et al., 2009d). The authors argue for a more nuanced understanding of the multiple vulnerabilities faced by children in order to help design more effective programmes.

5.3.2 Promoting more supportive and inclusive school environments

Three grants look at the way changes to the school environment can improve school attendance. Baulch generates insights from Vietnam, Campbell from Zimbabwe and Harriss-White’s grant, which focused on rice production and climate change in India, nevertheless generated some insights on education in India as a result of qualitative research associated with the grant.

Insights from interviews examining the implementation of policies to promote ethnic minority groups’ development in Vietnam conducted as part of Baulch’s grant showed that, despite policies generally being well understood, there were local inconsistencies in the application of polices that exempt ethnic minority pupils from school fees (Baulch, 2008). A policy review conducted as part of the grant shows variable success in the implementation of bilingual teaching. The provision of boarding schools, where pupils

22 All citations in this paragraph are reported in Diepeveen and Van Stolk (2012).
receive a stipend to cover their education, food and some pocket money, seems more successful despite limited capacity and high demand. Officials commented that pupils attending boarding schools were more likely to win places at colleges and universities, although ethnic minority pupils remain underrepresented at all levels of Vietnam’s education system (Nguyen, 2008).

Campbell’s work on HIV-responsive schools in Zimbabwe suggests an approach that combines incentives to attend with in-school support to vulnerable students might be the most effective way to support children. Campbell et al. (2014a; 2014b) examined the support received by children affected by HIV through qualitative case studies of one rural and one small town school. Children at both schools gave accounts that revealed the support they received from teachers, generally limited to one-off ‘acts of kindness’. On the other hand, teachers in both settings spoke of the limited training received on HIV as well as limited time to discuss the issue with their classes and a lack of connection with the community. Although teachers spoke of the need to treat HIV-affected children with dignity, it is clear children suffered bullying, social exclusion and stigma, particularly at the rural school. The two schools responded to the needs of pupils in very different ways: the small town had put HIV policies in place and benefited from a motivated and well-paid teaching staff, whereas the rural school was more closely integrated within the community, and teachers had a more comprehensive understanding of the challenges children were facing in their lives outside school.

Harriss-White’s case study of Arni in Tamil Nadu found an informal intervention developed by school parent–teacher associations – like the support provided by the schools Campbell studied, an unusual example of community-level action, rather than formal, policy-mandated support. To assist children who had been forced to miss school as a result of parental illness, the associations had organised evening classes to help children catch up.

5.3.3 Strategies to improve learning

Six grants generated insights on approaches to educational experiences, environments and learning outcomes. These grants look at learning and teaching methods and overall demonstrate that more flexible and interactive learning environments have positive impacts on children’s attainment.

Berlinski et al. (2009) as part of Attanasio’s grant contributes to a small body of literature on the impact of pre-school education on subsequent school performance through an examination of Argentina’s pre-school expansion programme. Their analysis leads to an estimation that one year of pre-primary school increases average third grade test scores by 8% of a mean or by 23% of the standard deviation of the distribution of test scores, with similar effects for boys and girls and greater impacts on children from disadvantaged socioeconomic groups. The study also found positive impacts on classroom behaviours such as attention, effort, class participation and discipline.

Lehrer and Pridmore generate insights on secondary school learning environments. Ksoll and Lehrer (2012) used an experimental design to show group working had a positive impact on achievement (their experiment was based on the completion of Sudoku puzzles) with no significant impacts of group size or the gender composition of the group. On the basis of this, they recommend more group working in schools and training for teachers in group working. Pridmore focused on the development of ODFL to reach young people living in high HIV prevalence areas in Lesotho and Malawi. A randomised control trial was conducted in both countries, which involved treatment schools identifying up to 15 vulnerable pupils who were at risk of dropping out and providing them with a ‘school in a bag’: a small backpack containing textbooks, pens, notebooks and study guides; a school buddy: mentor pupils given the task of acting as a link between at-risk students and the school; and access to a support group run by youth volunteers. In Malawi, there was no overall significant impact on exam scores; in Lesotho there were improved test scores in English and maths and reduced absenteeism compared with control schools. The Malawi study found the selected pupils had become more confident in the classroom and showed less anxiety and shyness; the concept had helped them make friends and build their social networks and they faced less teasing at school – the effect appears to be larger for the at-risk group. In the words of one girl participant (Jere, 2012):

‘My participation has changed because, like, in class maths and English were difficult subjects for me, but after joining the SOFIE [Strengthening Open and Flexible learning for Increased access to Education] club I am able to do better than before [...] and also I was a very quiet person so my quietness made me not to be active in class. Whatever was difficult for me, I was not asking for help from my friends, but since I joined SOFIE, I have got used to my friends and I started to ask them [about] whatever things were difficult for me. Female at risk pupil.

The quality of teaching is a central focus in Rea-Dickens’s grant and both Thomas grants. Rea-Dickens’ study in Tanzania finds students’ level of English proficiency has a significant effect on school achievement (along with the quality of examination papers), with particularly negative impacts on pupils in rural areas who have limited exposure to English outside of school. The authors argue that bilingual examination papers would provide better opportunities to show pupils’ language learning and teachers require better English language skills. Adams (2012, part of Hannum’s grant) finds students who are taught by teachers with official credentials, high levels of motivation to improve practice, commitment to
the profession and strong interpersonal skills have higher maths achievement, on average. In addition, students who are taught by teachers with three to five years of teaching experience have the highest performance, on average, controlling for other student, family and community characteristics. The authors reflect that this may be because experienced teachers leave the school for better positions, reflecting the disadvantaged nature of the study areas.

Thomas identifies issues of continued professional development and dealing with curriculum reform as central challenges facing teachers in China, as the model of education changes to an expanded curriculum and a less exam-focused model. Thomas and Peng follow up on this work and generate insights on teachers' professional development by examining school effectiveness over four student cohorts between 2009 and 2012. The analysis shows positive effects of teacher development on student outcomes. In some cases, the authors suggest there have been positive impacts from teacher collaboration, feedback and formal continuing professional development (CPD) hours. However, evidence of differential effects on pupils' exam results was found within schools and between teachers, which suggests further research on this area is needed. Hannum's grant also shows that curriculum reform has resulted in increased pupil engagement in learning in China (Adams and Sargent, 2012).

5.4 Education sector weaknesses

Outputs from four grants generate insights on wider failings of education systems and the need for reform of education policy. A paper produced by Harriss-White's grant examines the running and position of private sector schools in India. The research finds that private tutoring systems and private sector schools are filling gaps in the state education system. Underinvestment in the public education system reflects the changeable political climate on education, with little evidence of long-term planning, which sometimes leads to hiring freezes alongside large class sizes (Harriss-White, 2013).

Two grants generate insights on limited understandings of the multiple deprivations experienced by school students, which can place them at risk of dropout and poor educational outcomes. Research conducted under the auspices of Pridmore’s grant includes a review of policies on access to education and open education in Lesotho and Malawi, where the study identifies a pervasive lack of implementation, lack of support for vulnerable pupils, stigmatisation of students living in poverty, harsh school discipline and sexual harassment (Malawi) and family scepticism about the value of education (Lesotho). Unterhalter (2011a) focuses on the links between gender and poverty in education systems and exposes limited capacity in this area in studies in Kenya and South Africa. Policy-makers, NGOs and teachers investigated for the research often made use of stereotyped ideas around gender, education and poverty and expressed harsh criticisms of girls’ (perceived) sexual activity. Overall, this set of grants generated limited insights on weaknesses in education systems and sector policies, despite their importance influence on children’s educational outcomes.

5.5 Education and aspirations

Five grants explore the potential of education to lead to social and economic transformation, and the way education shapes and elevates children’s aspirations for their future. The grants show the risks young people are willing to take to fund their education and the high value placed on obtaining a professional job in the formal sector. For example, research conducted in South Africa as part of Porter’s grant shows transactional sex can enable girls to fund education (Hampshire et al., 2011). Ansell’s research found in Malawi a small number of adolescents were working in order to pay their own school fees, and many primary school children envisaged spending a few years earning money in order to return to school with the knowledge that this might lead to a better job in the future (Ansell et al., 2014).

I see that school is important. Because there are some [jobs] that you can find if you finish school […] There might be some [jobs] that will need someone who has gone to school. Wilson (19) (Ansell et al., 2014).

Parents’ aspirations for their children are discussed in Harriss-White’s research on rice production systems, which includes a case study of the town of Arni in Tamil Nadu. Here, business funds from success in the rice industry have been invested in the development of private schools, including a girls’ engineering college, and something of an ‘education hub’ has developed (Harriss-White, 2013). All members of the population interviewed place a very high value on education, with the popularity of science and maths subject reflecting aspirations for careers in IT and engineering (Harriss-White, 2013). Ansell found both parents and young people placed a high value on education, but that economic realities restricted the chances of children making the transfer to secondary school and that leaving school was most often a result of immediate circumstances rather than a long-term strategic decision. Children in both villages, but especially in the Lesotho study site, aspired to careers in the formal sector that require secondary education and generally a move to town. However, aspirations are lower in the Malawi study site and include activities such as becoming car mechanics or repairing radios. The authors suggest this may be because these young people are exposed to more opportunities locally rather than those promoted by schools.

Walton’s study of young people in Delhi slums found a huge appetite for education, as it was seen as a key route to social mobility; almost all the young people...
interviewed were undertaking tuition in order to pass key examinations. The researchers found that girls and young women typically had more realistic aspirations than boys and young men. In both cases, researchers noted the lack of space for young people to discuss and explore their life prospects and potential opportunities. With the level of education most of the young people interviewed were able to achieve, young men could realistically aspire to jobs as ‘office boys’ (low-level white collar employees). Young women found work providing tuition to children or working as sales assistants. A generally poor standard of education (including teacher absenteeism) limited most young people’s opportunities, but a few young people in the study areas had done sufficiently well at school to gain places at medical schools.

Both Attanasio and Bryceson discuss how economic pressures affect aspirations. Attanasio and Kaufman (2009) models the decisions made about education by poor Mexicans through probit regressions on data collected in 2005 under the evaluation of Jóvenes con Oportunidades. This programme provided an additional transfer to young people in the last three years of high school, and was an extension of Mexico’s Oportunidades programme. The analysis reveals that credit constraints are a central factor in decision-making about education, particularly for higher education, where loans and student fees are involved. The decision to attend high school is affected by the perceptions of both mothers and adolescents, whereas for college attendance only the perceptions of the adolescent are shown to matter. The study finds that expectations of the return of employment and perceptions of the risk of unemployment are more important in the decision to attend high school than that to attend college.

Bryceson’s research on mining communities in Tanzania examines the clash in young people’s experiences between the long-term gains possible from education and the immediate financial and physical rewards possible through life in the mines. For young women, the attractions of the ‘good life as girlfriends or wives of miners’ (Bryceson, 2014) is often more tempting than remaining in school. This contrasts with the aspirations of parents for their children’s future, reported in a survey of 108 heads of households conducted in three mining communities. This found that only 1% of children were expected to become miners. By contrast, 68% of parents surveyed preferred their children to enter professional careers, requiring educational qualifications, and only 4% hoped their children would become farmers, housewives, waitresses or miners – some of the main occupations to which children were exposed in mining settlements. Where families had money to invest in their children’s future, the research found they planned to send their children to secondary schools in regional towns, away from the distraction of mining, so they would be able to achieve their goals, as expressed in the extract from a poem by secondary school children in a mining area in Tanzania (Box 4).

Hannum’s research in Gansu, China, found parents’ aspirations for their children were affected by both poverty and gender. Children’s average desired length of schooling was 14.4 years, with slightly more boys aspiring to complete post-secondary schooling. Parents’ expectations of their children’s education were slightly lower, with an average of 13.1 years among mothers and 12.9 years among fathers. Mothers tended to have higher aspirations for boys: 46% of mothers of boys expect their child to achieve higher education compared with 40% of mothers of girls, while around 18% of mothers of girls and 13% of mothers of boys expect their children to stop attending after middle school (Adams and Hannum, 2008). Most of these differences reflect gender differences in aspiration in the poorest households.

5.6 Higher education and technical and vocational education and training

5.6.1 Participation in and quality of higher education

Morley aimed to illuminate the effectiveness of widening participation policies in higher education in Ghana and Tanzania by examining the participation of students of low socioeconomic status (SES), women and mature students (Morley, 2010). Women, low income and mature students were underrepresented in a number of programmes; women were in the minority in science subjects, such as
optometry and engineering, numbers of mature students were particularly low for education programmes and most higher education programmes enrolled very few (or no) low income students, even though fewer low income students dropped out and overall they performed as well as, and sometimes better than, other groups (ibid.). In both countries, private universities admitted higher proportions of women than public universities did (ibid.). However, the quality of facilities and learning support systems were found to be inadequate (Mkude, 2011). Mkude concludes that enrolling students from less privileged backgrounds necessitates the provision of additional resources to help them cope with study demands they are unprepared for. Overall, access and affirmative action programmes only helped increase numbers of women, not low SES or mature students (Morley, 2010).

Research focusing on disabled students by Morley and Croft (2011) found that, while disability was associated with constraints, such as misrecognition, exclusion and even danger, students’ participation and achievement in higher education offered opportunities for transforming their identities. Although overall students’ experiences of higher education were positive (e.g. the student ‘status’ was empowering and supportive staff, friendships and networks created an enabling environment), students also reported that classes were large, teaching was of low quality, there was favouritism and corruption and facilities and resources were lacking (Morley, 2010). In both Ghana and Tanzania, there was evidence of sexual harassment and sex for grades, and a lack of support for disabled students (Morley, 2010; Morley and Croft, 2011). At the policy level, Morley found that widening participation initiatives were under-funded and monitoring and evaluation was uneven and unsystematic, focusing narrowly on gender.

Walker’s primarily conceptually-oriented research explored how university-based professional education and training might contribute to poverty reduction and human development in South Africa through the development of ‘pro-poor’ public service professionals in the areas of social work, public health, law, engineering and theology (Walker et al., 2010). Using discourse analysis and a capabilities approach, Walker found young people entering public good professions must develop four core ‘meta-functionings’ in order to effectively contribute to poverty reduction: recognising of the full dignity of every human being; acting for social transformation and to reduce injustice; making sound, knowledgeable, thoughtful and imaginative professional judgements; and working with others to expand the comprehensive capabilities of people living in poverty (ibid.).

Walton’s study also revealed insights on young people in Delhi who were engaged in ‘non-collegiate’ higher education – that is, distance learning with weekend classes. Generally, the quality of these classes was very low and teacher absenteeism high. While young people were disappointed with the low quality of this education, for many it was their only opportunity to receive post-school education. For many young people, the social aspects of attending weekend classes were the most highly valued. For young women in particular, attending classes gave them an opportunity to develop friendships with a wider range of other young women, which provided new perspectives beyond those of their immediate family. Limited disposable income affected young people’s experience of these weekend classes – many felt travelling to classes that were often cancelled was a waste of their bus/metro fare, and others said they could not afford the cost of socialising – even such costs as buying a tea while out with their friends.23

5.6.2 Entry to and impact of technical and vocational education and training

Attanasio evaluated the impact of Jóvenes en Acción, a Colombian randomised training programme for disadvantaged youth on the employment and earnings of trainees. The programme provided three months of in-classroom training and three months of on-the-job training to young people between the ages of 18 and 25 in the two lowest socioeconomic strata of the population. Young men and women who had received training did much better in the labour market compared with their peers who did not (Attanasio, 2008b). The impacts were particularly positive for young women: women offered training are more likely to be employed and work more days and longer hours; being offered training increases paid employment by about 14% and increases days and hours worked by about 11%. The monthly wage and salary earnings of women offered training are around 18% higher than those of women not offered training. Trained men, on the other hand, receive wages that are 8% higher than those of untrained men. On-the-job training had a stronger positive effect on earnings and employment than classroom-based training (ibid.).

Lehrer’s research found that most Ghanaian secondary school leavers do not try to attend technical and vocational education and training (TVET) or enter the labour force; instead, many take several attempts to pass the West African Senior School Certificate Examination in order to gain admission to more prestigious universities (Ksoll and Lehrer, 2013). The failure rates for this exam are high, and those who do gain entrance to tertiary institutions often have to wait an average of 2.5 years, many remaining unemployed throughout this period. The authors feel better information about individual student ability and prospects for further education would assist the transition of less academically capable students into ability-appropriate post-secondary options or straight into the labour market.

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23 Interview with Veena Das, 26 November 2014.
Research conducted by Hannum into educational outcomes in a poor, rural area of China found economically advantaged graduates went on to academic and vocational tertiary education in about equal numbers, but disadvantaged youth went on to vocational tertiary at a much higher rate – about a third – than they did to university (Hannum et al., 2011b). An interesting relationship was found between levels of parental education and access to academic or vocational education: a father’s education is strongly associated with transitions to academic tertiary institutions, with a one-year increase in father’s education associated with 20% greater odds of transition to university, but not with attending a vocational tertiary institution; conversely, a year or more of mother’s education is associated with about a 9% increase in odds of young people attending vocational tertiary education, and is marginally significant (ibid.).

5.7 Economic returns to education
Two grants generated quantitative insights on the actual or perceived returns to education. Teal’s grant conducted secondary analysis of data from Ghana and Tanzania, while Attanasio brings together research from various Latin America and South Asian countries. Rankin et al.’s (2010) analysis of returns of education in Ghana and Tanzania undertaken as part of Teal’s grant finds that the type of employment young people enter into makes a sizeable difference in the economic returns they experience. In both countries, they found the highest returns in large private sector firms, low returns in self-employment and no returns in the public sector. Also as part of this grant, Nsowah-Nuamah et al. (2010) find no evidence that increased education contributes to poverty reduction (measured by incomes). Indeed, in Ghana in the period from 1998 to 2005, all incomes had risen, and risen most for the unskilled. Education does appear to move both men and women into higher-paying occupations. However, over time the level of influence has lessened, while a large gap remains between rural and urban incomes. In a similar vein, Ansell’s qualitative study of young people’s livelihoods found little evidence that more years in school leads to increased livelihood security (Ansell, 2009b). This may reflect the irrelevance of the formal school curriculum to rural livelihoods in Lesotho and Malawi.

Attanasio’s grant outputs include papers on human capital investment in Indonesia and Mexico. Binelli’s (2008) examination of data on wages from Mexico shows there has been an increase in the relative returns of higher education and a decline in the relative return of an intermediate, or high school-level, education. This reflects the expansion of high school education, which has accompanied an increased demand for skilled labour. Carneiro et al. (2008) use data from the Indonesia Family Life Survey to ascertain the returns to education. Their analysis reveals that returns of upper-secondary schooling vary widely, from 200% to zero,24 with an average return of 86%. The returns for individuals who were enrolled in upper secondary schooling are calculated at 102%, while returning to secondary school for those who did not complete is calculated to have a return of 78%. Both figures indicate that completing secondary schooling is likely to help people progress economically.

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24 People with a projected zero return to upper-secondary education were not projected to complete it.
6 Child protection and violence

The term child protection includes concerns about violence against children, and exploitation, abuse and neglect of children, many of which are discussed in other sections of report. This section therefore focuses on initiatives that explicitly examine child protection systems and research that discusses physical violence or sexual violence. Across the small set of studies that focus on child protection and violence issues, or deal with such issues indirectly, there are two bodies of evidence. The first examines the drivers of child protection and violence outcomes, and the second looks at systems and interventions.

6.1 Physical violence against children and young people

Two studies, Porter’s study of child mobility and transport issues in Sub-Saharan Africa and Hannum’s study of data from Gansu in rural China, find negative outcomes associated with corporal punishment. As mentioned in Section 5, Porter (2011) found the fear of corporal punishment to be leading to greater absenteeism, as children would simply not attend school on a day they feared they would be late. Adams and Hannum (2008) found boys with externalising behaviour (e.g. behaving aggressively towards others) were at greater risk of corporal punishment, which in turn was associated with a lower likelihood of staying in school.

Only one study – Hannum’s – explores issues of peer violence. Adams and Hannum’s (2012) study of victimisation among rural middle school students in Gansu found 40% had been beaten by classmates. Boys had an increased risk of physical violence from other students, while girls and children who had a strong academic record in Chinese (higher test scores at an earlier age) were less likely to be victimised. Age and socioeconomic status had no significant impact. Children with internalising problems (e.g. suffering anxiety or depression) were more likely to be victimised. The school environment played an important role; children in classrooms with poor discipline and in schools implementing student-centred curricula were more likely to be victimised, while those with teachers judged as being of high quality were significantly less likely to be victimised. Interestingly, children in communities with greater support for education were less likely to be victimised.

Porter’s mobile phones study found young people were concerned about the increased risk of mugging as a result of having a phone (Porter et al., 2012). The transport and mobility study also recorded children’s fears of physical attack by wild animals or by other people en route to school (see Section 5).

Moser’s study examined the role of several factors, including poverty, youth bulges, political exclusion and gender-based insecurity, in contributing to ‘urban tipping points’, in which tensions explode into violence. The study examined child socialisation as a driver of violence – primarily through looking at ‘violence chains’, such as the active training of children in tribalism, and perceptions of violence as a justifiable means to address arguments in Chile, India, Kenya and Timor-Leste. A key finding from the research is that tipping points into violent conflict are not necessarily dependent on quantitative increases in either poverty or numbers of youth (Moser and Rogers, 2012a; 2012b), but are also often based on qualitative shifts, such as media coverage, or partisan support to youth to encourage violence through direct payment or in-kind support.

Three studies generated insights on young women’s experiences of intimate partner violence. Herrick’s grant draws on public health and epidemiological traditions to understand the influence of alcohol consumption on domestic violence in South Africa. The research examined different perceptions of young men and women with respect to the drivers of impact of alcoholism. Young women saw male alcohol use as an important factor underpinning domestic violence and prioritised action on debt repayments and illegal drinking establishments. Walton’s study examined young people’s perceptions in urban India on how they should respond to a hypothetical situation where a man was beating his wife. The most common responses were that they should do nothing, or that they would send a woman of the household to the neighbour’s on a pretext, such as borrowing some sugar. Most interviewees felt that, if a man were to intervene, he would be considered to have a suspicious interest in the matter – that is, to be having an affair with the woman concerned. Bryceson’s study alludes to physical violence against girls and young women as one of the accepted risks of bar work and sex work in the mining settlements her
grant studied. As in Walton’s study, such violence appeared to be naturalised and accepted.

6.2 Sexual violence

Five studies raised concerns about sexual violence, in a range of contexts and settings. Porter’s transport and mobility study highlights concerns about the risk of sexual violence adolescent girls face on journeys in and around the community – this was particularly apparent in their South Africa case study (Hampshire et al., 2011) but also, as discussed in Section 5, in the Ghana case study, leading some parents to curtail girls’ education and/or to arrange boarding schooling so girls are not exposed to risks while travelling to school. Another output from this study, Porter (2010b), found increasing children’s access to transport in urban areas would increase their access to services and reduce exposure to violence en route to these services.

Porter’s mobile phones study found a number of simultaneous and potentially contradictory effects of mobile phone use: phones can contribute to both increased safety and a sense of empowerment and also more surveillance (from parents or intimate partners) and greater exposure to risk. Such risk can arise through migration, facilitated by greater contact by phone and through phone-based sexual harassment, and/or assignations planned by mobile phone that lead to rape.

Three grants also illuminate how social norms that condone sexual harassment affect young women. As noted in Section 3, in Ansell’s research, girls who had migrated for factory work in Lesotho reported sexual harassment, a factor that deterred some young women from applying for such work (Ansell et al., 2014). Morley’s research in Ghana and Tanzania also found that, in both countries, young women students experienced sexual harassment and demands for sex for good grades (Morley, 2010; Morley and Croft, 2011). Walton’s research in low-income urban areas in India found concerns about sexual harassment and violence were a key reason for restrictions on young women’s mobility, affecting their opportunities to socialise, develop friendship networks outside their families and, in some cases, their educational opportunities.

6.3 Systems and services, interventions and responses

The majority of papers focus on occurrences of violence or its drivers; some also highlight the potential policy recommendations of these findings. Porter (2009), for example, focuses on the limited attention to transport issues in the MDG discussions and highlights several low-cost interventions that would increase children’s – particularly girls’ – safety and security and ability to regularly access essential services. These include support for ‘walking buses’, low-cost cycle hire, bicycle maintenance, improvements in boarding house facilities and teacher sensitisation – all of which are directly or indirectly associated with protecting children from violence. Moser and Rodgers’ (2012a; 2012b) recommendations from the study on violence and urban tipping points highlight the importance of engaging youth groups at the community level as a crucial mediating factor in urban violence, although they do not discuss the case for intervention earlier in childhood for violence prevention.

Wessell’s research was premised on the view that community-based child protection mechanisms are likely to be effective if they are closely connected with formal child protection systems at a national level (Stark et al., 2014) and looks at gaps in informal and formal child protection service provision. The first stage of the research involved undertaking a rapid ethnography in target intervention communities, which ascertained localised understandings and definitions of childhood, child protection risks, pathways to those risks, preventive measures and linkages with the formal child protection system. Subsequently, the research has focused on a randomised control trial of interventions developed in collaboration with participating communities to reduce teen pregnancy, an issue participatory research with these communities identified as a priority for improving protection of children and adolescents. Results from the mid-line evaluation of this trial (Stark et al., 2014) are discussed in Section 4.
7 Young people’s transitions to marriage and sexual relationships

Although no grant explicitly set out to examine youth transitions to adult relationships and marriage, six grants generated insights on this theme: Bryceson, Porter, Ansell, Coast, De Neve and Kantor. The majority of these insights came from research in Sub-Saharan Africa (Lesotho, Malawi, South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia), with two grants generating insights from India and Afghanistan. All of these grants used qualitative measures (primarily interviews) to obtain insights on experiences of marriage and relationships, although Porter’s, Ansell’s, Coast’s and Kantor’s grants also made use of quantitative methods.

7.1 Courtship, temporary unions and casual relationships

Bryceson’s grant found that, in Tanzanian mining settlements, young people are forming sexual relationships that defy longer-standing social conventions around marriage. These relationships between men and women vary in their degree of sexual and material commitment. Traditional bridewealth rituals are not followed in these settlements; relationships are freely entered into and directly arranged between young men and women, as opposed to through third parties such as elders. Couples tend to meet in bars where young women work as barmaids; however, the boundaries between romantic dating, propositioning and sexual intimidation are continually blurred, and women exchanging sex for food and money is common (Bryceson et al., 2013). The term ‘wife’ is used loosely, and few people are formally married in traditional or religious terms; instead, cohabitation serves as a proxy marriage, with socioeconomic convenience as a key pull factor. Enduring monogamous unions are far from the norm among these young people living in temporary circumstances (ibid.). Nuance of this kind is an important counterpoint to narratives concerning early marriage which often essentialise and distort a much more fluid reality.

Porter’s research on mobility, sexuality and youth transitions in South Africa found young people’s daily journeys (to school and other places) were shaped by the possibility of sexual encounters, both wanted and unwanted. The vast majority of 9-17 year olds’ journeys are taken without adult supervision and present young people with the opportunity to engage in relationships with the opposite sex away from the gaze of adults (Hampshire et al., 2011). These relationships include innocent interactions between peers, as well as transactional relationships that girls establish with taxi drivers, where sex is exchanged for money and free transport, a finding that is consistent with other research on girls’ and young women’s involvement in transactional sex (Luke and Kurz, 2002; MSI, 2008). However, the boundaries between consensual and unconsensual relationships are blurred, and, although these journeys have enjoyable aspects, young women fear sexual violence and are often scared to travel alone (ibid.). The research also found girls’ engagement in transactional sex could represent a reaction to the limited opportunities open to girls in the research communities. Girls in the study reported being ‘stuck’, and are expected to fulfil the traditional roles of marriage and motherhood and, unlike boys, are unable to migrate to attempt to access higher-quality employment (ibid.).

Porter’s (ongoing) research into mobile phone usage among young people in Ghana, Malawi and South Africa is also likely to generate further evidence in this area. Preliminary insights show young people associate mobile phone use with sex, teen pregnancy, HIV/AIDS and transactional relationships, where young girls exchange sex with older men for phone credit (Hampshire et al., 2013).

Coast’s research on pregnancy termination strategies in Zambia also generated some insights into the nature of adolescent girls’ and young women’s sexual and marital relationships. Health-related insights from this study have already been discussed in Section 4. Here we concentrate on findings related to insights on gender relations. While there were some instances where young women and girls felt coerced into having an abortion by their boyfriends, and some cases where they concealed the pregnancy and termination, the research found many cases where boyfriends or husbands were supportive and active in helping procure the termination because the girl or young
woman was still studying, because as a couple they could not afford the costs of a child, or because both the girl and partner needed to conceal the pregnancy and abortion from their parents. However, the stress related to unplanned pregnancies and to medical complications and pain arising from unsafe abortions meant that several of the young women and girls involved in the research related that they had broken up with the father or planned to do so. 25

7.1.1 Marriage as a livelihood strategy

Ansell’s research on AIDS-affected young people aged 10-24 found marriage was a key livelihood strategy that secured a food supply and access to land. In general, young women become very dependent on their husbands (and in-laws) when they marry, whereas young men become more independent, while taking on new responsibilities (Ansell, 2009d). Young women in Malawi married because they no longer felt their families were supporting them, and believed marriage provided access not only to land but also to the labour of someone who would support them. However, marriage was found to limit the labour opportunities of some young Malawian men and women, particularly those who sought migrant work, and young women from Lesotho found marriage constraining because of their domestic responsibilities. Nonetheless, given the weight of social norms strongly encouraging marriage, very few young women in the villages studied remained unmarried.

De Neve’s study of garment workers’ livelihoods in Tirrupur, India, also provides some insights into the complex relationships between marriage and livelihood strategies for young women. Wages in the Tirrupur region are high, but only because long hours are expected. The need to work lengthy shifts, combined with a daily commute, means textile work is difficult for women with children whose domestic responsibilities are incompatible with factory demands (Carswell, n.d.). De Neve (2012) found that young women work in textile factories and live independently until they become married, at which point they return home. For young Dalit women, becoming a housewife has recently become an option that signifies a reduction in community poverty levels; research that examined changes in a Dalit community in Tamil Nadu between the 1980s and early 2000s found an increasing number of young Dalit women becoming ‘housewives’ who no longer have to balance domestic and income-earning activities (Heyer, 2010). Although these women are now in a better economic position than they were, they still rely on the incomes of men for survival (ibid.). Girls’ parents favour arranged marriages to business owners as opposed to agricultural workers; as one parent says, ‘when I married my daughter recently I chose a man owning a banian [garment] company – not one in agriculture […]

No girl wants to marry an agricultural man, because life will be hard’ (Carswell, n.d.).

Two grants (Kantor and Ansell) provided evidence of economic difficulties having a negative impact on marriage options for young men from low-income backgrounds. Kantor’s research in Afghanistan found that, in households that could not afford to pay bridewealth, sons’ engagements were often delayed (Kantor and Pain, 2011). To resolve this issue, elders in one village in Ghazni province introduced an upper limit for brideprice of Afs 150,000 (approximately £1600), which enabled more young people to marry; however, inter-household competition is generally causing bride price payments to increase (Kantor and Pain, 2011). Socioeconomic circumstance can also affect partner choice: in Malawi, young people with limited resources recognised their reduced partner choice in relation to marriage; one young orphan stated that he ‘couldn’t be picky’ because he had nothing to offer a wife, and a number of fatherless women in Lesotho had married without bridewealth to men with few assets (Ansell, 2009d). This finding echoes the World Bank’s 2007 World Development Report, which reports evidence from Egypt, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam suggesting poverty and a lack of financial security are key reasons for men to delay marriage (World Bank, 2006).

Kantor found families in Afghanistan used forced early marriage, and the bridewealth that this brings, as a household coping strategy; one father in the study had sold land and livestock to survive, while his three daughters were married early for a total brideprice of Afs 570,000 (£6,200 pounds) (Kantor and Pain, 2011). This is not uncommon, as households that suffer from debt combined with irregular work, low earnings and a lack of male labourers have little option but to marry their young daughters to secure whatever bride price they can. The level of force and coercion in these cases operates on a spectrum: although in some cases coercion (from both inside and outside the household) is absolute, with some parents explaining how families with greater power had forcefully taken their daughters, strong norms around respect and duty towards parents give children little room to resist their parents’ decisions; as one young man noted, ‘Sons cannot say anything. There may be one in each thousand sons who disobeys the decision of his parents regarding marriage. Girls obey their parents too’ (Pain, 2010a). According to village social norms, early and forced marriages that permit families to profit from bridewealth are more socially acceptable than having women work outside of the home (Kantor and Pain, 2011).

25 This section is based on an interview with Ernestina Coast and Emily Freeman on 5/12/2014 and on vignettes prepared by the research team for use in media work on abortion rights in Zambia.
7.2 Changing intergenerational relationships

Three studies generated insights into changing intergenerational relationships. The mining settlements featured in Bryceson’s study facilitated an alternative culture where young people shunned bridewealth traditions to directly engage in sexual relationships without third-party control (Bryceson et al., 2013). Bryceson et al. report that young women in mining settlements consider themselves liberated and modern, no longer subject to the male patriarchal control to which older generations of women have had to submit (ibid.). Although bridewealth has been a key part of traditional marriage arrangements in Tanzania, young men involved in mining are no longer endeavouring to earn bridewealth payments and return to their home areas to farm, which marks a distinct break in the intergenerational contract between older and younger generations. So, too, secondary school students’ criticisms of their parents’ absence from the home and their lack of parental care can be interpreted as a new tension between the young and the older generation (Bryceson et al, 2014).

Porter found intergenerational tensions between the way young people and adults view mobility. For young people, mobility is a route to opportunity and freedom, particularly sexual freedom. It opens up spaces beyond adult surveillance and conventional norms of behaviour where young people can experiment with relationships and sex. However, adults view mobility in a mostly negative light, focusing on gendered risks to girls including HIV/AIDS, rape, teenage pregnancy, violence and transactional sex. Although concern in older generations about young people’s sexuality is nothing new, these negative parental attitudes result in mobility restrictions, which fall disproportionately on girls. Nevertheless, mobile phones have presented an effective tool for young people to circumvent parental control over mobility and are a cause of further intergenerational tensions surrounding young people’s sexuality (Porter et al, 2010).

Walton’s grant also generated insights into young people’s perceptions and expectations of changing social norms around marriage, and, in particular, the possibility of inter-caste or inter-religious marriages. The researchers found views on the acceptability of inter-caste and inter-religious marriages in the current generation varied, from those who thought they were absolutely taboo and that the young people concerned might be killed, to those who would be willing to marry a spouse from another community and thought their parents would accept it. However, most young people expected norms to have changed dramatically in the future so they would be happy to permit their future children to have love marriages with people from other communities.
This section discusses three key issues related to research uptake in CYP-related projects: the degree to which project documentation outlines activities aiming to take into account research users’ needs before the research was undertaken or during the research process; processes intended to lead to research uptake; and the extent to which there was any attributable research uptake and impact. Evidence on these issues was patchy, with less than half of CYP-related studies providing sufficient information to inform substantive discussion of processes of user engagement, research uptake and impact, with impact prioritised over discussions of engagement processes. The ESRC EoA and Impact report templates do not include a section to record the processes used to cater for research users’ needs at the outset or as projects progress, which may explain the limited attention to this issue in reports.

8.1 Engagement of stakeholders before or during research process

Very few project reports outlined the procedures undertaken at the inception stages to assess, target and engage key stakeholders. One notable exception was Bryceson’s project, which held a conference prior to starting fieldwork that involved a range of stakeholders and made refinements to the project methodology. Another exception was Newell’s project, which, prior to development of the research proposal, sought to involve the managers of relevant tuberculosis programmes in each of the three focus countries (Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan) in order to better understand the contextualised causes of stigma and discrimination associated with tuberculosis, and programme implementation issues. This ownership of the research by the tuberculosis programmes continued throughout the study, and regular feedback on progress to the programme managers facilitated the transfer of the research findings to policy and practice.

Newell’s grant also represented one of the few studies to explicitly document how analysis of research user needs was incorporated into study design. Newell et al. (2009) outline how the research outputs are intended to contribute to public and NGO health interventions for tuberculosis, by refining broader strategies, specific actions and policy advocacy messages, and would incorporate findings into guidelines and training materials and methods. In addition, the study sought to combine other parallel research activities in order to streamline this process of informing stakeholders. Porter’s transport and mobility study developed ‘country consultative groups’ and the mobile phones study set up a series of National Forum Groups in Ghana, Malawi and South Africa. These engaged key stakeholders and built interest in the research findings, and in the case of the mobile phones study aim to provide a forum in which policy issues related to young people’s use of mobile phones can be discussed.

8.2 Research uptake

In terms of uptake processes, such as end-line dissemination and broader communications, reporting is far more detailed. Drawing on a research uptake framework outlined by Jones et al. (2012), an assessment can be made regarding the types of actors engaged (e.g. academics, policy-makers and implementers at different levels, practitioners), the level(s) of engagement (international, regional, national, subnational) and the type and combination of processes used (workshops, roundtables, multimedia, conference deliveries, standalone dissemination events etc.).

Actors targeted. With respect to targeting and engaging constituencies of actors, an obvious and well-represented audience is other academics and associated institutions: the ‘research community’ was targeted through conferences and workshops in almost all of the studies. Most studies also report policy-makers as a target audience, although relatively few identified more specific audiences within this group. Where they do so, this implies a much stronger strategic framework for targeting relevant actors. Timaeus’ study, for instance, targeted civil servants from the Department of Social Development in South Africa, and Kantor highlights the Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development and the Afghanistan Rural Enterprise Development Programme in Kabul as key actors with which the study engaged. Walker’s and Newell’s uptake activities involved targeting specific events and practitioners audiences – for instance, the International Labour Organization (ILO) during the 101st Congress and national tuberculosis programme managers in Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan, respectively. Taking a slightly different approach, Houweling’s research methodology synergised with its uptake strategy: an important strand of this research involved key informant interviews and focus groups with policy-makers and practitioners on what works in reducing child mortality among the poorest groups, and thus simultaneously built engagement with key audiences.
The environment for research uptake varied considerably between projects. Locke et al. (2010) and Thomas (2010) acknowledge the types of collaborations required in promoting research uptake in relatively closed governance settings, such as Vietnam and China. For example, Locke et al. note that the policy-influencing process within Vietnam is challenging because of the relatively closed and channelled nature of policy arenas. However, when breakthroughs are made, working with senior government researchers has meant a strong impact in and beyond government, owing to the expediency of decision-making and ‘command’ governance approaches. Fragile environments can also render efforts to promote research uptake challenging, as Kantor and Pain found in Afghanistan.

Levels/scale of activities. The majority of studies sought to engage with policy actors and practitioners at national level. Morley, for instance, developed a series of three knowledge exchange and impact enhancement seminars in the participating countries, in a similar fashion to Porter’s transport and mobility study, where the uptake strategy emphasised the distillation of lessons to universities and several ministerial bodies in Ghana, Malawi and South Africa. Other studies generating insights on CYP that focused policy engagement at the national level are Timaeus, Pridmore’s ODFL study, Bautista and Coast. Several grants also sought to influence international bodies or processes: Unterhalter focused on the UN Girls’ Education Initiative (UNGEI) and international NGOs, while Falkingham focused on the World Bank and Asian Development Bank as targets. There was no evidence of targeting or engaging regional bodies – such as trading or political blocs – which probably reflects the specific foci of these studies.

Only three studies clearly articulated a focus on subnational audiences. Newell’s project sought to influence NGO activities in four Pakistani provinces, while Kantor’s study sought to engage provincial NGOs and government actors to ensure outputs were being targeted towards the full spectrum of key stakeholders. Pridmore’s study on the social determinants of malnutrition engaged with authorities in Mombasa, Kenya, and Valparaiso in Chile. In Mombasa, researchers liaised with the Urban Nutrition Working Group and its members in the government Ministries of Health (Public Health & Sanitation and Medical Services) to develop a broader research working group to validate methods and emerging findings. This group also catalysed action on issues such as access to basic services, with members lobbying their line managers for more effective governance of public spending.

Research uptake processes. Discussion of research uptake processes focused primarily on the numbers and reach of conferencing and dissemination events, with less discussion of the relative value of targeting particular stakeholders, communication strategies used or the tailoring of outputs to specific audiences.

8.3 Evidence of impact

Approximately one-fifth of CYP-related studies provided detailed reflections on research uptake or impact. Many of these are attributable to the ESRC Impact report template having explicit categories regarding research uptake targets, and associated strategies. For the most part, discussions around research uptake impacts focus on the detail of the event, rather than what contributed to success (e.g. quality of research, process around which the research was designed, communications mechanism etc.) or the level of attribution to the research project. Researchers also appear reticent to provide negative experiences in the assessments and review of impacts, which suggests some lessons may not have been captured. Despite this, there is clear evidence of positive impacts. In addition to those discussed above, research by Attanasio, Bautista, Pridmore and Bryceason all indicated positive impacts. Respectively, these grant-holders reported that their research influenced the piloting of a redesigned cash transfer programme, the design of a national insurance scheme, a national nutrition action plan and the UN General Assembly Human Rights Council.

Some strong claims are made regarding impact that cannot be fully verified. Morley’s study, for instance, argues the research transformed universities’ and NGOs’ conceptions of the participation rates for certain underrepresented groups of students, and that several substantial initiatives – such as the development of a data maintenance system – were linked to the research. Unterhalter’s study team made a number of presentations to international policy networks and NGOs connected through UNGEI and the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), contributed to the 2012 Plan International Because I’m a Girl Report and published two edited collections and six journal special issues based on the research. The team argue that this advocacy, supported by their strong publication record, led directly to a declaration on gender, poverty and education adopted at the UNGEI conference in Dakar in May 2010, but do not discuss which activities were the most effective in contributing to these outcomes (Unterhalter, 2011a).

Fewer studies acknowledge that impacts were not necessarily entirely attributable to the research outputs themselves, but rather assisted in contributing to a broader shift in the policy environment. One example is Quisumbing, who argues her research programme contributed to a shift towards an increase in funding allocation to a PES programme in Bangladesh. Walker’s study was unusual in that it provided significant detail into research uptake processes, including how investigations into the rights and dignity of people covered by social security guarantees were discussed in ILO meetings, included in further dialogues with specific individuals and put forward for formal submission into policy platforms.

Ultimately, the assessment reveals that, while grant-funded researchers have engaged in practices likely to build
research uptake and impact, these have often been based on opportunism rather than planned. While research on evidence–policy linkages recognises the complex nature of policy-influencing and that positive outcomes are often the result of lucky combinations of circumstances, a rapidly expanding body of practice-based evidence highlights the importance of planning in achieving more effective connections between research and policy change (Jones et al, 2012).
9 Synthesis of findings and conclusions

9.1 Overview
In this section, we bring together the main findings from the descriptive statistical overview of the grants examined (Section 2), the discussion of thematic insights (Sections 3-7) and the analysis of evidence on research uptake and impact (Section 8). We locate the scheme findings within a discussion of broader trends in research on children and youth, and in relation to current policy agendas on CYP. We use this analysis both to highlight areas where the ESRC–DFID scheme has added important insights to the wider body of knowledge on CYP and to identify knowledge gaps that could be addressed in future rounds of the scheme and in the wider CYP research community.

To recap, 44 grants (35% of all scheme-funded research) generated insights on CYP and 30 (24% of all grants) had a strong or moderate focus on CYP. Given that there was no explicit mandate to focus on CYP, it is encouraging that around a quarter of grants generated moderate or substantial insights on CYP. A particular strength of the scheme has been its success in generating insights on youth (73% of the grants with CYP insights had findings on young people), who have historically been a neglected group in international development policy and research. However, the proportion of research generating insights on CYP declined from Phase 1 to Phase 2. Most Phase 3 grants have not progressed sufficiently to be able to assess the extent to which they will generate insights on CYP and thus whether there is a long-term downward trend in the extent and depth of CYP insights produced.

The thematic focus of insights on CYP is diverse and covers thirteen sectoral and thematic areas: health and nutrition, education, livelihoods, youth employment and child labour, social protection, migration, experiences of poverty, exclusion and vulnerability, violence against children and young people, transitions to marriage and sexual relationships, mobility and transport, access to information and civic engagement. Within each thematic area, the issues examined are also diverse, with no two grants investigating the same issues in different contexts, making it particularly challenging to identify commonalities. The two issues on which most insights have been generated are education and health, with notable insights on livelihoods, violence and transitions to marriage and sexual relationships.

Many grants addressed pressing international policy concerns (e.g. reducing child mortality among the most disadvantaged groups) or significant developmental trends with an impact on children and young people (e.g. the spread of mobile phones). A second group related to country-specific problems or issues (e.g. educational policy in China, the role of religion in child mortality in India) and thus their contributions are focused primarily on those settings.

Given this diversity of thematic foci, geographical locations and methodological approaches, insights from scheme-funded research on CYP are unsurprisingly disparate, and do not add up to a cohesive body of knowledge on CYP. Rather, the main contributions of the scheme have been the role it has played in furthering knowledge in specific thematic areas, in generating granular insights of relevance to policy and practice in particular places and, for some grants, in assessing impacts of policy or practice on issues related to CYP rights and wellbeing. Section 9.3 outlines some of the key contributions of the scheme in more detail. First, though, we reflect on how the emphases and findings of scheme-funded research reflect broader trends both in international development research on CYP and in childhood and youth studies more generally.

9.2 How does scheme-generated research relate to broader research and policy agendas on CYP?

9.2.1 How do scheme-generated insights relate to broader trends in research on CYP?

There is no one comprehensive assessment of the ‘state of the field’ in international development research on CYP. Analyses of trends in key journals publishing research on...
CYP and poverty in low-and middle-income countries and in the outputs of major child-focused research projects such as Young Lives suggests the following major themes:

- A growing emphasis on CYP’s voice and agency as active participants in their own developmental outcomes, as makers of, as well as affected by, the surrounding developmental context (Holloway, 2014);
- Recognition of the importance of situating research on CYP within their social/relational context (Holloway, 2014) and their broader economic context; related to this, the increasing use of secondary data to examine relationships between numerous factors affecting CYP’s wellbeing outcomes;
- Specialisation, with research often looking at a particular policy issue of concern within a particular sector, or specific neglected relationships. Much research drills down into bounded, specific issues (such as the role of language in children’s exam success or failure or the effectiveness of teacher development strategies). While this specialised, in-depth focus is important for effective policy, it also contributes to fragmentation of knowledge on CYP;
- Within policy-oriented research, a strong emphasis on evidence of ‘what works’ to improve development outcomes for children, encapsulated in the movement towards better evaluation in general and systematic reviews of ‘what works’ in particular;
- A growing emphasis on young people, and on policies to support young people’s transition to adulthood. Historically, development research has tended to neglect young people in favour of research on child survival (particularly that of under fives) and education of school age children, with additional foci on groups categorised as ‘particularly vulnerable’, such as orphans, street children or child labourers. The increased policy attention to adolescence, secondary schooling and youth employment and skills issues has led to greater research on older adolescents and youth;
- A growing emphasis on gender, particularly in adolescence, with specific attention to particular issues: early marriage, female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C), girls’ education and violence against women and girls, with some attention to broader inequalities; and, to a lesser extent
- A continued emphasis on disaggregating among children and understanding the perspectives of particularly disadvantaged groups.

There are also some notable areas of lesser interest in current research agendas: for example, research exploring the micro-level consequences for CYP of macro policy trends and shifts (e.g. Harper et al., 2012; Marcus and Gavrilovic, 2010) appears to have dropped down the agenda. Attention to the potential impacts of and CYP engagement with climate change issues is relatively limited. The insights from the ESRC-DFID funded research on children reflect these emphases. For example:

- Thirteen grants explore CYP’s perspectives on their lives and the key issues that affect them (e.g. Ansell, Bryceson, Campbell, both Porter grants, Walker). Several of these grants also reflect the broader trend towards exploring CYP’s agency as a research focus. For example, Porter’s grants on CYP use of mobile phones and on mobility and Ansell’s grant on youth livelihood strategies emphasised young people as actors with agency making choices and undertaking actions that have an impact on their lives; Bryceson’s grant explored young women’s format of sexual and marital relationships in a mining town and young people migrating for mining work, highlighting the role of CYP as active agents. Several grants also explore how poverty and gender inequalities circumscribe this agency. For example, Kantor and Pain’s research in Afghanistan revealed how young women’s labour market options were affected by gender norms that affected the types of occupations perceived as suitable for them.
- All grants with a strong or partial CYP focus situated CYP in their broader social and economic context. To highlight some examples, Ansell’s research highlights the importance of familial and friendship networks in young people’s livelihood pathways; Campbell’s likewise highlights the extent and limitations of school support to AIDS-affected children. Porter’s grants also generate insights into intergenerational tensions, related in part to mobile phone use (and suspicion that young people are using phones to engage in sexual relationships) and to a perception of reduced control over young people resulting from their greater independent mobility compared with the previous generation (in urban South Africa).
- A second set of grants provides insights into the importance of CYP’s social and economic context through the use of secondary data, and econometric or other statistical analysis. Examples include Attanasio’s, Hannum’s and Bhalotra’s grants, which all shed light on critical factors affecting children’s wellbeing outcomes through sophisticated statistical analysis,
- 55% of grants (24 grants) generated insights on ‘what works’ to improve development outcomes for children or young people. Typically, these grants explored the effectiveness of a policy (or less commonly a large-scale programme) in a specific context and aimed to draw lessons both for that specific context and more broadly. These programmes and policies were concentrated in the health, education and social protection fields. Most were subnational or regional in operation, such as the national cash transfer programmes examined by Attanasio and Van Stolk’s grants; some involved evaluations of pilot or initial phases, and informed roll-out of later phases (e.g. Bautista). The range of policies explored across a relatively small set of grants inevitably
contributes to fragmentation of insights – in the education sector alone, scheme-funded research explored issues such as widening participation in higher education, the role of language in children’s exam success, the effectiveness of continuing professional development, ODFL and AIDS-competent schools.

- **Relatively strong emphasis on young people’s transitions to adulthood** (73% of grants generating insights on CYP had a complete or partial focus on youth), both in grants that explored young people’s experiences qualitatively (e.g. Ansell, Porter, Bryceson) and in those that addressed policy concerns related to youth through analysis of quantitative data (e.g. Lehrer, Thomas, Teal, Attanasio, Hannum).

The following broad themes were less well represented in scheme-funded research:

- **Gendered adolescence.** Although few grants addressed gender issues in adolescence as a central focus (an exception is Unterhalter’s grant on gender and education policy), they are discussed in 10 grants, and in many cases emerged from the issues CYP raised as priorities themselves. Thus, for example, girls in Porter’s transport and mobility study raised concerns about safe travel to school and how girls’ domestic burdens affect school attendance; issues of sexual harassment also emerged in Walton’s study of citizenship in urban slums in India, Porter’s study of mobile phones and Morley’s study of widening participation in higher education; young people in Kantor and Pain’s study discussed early marriage as a survival strategy and Hannum’s study generated insights into changing aspirations of and for sons and daughters in terms of school completion and future employment. Walton’s study also revealed how a combination of restrictive gender norms and poverty contributes to adolescent girls’ and young women’s social isolation, while Coast’s study found adolescent girls and young women in Zambia were very much more likely to have unsafe abortions than older women and explored the social dynamics that contribute to this pattern. Within the adolescent girl field, which has, itself, emerged over the past 10 years, there has been a growing emphasis on issues of sexuality, sexual debut, early marriage and pregnancy and issues such as FGM/C, in addition to longer-standing priorities such as girls’ education. Consistent with this analysis, 10 grants examined issues of transition to sexual relationships and marriage, with many distinguishing the specific pathways and issues facing young men and young women. As with other adolescent girl-related issues, sexuality and marriage issues were not the focus of any grants, but emerged from qualitative discussions with CYP.

- **Understanding the perspectives of particularly disadvantaged groups of children and young people.** The CYP whose voices come through in this research are, in general, poor, often simultaneously aspirational and making the best of their limited opportunities (e.g. Ansell, Porter, Bryceson). In two grants (Ansell and Campbell), CYP respondents are affected by HIV/AIDS. Beyond this, and the examples of insights on gender inequalities mentioned above, we hear little about how other structural inequalities are affecting CYP’s lives – for example how ethnicity, disability or membership of stigmatised social groups is affecting CYP lives and life chances.

Overall, then, scheme-funded research makes use of current conceptual framing of CYP as actors with agency and aspirations, situated within and strongly affected by their socioeconomic context. Scheme-funded research mirrors the broader trend towards limited micro–macro analysis, although there are exceptions, such as some of the papers produced by Hannum and Attanasio, and the grants that explore the implications of aspects of globalisation for young people’s work opportunities, such as Bryceson’s and De Neve’s studies.

### 9.2.2 How do scheme-generated insights relate to contemporary development policy agendas on CYP?

While the overall purpose of the scheme has been to generate world-class knowledge relevant to the achievement of the MDGs, the MDG emphasis was particularly strongly evident in the thematic foci and types of CYP insights generated in Phase 1, and may also account for the larger number of grants generating insights on CYP in Phase 1. In Phases 2 and 3, the shift towards more specific and often more upstream overarching research questions in the call has tended to mean fewer projects are framed directly in terms of meeting the MDGs, although many examine policy issues or trends of relevance to doing so. As noted above, such projects typically address specific policy challenges, such as improving newborn survival among the most disadvantaged groups (Houweling) or improving educational outcomes among disadvantaged groups of children (Dixon).

The MDGs attracted considerable criticism from the CYP-focused development community for their limited framing of key issues for CYP, largely in terms of income poverty, health and education. The proposed Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) go considerably beyond the MDGs and encompass a number of issues that reflect broader CYP concerns and emerging policy agendas. These include protection issues, such as violence, early marriage and child trafficking, a stronger emphasis on youth, skills and employment issues and young people’s participation in governance.

Table 1 summarises the key SDGs that relate to children or young people and highlights scheme-funded research that generates insights relevant to the achievement of these goals. It also highlights knowledge gaps in relation to CYP-related goals and targets that could inform priorities for future scheme-funded research. Given the goals’ forward-looking nature, it is not surprising there are significant gaps in knowledge on effective policy and practice for addressing many of the goals and targets.
Proposed SDGs with relevance to CYP and insights from relevant scheme-funded research

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<th>Goal and target</th>
<th>Examples of relevant scheme-funded research</th>
<th>Significant gaps</th>
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| **Goal 1: Income Poverty and Vulnerability**  
1.1 By 2030, eradicate extreme poverty for all people everywhere, currently measured as people living on less than $1.25 a day  
1.2 By 2030, reduce at least by half the proportion of men, women and children of all ages, living in poverty in all its dimensions according to national definitions  
1.3 Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable | Timaeus’ grant – insights into the role of adult death and orphanhood in child poverty; Teal – extent to which secondary education and the nature of young people’s employment opportunities help them escape from poverty.  
Attanasio’s Timaeus’ and Van Stoïk’s grants generated substantial insights into the effectiveness of social protection programmes and systems for disadvantaged CYP; Noble and Ansell provided qualitative insights into how particular social protection programmes were/were not meeting children’s right to an adequate standard of living. | Understanding how social protection systems can best reach the most disadvantaged children; further impact analysis of different social protection options and packages in different circumstances; broadening impact analysis to include a wider range of indicators of impact on CYP.  
Understanding how life-course and intergenerational poverty can most effectively be interrupted and the role of action in childhood and youth in ending chronic poverty. |
| **Goal 2: Hunger and Malnutrition**  
2.1 By 2030, end hunger and ensure access by all people, in particular the poor and people in vulnerable situations, including infants, to safe, nutritious and sufficient food all year round  
2.2 By 2030, end all forms of malnutrition, including achieving, by 2025, the internationally agreed targets on stunting and wasting in children under five years of age, and address the nutritional needs of adolescent girls, pregnant and lactating women and older persons | Research by Attanasio, Quisumbing and Van Stoïk generates insights into impacts of different social protection and broader development programmes on children’s nutritional outcomes. Pridmore’s research examines institutional conditions for improving nutritional outcomes.  
Bhalotra and Justino generate insights into the role of religion and conflict in children’s nutritional outcomes. Hannum’s research provides quantified evidence of the role of nutrition in children’s later educational outcomes. | All scheme-funded research focuses on nutrition among under fives – none explores promising policies for meeting the nutritional needs of adolescent girls.  
Pridmore’s is the only grant examining childhood obesity – given the current and predicted growing significance of childhood obesity in health and other wellbeing outcomes, this is a clear gap. |
| **Goal 3: Health**  
3.1 By 2030, reduce the global maternal mortality ratio to less than 70 per 100,000 live births  
3.2 By 2030, end preventable deaths of newborns and children under five years of age  
3.3 By 2030, end the epidemics of AIDS, TB, malaria and neglected tropical diseases and combat hepatitis, water-borne diseases and other communicable diseases  
3.4 By 2030, reduce by one third premature mortality from non-communicable diseases through prevention and treatment and promote mental health and well being  
3.5 Strengthen the prevention and treatment of substance abuse, including narcotic drug abuse and harmful use of alcohol  
3.6 By 2020, halve the number of global deaths and injuries from road traffic accidents  
3.7 By 2030, ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health care services, including for family planning, information and education, and the integration of reproductive health into national strategies and programmes  
3.8 Achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, access to quality essential health care services and access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all  
3.9 By 2030, substantially reduce the number of deaths and illnesses from hazardous chemicals and air, water and soil pollution and contamination | Scheme-funded grants have generated/are generating insights on strategies for improving child survival among the most disadvantaged groups (Houweling) and factors contributing to child survival and health (Van Stoïk, Hannum, Bhalotra). Some research in progress will also generate relevant insights (Harper, Dean).  
Scheme-funded research provides only limited insights into CYP-related aspects and impacts of control of major communicable (Newell) and non-communicable diseases (Zhao’s research on factors predisposing young people to smoke, conducted under Hannum’s grant).  
Two grants (Wessells and Coast) generate insights into young people’s access to sexual and reproductive health services – with Coast addressing the neglected topic of access to abortions. Dolan’s research should provide further evidence as to the importance of assisting adolescent girls with menstrual management for their educational and other wellbeing outcomes.  
One grant (Bautista) examines the effectiveness of a specific policy change (PBF) in improving children’s health outcomes. | Given the current and growing significance of accidents and injuries, mental ill health and non-communicable disease as causes of mortality and morbidity among CYP: further research on effective strategies for encouraging healthy behaviour and accident prevention among CYP is needed.  
None of the grants examined addressed the following issues: CYP access to essential medicines, impacts of health systems reforms that are intended to achieve universal access for CYP or ways of reducing illness and death related to hazardous chemicals and pollution, which disproportionately affect poor children. |
## Proposed SDGs with relevance to CYP and insights from relevant scheme-funded research (continued)

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<tr>
<th>Goal and target</th>
<th>Examples of relevant scheme-funded research</th>
<th>Significant gaps</th>
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<tr>
<td>4. Education</td>
<td>Ansell, Campbell, Timaeus and Hannum examined the barriers to education faced by orphaned children or those whose parents are in ill health. Support mechanisms including more sensitive schooling and grants are explored as way to facilitate school completion. Manor and Quisumbing find positive impacts of social protection schemes on school attendance in South Asia. Hannum, Porter and Kantor generated insights around gendered inequalities in access to education. Porter found girls’ migration to attend secondary school or vocational training was a point of tension whereas parents were less concerned about the migration of boys. Underhalter’s research found negative perceptions of girls’ education at many points through the education system. Baulch found inconsistencies in the implementation of policies designed to increase school attendance amongst ethnic minority children in Vietnam. Rea-Dickens, Hannum and Thomas generated insights on improving school quality: better-qualified teachers and professional development opportunities are linked to improved learning.</td>
<td>Insights from the education research is strongly biased towards primary and secondary school education, with very limited insights on pre-school education (one paper produced as part of Attanasio’s grant), and only four grants considering issues related to post-school education (higher education or TVET). None of these grants discuss non-formal education, or issues such as the rise of private schooling in many lower-middle-income countries. Knowledge gaps remain on how to achieve quality improvements in low-income contexts and the role of education system and curriculum reform. There is little insight into issues related to enhancing disabled or indigenous children’s educational opportunities: these grants focused on the vulnerabilities of orphans and children affected by HIV. There is a gap in knowledge about marginalised groups of children’s school experience and effective approaches for addressing specific barriers.</td>
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<td>4.1 By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes</td>
<td>Coast and Wessells’ grants both explore issues related to access to reproductive health services. Attanasio’s grant found that, in Colombia, different child-oriented social protection programmes (cash grants and community nurseries) serve and contribute to nutritional improvements among different social groups, and there is a case for continuing both.</td>
<td>This scheme generated limited insights into girls’ empowerment: programmes examining domestic violence were generally age-blind; insights on sexual violence against girls and early marriage were limited. No grants examined FGM/C or trafficking. Given existence of other large-scale research on violence and FGM/C, effective strategies for tackling sexual exploitation would add greater value than research on other aspects of targets 5.1-5.3.</td>
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<td>4.2 By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education so that they are ready for primary education</td>
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<td>Insights into effective day care provision for young children, promotion of gender equality in intra-household care (including for children) and care undertaken by children and adolescents are all important gaps.</td>
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<td>4.3 By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university</td>
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<td>Scheme-funded research did not examine young people’s political engagement in any depth. Knowledge of the most effective strategies to promote young women’s civic and political engagement is an important gap.</td>
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<td>4.4 By 2030, increase by [x] per cent the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship</td>
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<td>There is an explosion of research on adolescent girl issues at present, with some major programmes funded by DFID. Careful analysis of gaps is needed to assess where the scheme could fill strategic gaps on gender in adolescence.</td>
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<td>4.5 By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations</td>
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<td>4.6 By 2030, ensure that all youth and at least [x] per cent of adults, both men and women, achieve literacy and numeracy</td>
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<td>5. Gender equality and women’s and girls’ empowerment</td>
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<td>5.1 End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere</td>
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<td>5.2 Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation</td>
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<td>5.3 Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation</td>
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<td>5.4 Recognise and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate</td>
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<td>5.5 Ensure women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life</td>
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<td>5.6 Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences</td>
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### Proposed SDGs with relevance to CYP and insights from relevant scheme-funded research (continued)

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<tr>
<td><strong>6. Water and Sanitation</strong></td>
<td>Ansell, Kantor, Teal, De Neve and Bryceson’s grants generate insights into young people’s working conditions and livelihood strategies in different sectors and contexts; of these, Teal’s grant generated the most sustained insights into factors underlying labour market success and reduced likelihood of poverty for young people. Attanasio’s grant, uniquely, assessed the impact of Jovenes en Acción, a youth training programme in Colombia, and found it enhanced young women’s and men’s employment opportunities and prospects of escaping from poverty. Insights on child labour generally emerged in research focusing on other topics (e.g. youth livelihoods).</td>
<td>Scheme-funded research provides very little insight into water and sanitation issues — consistent with analysis that the MDG WatSan goal is the most neglected, despite its strategic importance for realising health and nutrition goals. The relationship between sexual violence and inadequate sanitation is rising up the research agenda but there are limited consolidated insights into effective strategies.</td>
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<td><strong>8. Growth, Employment and Decent Work</strong></td>
<td>Baulch’s research in Vietnam generated insights on processes of inclusion and exclusion of ethnic minorities and highlighted specific implications for education policy; Bhalotra’s research from India explored the relationship between religion and child health and education outcomes. Walker’s grant generated insights into the social and emotional effects of poverty and exclusion. Falkingham and Locke’s grants provide insights into some of the consequences for children of parental migration, which should be considered as part of well-managed migration policies.</td>
<td>Given the low quality of many youth training programmes (and thus lessons on what doesn’t work), a wider range of research probing the ingredients of success in effective youth skills and employment programmes is needed. Key knowledge gaps on child labour include evidence of the impact of different social and economic policy options and approaches on the incidence of child labour, the relationship between child labour and youth employment outcomes and the drivers of child labour in non-poor households (ILO, 2013). How much (different forms of) child labour facilitate or constrain escape from poverty would fit well with overarching priorities for Phase 3. Given the decline in child labour in the past 20 years, learning from what has worked could both help combat further child labour and inform broader CYP-focused inclusion strategy.</td>
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<td><strong>Goal 10: Inequality</strong></td>
<td>Bhalotra’s research in Colombia, and found it enhanced young women’s and men’s employment opportunities and prospects of escaping from poverty.</td>
<td>The ways processes of social exclusion impact on young people and effective ways of promoting inclusion of CYP were little explored. There was also limited attention in these grants to groups commonly identified as ‘particularly vulnerable’, other than children affected by HIV/AIDS. Specific knowledge gaps relate to effective processes of inclusion of homeless and street-living CYP; LGBQT youth and other groups of youth facing identity-based discrimination. Three grants in progress should generate insights on CYP with disabilities. There is a knowledge gap related to synthesis of promising practices in helping young people benefit from migration through engagement in safe and decent work, and prevention of exploitation.</td>
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<td><strong>11. Safe, Sustainable Cities</strong></td>
<td>Porter’s research on children, mobility and transport in Sub-Saharan Africa generates insights into gender and age barriers to access to motorised transport, and the effect on access to key services. Wu and Dawila led to more limited insights on CYP access to transport from respectively China and Colombia.</td>
<td>Consolidated learning on the following topics would help fill specific knowledge gaps: Effective practice in promoting safety on public transport (particularly freedom from gender-based violence) and strategies for improving accessibility to poor and marginalised groups; Effective strategies for enabling CYP to access and enjoy safe green and public space.</td>
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### Proposed SDGs with relevance to CYP and insights from relevant scheme-funded research (continued)

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<th>Topic</th>
<th>Insights and Knowledge Gaps</th>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>Climate Change</td>
<td>The relatively limited pool of scheme-funded research on climate change is typically either upstream (Mayhew, Harris-White) or does not disaggregate social analysis by age (e.g. Hulme).</td>
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<td>Building on work in the late 2000s on children, adaptation and climate resilience, key knowledge gaps include the most effective ways to help young people develop climate-resilient livelihoods in different socioeconomic and political circumstances; child-sensitive disaster risk reduction; and CYP attitudes to climate change in major carbon-emitting middle-income countries and their willingness to engage in political action on climate change.</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Peaceful and Inclusive Societies</td>
<td>Scheme-funded insights on violence against (and perpetrated by) CYP are limited, and are discussed in passing rather than being a significant focus of research. Several grants missed opportunities to disaggregate further by age in projects that did explore the social impacts of conflict and insecurity, and that examined domestic violence.</td>
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<td>Research on effective strategies to prevent violence and abuse of children (particularly social norm change approaches) is a particular gap, as it is often subsumed within a broader gender-based violence agenda.</td>
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<td>Analysis of effective ways of promoting social inclusion among marginalised youth, particularly in fragile and conflict-affected contexts, is a critical gap.</td>
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<td>Consolidating learning on promoting young people’s involvement in governance and decision-making and specific strategies for involving vulnerable groups would also be valuable.</td>
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<td>Action and research on birth registration have been spearheaded by the UN Children’s Fund (UNICEF) and Plan International. Further knowledge gaps are likely to be limited.</td>
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9.3 Areas of particular innovation and added value

As the detailed discussion in the previous sections of this report indicates, the scheme has generated wide-ranging insights on CYP. In this section we highlight particular areas where this research has added value to the broader body of knowledge on CYP in low and middle income countries.

9.3.1 Methodological innovation

In order not to duplicate the analysis being conducted by the Research Methods ESRA, the analysis of methodological innovation in this report has concentrated largely on innovations in conducting research with CYP. However, there are some broader methodological approaches that have enhanced scheme-funded insights on CYP. These include:

- Analysis of change over time: 10 studies made use of longitudinal or panel data showing change over time and thus generated insights into both trends in CYP wellbeing and policy effectiveness.
- Insights into key relationships of importance for CYP wellbeing or policy effectiveness through advanced statistical and econometric analysis (examples include Teal, Attanasio, Hamum’s, Timaeus and Bhalotra’s grants).
- Comparisons that help understand which trends or patterns in CYP wellbeing are specific to particular contexts and which appear to be more widespread. Examples of multi-country or multi-sited studies include both of Porter’s and Pridmore’s grants and Ansell, Morley and Bryceson’s projects. The inclusion of high-income countries in Walker’s study of poverty of shame also helped identify the aspects of poor CYP’s experience that were specific to low- and middle-income contexts and those that appeared to be more universal.

9.3.2 Involving young people

Half the grants (22, or 50%) discussed in this report included CYP as respondents in primary research. However, this figure is slightly misleading as it includes surveys where some people between 16 and 24 years were included as respondents but which provided limited insights into their perceptions as a specific age cohort group. Just under a quarter of the grants (23%) made use of participatory methods or qualitative research with CYP. Two projects also made use of school essays in which CYP could directly express themselves. Semi-structured interviews with CYP were commonly and effectively used with older children and youth (examples include Walton and Coast’s studies). Focus group discussions also provided opportunities for CYP to highlight issues of concern directly: for example, the group discussions conducted with young people as part of Walton’s research raised issues of social isolation, restrictions on mobility related to pervasive sexual harassment and violence and issues related to the quality of post-school distance education. The high quality in-depth insights revealed by these projects that involved direct qualitative research with CYP suggest stronger emphasis on approaches that capture CYP perspectives more directly would be of value in future scheme-funded research.

Only one project trained children or young people to undertake peer research (Porter’s transport and mobility project). While this was not without its challenges, overall the researchers felt it had added to the research insights as well as helping CYP develop valuable skills. Peer research can be particularly powerful in engaging marginalised groups of young people. Encouraging greater involvement of CYP in research may be worth considering in future rounds of the funding scheme.

9.3.3 Thematic innovation

While all grants with a strong CYP focus aimed to fill specific gaps in knowledge on CYP, a number were particularly innovative in researching areas with significant knowledge gaps. These include:

- Responding to pressing current policy concerns and knowledge gaps on CYP. The report provides a detailed analysis of how far scheme-funded research has generated insights on priority issues for CYP in the post-2015 development agenda. Examples include Houweling’s research on ways of reducing infant mortality among the poorest, and most disadvantaged groups, Pridmore’s research on open, distance and flexible learning for vulnerable children, and Coast’s insights on the factors that put adolescent girls and young women in Zambia at increased risk of unsafe abortion.
- Examining the factors underlying policy and programme effectiveness, in a particular setting or across a range of settings. 55% grants generated insights on policy or programme effectiveness. Examples include Attanasio and Van Stolk’s analysis of the impacts of different social protection policies on children’s health, nutrition, education and work activity in various Latin American countries, and Bautista’s study of performance-based financing for health care in Rwanda.
- Addressing current/emerging contemporary trends. Examples include: Porter’s research on young people’s use of mobile phones in three African countries and Bryceson’s research on the social dynamics of mining in Sub-Saharan Africa and Wahba’s research on young people’s migration aspirations in Morocco and Egypt.
• **Strong focus on youth.** 73% of grants examined issues related to young people’s wellbeing. Given previous neglect of young people in much international development research (reflecting a bias towards under 5 survival and latterly primary education), and a more recent focus on a narrow set of specific issues related to youth (employment, reproductive health and violence), the exploration of issues related to intergenerational tensions and support, young people’s diverse and gendered livelihood strategies and their aspirations is welcome. Examples include: Ansell’s, Bryceson’s and Kantor’s insights on young people’s gendered livelihood strategies in Lesotho and Malawi, Ghana and Tanzania and Afghanistan respectively, and insights from Porter’s research on changing intergenerational relationships, and CYP mobility and use of communications technology.

• **Highlighting young people’s agency.** Much policy-oriented research neglects CYP agency through policy narratives that focus, understandably, on problems but sometimes invisibilise CYP’s creativity and agency in making the best of often challenging circumstances. Various examples of projects that provide insights into CYP agency include Bryceson’s research on young people’s migration to and work in mining settlements, and Kantor and Pain’s and Ansell’s research on young people’s livelihood strategies.

• **Shedding light on sensitive issues.** Examples include: Bhalotra’s research on the religion, socio-economic status and child health and mortality in India, which probed issues inequalities between different religious and caste groups, and Coast’s study of abortion in Zambia.

• **Insights that challenge dominant policy narratives or bring texture and nuance to discussions.** Examples include: Walker’s study of psycho-social aspects of poverty such as feelings of ‘shame’ and related processes of self-exclusion from social interaction; Kantor and Pain’s insights on the continuum on which marriages are arranged, ranging from forced consensual and the extent to which economic difficulties limit young men’s marriage prospects; Ansell’s research which challenged assumptions about HIV/AIDS-affected young people’s disproportionate vulnerability; and Pridmore’s research on the experience of HIV affected children in schools, which examined the social and emotional vulnerabilities faced by HIV/AIDS affected children and the value of peer support networks in helping children keep up with classes.

• **Researching neglected or ‘invisible’ problems or issues.** Examples include Porter’s study of children’s mobility, patterns of and constraints to the use of transport and Hannum’s insights into the importance of vision correction on children’s educational success in China. Ansell’s insights on the importance of ensuring interventions are ‘time sensitive’ and can support young people at critical moments in their lives (eg at the time of parental death, or when transitioning from school to work) are another example.

### 9.3.4 Research with clear impact on CYP

Although research impact is notoriously difficult to determine, there were examples of grants at all levels that have set in motion processes that are likely to lead to positive impacts on CYP. These span informing specific groups whom the research found to be lacking critical information; catalysing or inspiring change in the implementation of particular policies, programmes and processes; and informing national or international policies and agreements.

Examples in the first category include Coast’s impact maximisation grant, which will provide information about the law on abortion and how to access safe abortions via both social media and face-to-face events with young people in Zambia. In the second group, examples include pilot changes to the implementation of Oportunidades in Mexico following Attanasio’s research and the emergence of a stronger commitment to accountability and effective use of public expenditure in Mombasa (Kenya) as a result of the working groups catalysed by Pridmore’s research on effective institutional structures to address the social determinants of malnutrition. Examples of successful international policy change include Unterhalter’s influence on the UNGEI and Walker’s influence on the drafting of ILO resolutions to include emphasis on the dignity and rights of people covered by social security guarantees. Beyond this, the active efforts some grant-holders made to engage national-level stakeholders and to tailor research findings to the needs and institutional mandates of particular organisations means these grants are likely to influence policy and practice: examples include Porter’s mobile phones grant, Timaeus’ insights on effective social protection for orphans and Newell’s grant on tuberculosis stigma. However, these and other positive examples of impact and engagement processes are drawn from just under a third of the 44 grants that have generated insights on CYP, typically those with the strongest CYP focus. This suggests that further attention to research uptake and impact processes could extend the range of impacts on CYP; grantholders may need additional support (financial and technical) to do so.

### 9.4 Gaps and Missed opportunities

In addition to the new insights generated by the scheme summarised in the previous two sub-sections, there were a number of missed opportunities and gaps.

#### 9.4.1 Age-related disaggregation and use of a youth lens

We identified 16 grants where there would, in principle, have been opportunities to generate insights on CYP without reframing the main research questions. These
were on subjects where more disaggregated social analysis might have yielded insights as to how CYP experienced an issue differently, were differently affected by a programme or policy or had different priorities to adults or older people. There were also examples of research projects where young men or women formed part of focus groups or were even included as a specific group of respondents, but their experiences were not discussed in the analysis and write-up. We appreciate the need to frame research questions tightly and to make research manageable in the time and with the budget available. However, in many cases, relatively little adjustment would be needed to considerably increase the proportion of grants generating insights on CYP.

9.4.2 Disaggregation among CYP and analysis of inequalities
While disaggregation by gender was more common than other types of disaggregation in the outputs examined, and although several grants generated insights on gendered childhood and adolescence, there was little analysis of the cultural norms that underpinned gender differences. In particular, norms related to masculinity and their impacts on young men and women, boys and girls were hardly discussed in these grants. Only two grants examined issues related to impairment or disability, though it should be noted that three grants that have not currently produced outputs have a strong or moderate focus on disability and should generate insights on CYP.

9.4.3 Limited attention to change over time
Only 10 projects generated or made use of longitudinal or panel data to reveal how CYP wellbeing has changed over time. Greater use of qualitative and quantitative data would enable both a deeper understanding of key developmental processes affecting CYP and the effectiveness of policies and programmes in promoting CYP wellbeing.

9.4.4 Capacity-strengthening in CYP-related research and among CYP
Although capacity-building is not an explicit objective of the scheme, it was notable that only one grant trained CYP to undertake peer research. Several grants employed young graduates as research assistants, and it is likely that their general research capacity and CYP-specific thematic capacity was strengthened through the research process, although the EoA reports do not discuss this directly.27 Nor do the EoA reports examined comment on the development of thematic CYP-related specialisms or stronger methodological capacity in conducting research with CYP or on CYP issues among research teams. Thematic gaps are summarised in Section 9.5.

9.5 Overall conclusions and recommendations for future phases
The Scheme has generated a wide range of insights on CYP and related policies issues – but findings are somewhat disparate. Given that calls to date have not mandated specific attention to CYP issues, it is encouraging that 47% of grants either have generated, or have the potential to generate, insights on CYP. Furthermore, of the grants that have generated insights on CYP, two-thirds have had a strong or moderate focus on CYP and led to detailed insights. However, the wide range of issues these research grants covered means the scheme has not generated a cohesive body of knowledge on CYP. If the ESRC and DFID wish to generate a more cohesive body of knowledge on CYP via this scheme, we recommend giving CYP issues more prominence in research calls and giving a stronger mandate and guidance on the desirability of a child/youth focus. Specifically:

1. More focused research calls. If ESRC–DFID wishes to generate a more coherent body of knowledge on CYP, it should consider framing one or more overarching questions in future calls with an explicit or clearer CYP focus. For example, the question in Call 3 documents about factors underlying moves in and out of poverty could probe more explicitly intergenerational poverty cycles and ways of breaking them.

2. Consider giving more explicit guidance/mandate on the use of age/youth lens in future rounds. The insights on CYP that have been generated as a result of applying an age lens in sectorally focused research have been very revealing (e.g. Bryceson, Newell, Kantor and Pain) and, in some cases, of strong relevance for improving policy and practice in particular fields. Although all calls encourage researchers to include analysis of structural inequalities, including age, a stronger and more explicit mandate to include a child/youth lens would probably encourage more research on CYP and could help build a more coherent body of research. Grant-holders undertaking research on issues without an obvious CYP ‘angle’ may need encouragement or support to consider the potential added value of an age/youth lens, as many do not automatically do so and thus miss opportunities for generating CYP insights. Specifically, this guidance could encourage researchers to consider:
   • Examining the added value of a ‘youth lens’ upfront;
   • Extending the age range of people involved in qualitative research to include CYP;
   • Disaggregating among respondents more clearly so differences related to age/youth are more apparent in analysis and conclusions;
   • Disaggregating analysis of household data to reveal trends or patterns for CYP (particularly for income poverty data, where such analysis was notably absent);
• In CYP-focused research, disaggregating more consistently by economic strata, by geographical location and, where relevant, by other important social differences, such as ethnicity or religion;
• Making wider use of data on children collected for specialised indices.

3. Encourage more direct research with CYP. Thirteen grants (30% of the grants generating insights on CYP and 10% of all grants) presented CYP’s insights in their own words. This is a relatively low proportion. Given that direct insights from CYP can often shift researchers’ interpretation of findings and framing of research problems, the degree of insight on CYP and thus on many policy issues related to the MDGs could be enhanced by guidance encouraging more direct research with CYP.

4. Encourage more use of data and/or projects that examine change in CYP wellbeing over time. More use of longitudinal data is vital for understanding critical points of intervention to interrupt life-course and intergenerational transmission of poverty. A longer-term perspective, making use of qualitative and quantitative data, is also essential for better understanding issues related to cultural and technological change and their implications for children and for better understanding the factors that contribute to, and undermine the effectiveness of, policies for improving CYP wellbeing.

5. Highlight priority CYP-related knowledge gaps as issues of interest in future calls. As Table 1 and the discussion in Section 9.2.2 show, there are notable gaps in relation both to contemporary policy agendas on CYP and the broader developmental processes that affect CYP wellbeing.

Some notable gaps in relation to the broader developmental context include:

• Role of social movements in generating change that improves CYP wellbeing. Research on achieving policy targets often pays limited attention to the role of political and social mobilisation in achieving cultural and policy change. Further research into the role of social movements in change that improves the wellbeing of children or young people as cohorts or different groups of CYP is a vital complement to policy-focused research, and into the specific framing of mobilisation that generates change for children (noting, e.g., that women’s movements have often marginalised issues related to girls’ wellbeing). Such research could helpfully probe both processes of mobilisation that lead to norm change (and are broadly focused on bottom-up change) and those that focus on policy change (typically top-down change). Within this, greater attention to the role of CYP in (or exclusion of CYP from) movements for change is needed. Given that political alienation of young people is often argued to influence political instability, though evidence is rather contradictory, further probing in this area is of clear relevance.
• Role of religion and related political ideologies as forces affecting CYP wellbeing. Religion and related political ideologies are becoming increasingly significant political forces in many parts of the world. They have the potential to motivate wellbeing-enhancing change for CYP but also to promote models of familial relations that undermine aspects of CYP wellbeing. Conservative religious movements are often hostile both to the concept of children’s rights in general and to gender-egalitarian change in particular. Understanding how progressive movements and policy advocates have successfully promoted change that enhances CYP wellbeing in contexts where religious and political conservatism is dominant could provide useful wider lessons on the political conditions for successful poverty reduction, a priority issue in Phase 3.
• Conflict and insecurity. Despite the scheme’s focus on conflict and instability in Phase 3, to date only two projects have generated insights on CYP and conflict or urban violence. In part, this reflects an upstream focus on institutional arrangements rather than social impacts among conflict- and instability-oriented grants. In the next phase, a more systematic focus on different social groups in conflict prevention and overcoming violence and instability and a particular focus on young people (both men and women) in peace-building would help redress this. Recognising that norms condoning violence (or glamourising it in some contexts) are formed before adolescence, an age lens should include children as well as young people.

With respect to CYP as a cohort, the following are important gaps:

1. Importance of and most effective ways of interrupting life-course and intergenerational transmission of poverty. What is most critical in enabling children born poor or poor for much of their childhoods to escape poverty in adulthood? There is a neat fit with the first overarching question for Phase 3, ‘What approaches are most effective in enabling the poorest to exit and stay out of poverty, and under what conditions can such approaches be replicated elsewhere and at scale?’ While broader than the SDG goals and targets, research on this theme would link neatly with SDG 1. It could also encompass analysis of the long-term effectiveness of policies and programmes in some of the main areas of CYP focus outlined in the SDGs, such as strategies for extending access to quality education at all levels; strategies for increasing young people’s access to decent work; and strategies for combating child labour.

2. Social exclusion. The ways processes of social exclusion affect CYP and ways of overcoming such exclusion have received little consolidated attention in these grants. More attention to effective approaches to promoting
inclusion, particularly among marginalised youth and young people in politically fragile environments, is needed. Furthermore, there are good arguments for not over-focusing on relatively small ‘vulnerable groups’ that have captured policy imagination to the detriment of a much larger group of poor children with no ‘special’ vulnerabilities. However, the pendulum should not swing so far that the exclusion and marginalisation of particular groups is reinforced by their invisibility in research. Where identity-based exclusion underpins poverty and/or social unrest, further attention to ways of combating discrimination and promoting inclusion of affected young people is crucial and fits with overarching questions and cross-cutting issues on the exit from poverty, on insecurity and on inequalities.

3. Formation of social norms affecting key development issues in childhood and adolescence. Specifically, how far social norms on key issues related to poverty, social inclusion and inequality, gender and masculinity, violence, healthy behaviour, child-rearing and climate change are formed in childhood, adolescence and youth and how far they can be shifted through communication processes focused on norm change in later life.

To avoid repeating the analysis in Table 1, we highlight some issues of focus in the SDGs where particular knowledge gaps exist that, to the best of our knowledge, other major research programmes are not filling:

1. **Education**, particularly related to effective strategies for extending disadvantaged groups’ access and improving quality at all levels, including pre- and post-school education; synthesising the experience of education reform and development programmes; and further research into the potential and limitations of low-cost private schooling in low-income countries.

2. **Health**: Improving adolescent girls’ nutrition and effective strategies for combating childhood and youth obesity, substance abuse and accidental injury and death. Special attention should also be paid to emotional/psychological wellbeing, given the significance of mental health conditions as factors underlying adolescent mortality and morbidity. 28

3. **Violence against children and child protection**: The body of consolidated knowledge on effective approaches to child protection remains thin. That on challenging norms that underpin child protection violations (e.g. in the areas of physical abuse or neglect/inadequate care) is particularly so (Marcus, 2014). Research on violence against children (e.g. sexual violence) is often subsumed into research on gender-based violence, often meaning the loss of an age perspective and the specific experiences of children. The current emphasis on violence against girls and women and on norms of masculinity that uphold violence, while necessary, means boys’ experience of violence as victims, rather than perpetrators, and gender-sensitive strategies that meet boys’ as well as girls’ protection needs are often obscured. There are strong linkages to other under-researched areas, including CYP and violence in fragile political contexts, mobility, safe transport and public spaces and effective strategies for achieving sanitation for all.

4. **Care economy**: SDG 5 mandates efforts to equalise intra-household divisions of labour on care activities. This is framed largely in terms of equality between men and women. There are several CYP lenses on the care economy, all under-researched: effective approaches to providing care for young children while their parents/guardians are working; CYP as carers of siblings, sick adults and elders; the ways in which gendered divisions of care responsibility affect children’s developmental opportunities; and effective approaches to norm change around care responsibilities (that avoid increasing children’s burdens and particularly those of girls).

5. **Climate change**: As Table 1 noted, there is a specific gap in consolidating knowledge on effective integration of a CYP focus in climate adaptation and resilience planning and in disaster risk reduction. Looking forward, greater understanding of CYP attitudes to climate change in high carbon-emitting middle-income countries, and the scope for greater social mobilisation among CYP for action on climate change, is a critical strategic knowledge gap.

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28 Recent World Health Organization (WHO) data indicate that mental health issues are now leading causes of morbidity among adolescents aged 10-14, and that suicide is the third most significant killer of adolescents aged up to 19 years, http://www.who.int/maternal_child_adolescent/epidemiology/adolescence/en/, accessed 8 December 2014.
References from grant outputs


Campbell, C., Andersen, L., Mutsikiwa, A., Pufall, E., Skovdal, M., Madanhire, C., Nyamukapa, C. and Gregson, S. (2014b) ‘Factors Shaping the HIV-Competence of Two Primary Schools in Rural Zimbabwe’. International Journal of Educational Development http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2014.05.007


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Additional references


## Annex 1: Overview of grants with insights on children and young people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author and project title</th>
<th>Theme of CYP insights</th>
<th>Research objective and approach</th>
<th>Key research questions</th>
<th>Key findings</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ansell, N.: Averting ‘New Variant Famine’ in Southern Africa: Building Food-Secure Livelihoods with AIDS-Affected Young People</td>
<td>Livelihoods, education, vulnerability, social protection, transitions to adulthood</td>
<td>This project examined the impacts of the AIDS pandemic on young people’s livelihoods in rural Lesotho and Malawi and aimed to test the relevance of the ‘new variant famine’ hypothesis - the idea that AIDS may fundamentally undermine food security in significantly affected areas. It examined how far parental AIDS death undermines young people’s ability to develop productive rural livelihoods, e.g. through loss of assets or because crucial knowledge is not passed on. The research involved 2 in-depth case studies, one in Lesotho, one in Malawi, and key methods included community and household profiling, participatory research and in-depth interviews with CYP and policy-maker interviewees.</td>
<td>1. In what ways are AIDS-affected/unaffected young people involved in livelihood strategies? 2. What livelihood opportunities are available to AIDS-affected young people and what shapes access to these? 3. How do AIDS-affected young people make decisions about livelihoods in their transitions to adulthood? 4. Do the livelihood strategies adopted increase or decrease long-term vulnerability? 5. How might AIDS-affected young people’s prospects of achieving sustainable rural livelihoods as adults be enhanced?</td>
<td>The only systematic difference between AIDS-affected and unaffected young people in this sample was that the former tend to stay in school longer. While this is not generalisable beyond the 2 case study villages, it emphasises that children drop out of school for a range of reasons unrelated to HIV/AIDS. When AIDS strikes it is a key issue and can significantly affect young people’s transitions from school to work and into marriage and parenthood. All rural young people would benefit from greater vocational training, asset-building opportunities and social protection; there is no case for targeting AIDS-affected youth.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Altanasio, O.: Human Development and Poverty Reduction in Developing Countries</td>
<td>Social protection, education, nutrition, livelihoods</td>
<td>With other funding, contributed to programmes that generated data on or led to 1) measurement tools for household expectations and social capital; 2) evaluations of conditional cash transfer impact, conditionality in cash transfers and youth training schemes; 3) structural analysis of the determinants of human capital (nutrition and child care choices, education choices, household head departures, health insurance, shocks and household consumption, returns to education, wages and family networks); 4) the impact of social networks on health-seeking behaviour. All analysis involved secondary analysis of datasets.</td>
<td>The main objectives of this research were 1) to better understand the processes through which human capital is accumulated in developing countries; and 2) how this process can lead to reductions in poverty in both the short and the long run. The research also examines the various aspects of the process through which poor households in developing countries (Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Indonesia, Mexico and Nepal) make decisions that affect the accumulation of human capital.</td>
<td>1. Colombia’s Familias en Acción conditional cash transfer increased school participation of 14-17 year olds by 5-7 %, with lower effects on enrolment of younger children (1-3%), and contributed to reduced child labour. Children aged 10-13 completed 13 % less domestic work because of the transfer, while children aged 14-17 experienced a 10 % reduction. 2. Chile Solidario had important impacts on the employment and income of heads of households, especially young males. 3. High levels of violence encourage households to leave their municipality of residence but welfare programmes, such as the cash transfer programme under study, may mitigate these flows. 4. There is increasing evidence that conditional cash transfers have not only an impact on the level of consumption but also on the structure of expenditure, e.g. Oportunidades in Mexico helped increase household protein consumption. 5. Jóvenes en Acción in Colombia (a youth training programme): participants earn about 12 % more than non-participants with the effects greatest for women. 6. Child care and nutrition programmes in Colombia have the greatest impact on the poorest families, but serve different groups of families and there is a case for continuing both.</td>
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<td>Baulch, R.: Ethnic Minority Under-Development in Vietnam</td>
<td>Education, social exclusion</td>
<td>This research examined why ethnic minority peoples have failed to share equally in the benefits of Vietnam’s economic growth, focusing on the factors that contribute to ethnic minority poverty for different groups in Vietnam, as well as trends in the living standards gap between ethnic minorities and the majority population. It involved the econometric analysis of Vietnam Household Living Standards Surveys for 1993, 1998 and 2004.</td>
<td>1. Which ethnic groups have benefited the most/least from Vietnam’s recent economic growth? 2. Why has the ethnic gap in living standards increased over time? 3. Do ethnic minority groups experience unequal treatment (i) on average and (ii) at different points in the welfare distribution? 4. Which policies have succeeded and which have failed in promoting ethnic minority development in Vietnam?</td>
<td>1. The Kinh ethnic group have been the primary beneficiaries of economic growth, followed by the Chinese, Khmer and Cham. 2. The gap owes to household endowments and community characteristics. Ethnic differences in household structure are more important than education and commune characteristics in explaining the gap. 3. Although most provinces have their own small programmes aimed at promoting agricultural livelihoods among ethnic minorities, significant gaps between the required and actual budgets for many policies and programmes are common. 4. There is uneven interpretation and implementation of policy on school fee exemptions for ethnic minorities.</td>
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<td>Bautista, S.: Impact Evaluation of Performance-Based</td>
<td>Health, nutrition</td>
<td>This Rwanda-based research aimed to fill a global knowledge gap as to whether PBF for general health and HIV/AIDS services was a feasible method for increasing access to health services, improving quality and significantly improving health outcomes. Using the research tested the following hypotheses: PBF 1) improves the motivation and behaviours of the HIV/AIDS service providers; 2) increases the quantity of HIV/AIDS health services delivered; 3) PBF led to an increase in institutional deliveries. Preventive care visits for children aged 23 months and younger increased by 64% and for children aged 24-58 months by 133%. It has significant positive effects on</td>
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Author and project title | Theme of CYP Insights | Research objective and approach | Key research questions | Key findings
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Financing for General Health and HIV/AIDS Services in Rwanda |  | baseline and post-intervention data (facility and household-level surveys) following a pilot of PBF, the study aimed to evaluate the impact of PBF on the motivation of the HIV/AIDS health care workers, the quality of the HIV/AIDS services, the mix of HIV/AIDS services offered and the improvements in health status of HIV+ patients. | improves the quality of the HIV/AIDS services provided; 4) improves the health status of the HIV+ patients; 5) improves the mix of HIV/AIDS health services provided to infected patients. | weight-for-age of children 0-11 months and height-for-age of children 24-49 months.

Bhalotra, S.: Religion and Childhood Death in India | Health, social exclusion | This study analysed data from 3 rounds of the National Family Health Survey of India, conducted in 1992/93, 1998/99 and 2005/06, to explore differences in child survival between Hindus and Muslims of different socioeconomic status. It aimed to highlight the issue of the impact of religion, which has been little explored in academic or policy literature. | 1. Investigate i) whether Muslims exhibit the same advantage within villages as they do overall, ii) the extent to which differences between Hindus and Muslims explain the religion differential and iii) whether the Muslim advantage in survival goes along with a Muslim advantage in child nutritional status. 2. Consider birth-spacing and fertility in the analysis of child mortality. 3. Test the hypothesis that maternal health in Hindu families is worse than in Muslim families by investigating differentials in height growth across 31 birth cohorts of men and women across religious groups. 4. Consider differences in the extent of female foeticide by religion. 5. Analyse religion (and caste) differentials in education. | 1. By age 5, the Muslim survival advantage over upper-caste Hindus is 1.3%, or about 10% of baseline mortality risk, and the advantage relative to lower-caste Hindus is larger. Muslims exhibit lower son preference in terms of a lower sex ratio at birth and a smaller gender gap in child mortality. 2. Almost all the Muslim advantage in under-5 mortality over high-caste Hindus is unexplained by differences in community characteristics, as is at least half of their advantage over low-caste Hindus. 3. Muslim advantage in survival persists in fertility, although Muslims tend to have higher fertility and shorter birth intervals. 4. Sex-selective abortion is more prevalent among Hindu than Muslim families. 5. 70-80% of the enrolment gap between high- and low-caste Hindus is explained by the weaker socioeconomic characteristics of the low-caste group. However, Muslim children show a substantial deficit in education relative to Hindus. 6. Muslim (and Christian) women have gained height more rapidly than men while growth of Hindu women has lagged behind that of Hindu men, indicating religion-related cultural differences in women’s status. The students (aged approximately 16-22 years) were very conscious of their involvement in cultural and social identity transformation compared with youth in the surrounding rural countryside. Many felt torn between pursuing their education and earning money as miners, but almost all desired a future that would afford them high earnings that did not entail the hard manual labour and uncertainty of mining. Some girls and young women were reported to be engaging in transactional sex with miners, though there was a range of types of union from transactional sex through to legally recognised marriage.

Brysson, D.: Urban Growth and Poverty in Mining Africa | Livelihoods, health, education, transition to adulthood | This research examined the interrelationships between the production of diamonds and gold and urban development in Angola, Ghana and Tanzania within three types of sites: large-scale mining settlements, mature artisanal sites and new artisanal rush sites. The aim was to understand the population dynamics of migration and settlement in relation to the trajectory of mineral discovery and depletion. Methods included a survey, interviews, focus group discussions and a ‘digging-down’ exercise with school children, to express their perceptions of life in mining settlements in various art forms under the guidance of their teachers. | How do urban growth patterns reflect mining activity? | How, and to what extent, are rates of induced abortion and contraception related? Is abortion the outcome of an unmet need for contraception? 15-19-year-old girls and young women were considerably more likely to undergo unsafe abortions than any other age group (16% of the sample comprised 15-19 year olds who...
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<td>Zambia: The Socioeconomic Costs</td>
<td>households and the implications for policy-making and service provision. It used mixed methods: quantitative surveys, use of hospital records, in-depth interviews with those who had sought post-abortion care and policy-maker interviews. The subsequent (ongoing) impact grant will conduct dissemination activities to engage with health professionals involved in providing or referring for abortion-related care, international NGOs involved in abortion care delivery and members of civil society and parliament in addition to international academics and advocacy NGOs. It includes capacity building, web-based material, radio phone-in shows and briefing meetings.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>had reported an unsafe abortion, compared with 10% of the sample having a hospital abortion. Although more young women in the 20-24-year age group reported hospital abortion than unsafe abortions, the numbers undergoing unsafe abortions were much higher for older age groups (13%) of women reporting an unsafe abortion aged 20-24, as compared with 3-5% of older age cohorts. Key reasons for undergoing unsafe abortions are lack of knowledge about how to obtain a safe legal abortion. For young women, the desire to complete their education and the costs of raising a child are typically the most common reasons for ending a pregnancy.</td>
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<td>De Neve, G.: Transforming Livelihoods: Work, Migration and Poverty in the Tirupur Garment Cluster, India</td>
<td>Livelihoods, youth employment, transition to adulthood</td>
<td>This interdisciplinary research looked at the livelihood impacts of integration into the global economy, with a focus on migrants and garment workers, in one rural and one urban site. The fieldwork involved surveys, interviews, observation and life histories.</td>
<td>1. To enhance understanding of the impacts of industrial expansion on urban and rural households in developing countries. 2. To improve understanding of persistent poverty and ‘poverty traps’ in areas of rapid economic growth. 3. To investigate changing patterns of rural and agricultural change in industrialising regions and the changing connections between agriculture and industry. 4. To explore how industrial transformation affects the life of workers in broader terms, especially with reference to poverty and inequality, development of human capital and opportunities for upward mobility. 5. To inform policy interventions by the state, multinational corporations and international NGOs that aim to reduce poverty and improve livelihoods.</td>
<td>Garment work has become a desirable form of employment for both daily commuters and longer-distance migrants, not least because the industry offers relatively high wage levels. Young women enter this work and find freedom from household domestic work by living in hostels or company accommodation, but working hours are irregular and they are expected to work consecutive night shifts and/or weekends at peak production times. Some mothers who work in small checking units bring their children with them to work; these roles are flexible but considered to require lower skill and thus command lower wages than more intense forms of labour.</td>
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<td>Falkingham, J.: Left Behind in Transition? The Wellbeing of Older People in Central Asia and the Caucasus</td>
<td>Migration, nutrition, health, social protection, violence</td>
<td>Analysis of datasets (household surveys) and qualitative research involving interviews and focus groups with older people in Kyrgyzstan, Moldova and Tajikistan.</td>
<td>This project examines the living conditions and sources of finance and social support among older people living in the poorest countries of the former Soviet Union.</td>
<td>There was evidence in all three countries of grandparents taking care of grandchildren whose parents had migrated. In Moldova, where out-migration has been highest, 7 of 9 children in villages and 1 in 2 in towns live with their grandparents. Respondents almost universally agreed that young people in Moldova were compelled to migrate in order to survive, and the most common reason reported by older people for the migration of their relatives was financial. The ‘skipped generation’ family model, consisting of grandparents and grandchildren, has become normal in some communities, although older people find caring for grandchildren challenging and there is some evidence that children’s educational and emotional wellbeing is negatively affected by parental migration.</td>
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<td>Hannum, E: The Gansu Survey of Children and Families (GSCF), Wave 3</td>
<td>Health and nutrition, education, livelihoods, social protection, violence</td>
<td>Using the GSCF, a longitudinal survey of 2,000 children who were 8-12 years old when they were first interviewed in the year 2000 (GSCF-1) and who were re-interviewed at ages 13-16 in 2004 (GSCF-2), this study analyses the relationship between a number of child wellbeing outcomes and other factors (household shocks, parental migration, policy change etc.).</td>
<td>1. What are the impacts of childhood nutrition and health on subsequent education outcomes? 2. What are the impacts of childhood nutrition and health on indicators of psychosocial wellbeing? 3. What is the correlation between psychological wellbeing and education outcomes, and how does the evolution of behavioural and psychological problems over time vary by family, school and community characteristics? 4. What are the impacts of childhood nutrition and health, both directly and indirectly through education, on the labour force productivity of young adults? 5. What are the impacts of childhood nutrition and health on school attendance? 6. What are the impacts of childhood nutrition and health on the decision to stay in school or enter the workforce? 7. How education outcomes, including specific cognitive skills, affect the labour force productivity of young adults? 8. The poorest children are at greatest risk of poor nutritional environments, food insecurity, stunting and wasting, and GSCF evidence suggests a causal impact of income shocks on nutritional deprivation. Home nutritional environment, food insecurity and early nutritional deprivation predict achievement, though some effects of early nutritional deprivation on achievement dissipate over time or with controls for earlier achievements. 2. The impact of early childhood health shocks on psychological wellbeing is more pronounced at ages 8-12 than at ages 13-16. Children’s reports of immediate hunger are associated with disruptive behaviour in the classroom, and with mental health (internalising and externalising) problems. 3. Boys and girls in later stages of adolescence are increasingly vulnerable to internalising problems, and higher levels of ‘cumulative adversity’ are associated with more internalising problems among boys. 4. Psychological wellbeing is positively associated with staying in school and negatively associated with entering the workforce. Test scores and early performance predict school continuation for girls and boys.</td>
<td>1. The poorest children are at greatest risk of poor nutritional environments, food insecurity, stunting and wasting, and GSCF evidence suggests a causal impact of income shocks on nutritional deprivation. Home nutritional environment, food insecurity and early nutritional deprivation predict achievement, though some effects of early nutritional deprivation on achievement dissipate over time or with controls for earlier achievements. 2. The impact of early childhood health shocks on psychological wellbeing is more pronounced at ages 8-12 than at ages 13-16. Children’s reports of immediate hunger are associated with disruptive behaviour in the classroom, and with mental health (internalising and externalising) problems. 3. Boys and girls in later stages of adolescence are increasingly vulnerable to internalising problems, and higher levels of ‘cumulative adversity’ are associated with more internalising problems among boys. 4. Psychological wellbeing is positively associated with staying in school and negatively associated with entering the workforce. Test scores and early performance predict school continuation for girls and boys.</td>
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<td>Harriss-White, B.</td>
<td>Livelihoods, education</td>
<td>Based on a case study of Armi in Tamil Nadu, this trans-disciplinary pilot project developed methods to study the informal economy’s materiality within a system of rice growing. It united life-cycle analysis (from environmental science) with value chain/production system analysis (from management science and economics) and decent work criteria (from labour studies) to explore how capital, technology and labour are combined to produce commodities and greenhouse gases. Multi-criteria analysis then explored the costs and incommensurable trade-offs of technology lowering greenhouse gases and improving livelihoods. Data were collected from semi-tropical regions and four production technologies were styled, for large and small units (high-yield varieties, systems of rice intensification, ‘labelled’ organic rice and rain-fed rice); and four distribution channels (informal distribution, partially regulated markets, supermarket supply chains and state public distribution systems).</td>
<td>1. Why does regulation formally intend to cover the entire economy but not do so? 2. How can formal yet illegal wages be attracting to workers? 3. How can we measure and monitor the informal economy?</td>
<td>In Armi, business funds from success in the rice industry have been invested in the development of private schools, including a girls engineering college. In the future, a ‘something of an ‘education hub’ has developed and all members of the population interview place a very high value on education, particularly science and maths subjects, reflecting aspirations for careers in IT and engineering.</td>
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<td>Houweling, A.</td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>In order to understand how to effectively reach poor and otherwise disadvantaged groups, and how to address socio-economic inequalities in mortality, the research aimed to discover 1) how socioeconomic inequalities translate into inequalities in newborn and maternal mortality; 2) how to address the exclusion of poor and otherwise disadvantaged groups from efforts to achieve the MDGs; and 3) how to address the exclusion of poor and otherwise disadvantaged groups from efforts to achieve the MDGs by using data from 6 surveillance sites in Bangladesh, India, Malawi and Nepal.</td>
<td>1. What importance do the stakeholders and/or the organizations they represent attach to ensuring their policies/programmes/projects contribute to reducing socioeconomic inequalities in maternal and newborn health? Are the aims of the organizations/programmes framed in terms of improving average outcomes and/or in terms of reducing inequalities between socioeconomic groups? Why? 2. What are the main barriers to reaching lower socioeconomic groups with maternal and newborn health interventions? Which factors contributed to successfully reaching lower socioeconomic groups? How? In which settings will these factors be important? Will these factors be different in other settings? 3. What evidence do the stakeholders need and currently miss to ensure that their organization/project can reach lower socioeconomic groups?</td>
<td>All stakeholders recognised socioeconomic inequalities in health as an important problem, although not all their organisations had explicitly formulated aims to reduce these inequalities. Problems in the public health sector, in terms of availability of services and personnel in areas where lower socioeconomic groups live, and costs of care to the household, were mentioned as important barriers to reaching lower socioeconomic groups. Participation in joint women’s groups contributed to reduced neonatal mortality in Nepal, Malawi (but not Bangladesh), a result attributed to a shortage of such groups.</td>
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<td>Justino, P.</td>
<td>Conflict, nutrition</td>
<td>The main purpose of this project is to analyse how the relationship between populations living in areas of conflict and armed volatile conflict or contesting those areas results in forms of local governance and order, and how these in turn affect the access to and effectiveness of livelihoods. It is based on qualitative and quantitative empirical work in Colombia, India, Lebanon, Niger and South Africa; some of this involves reworking data and some new research. However, the overall methodology of the project is not clear from the outputs currently available.</td>
<td>To investigate, theoretically and empirically, the emergence of local regimes of order in areas of violent conflict, and how these shape the type and effectiveness of strategies employed by individuals and communities to cope with daily threats to livelihoods in order to mitigate exposure to poverty and destitution.</td>
<td>Children in areas of violent conflict are on average 0.89 and 1.7 standard deviations shorter than the reference population in 2002 and 2006, respectively. The proportion of stunted children increased from 22% to 30% over the period, as did the proportion of wasted children. Drought exerts a strong impact on malnutrition, but only when it occurs in a violent environment. Finally, political violence exerts a long-term impact on child malnutrition only indirectly, when its combination with drought prevents households from appropriately protecting children against adverse nutritional shocks.</td>
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<td>Kantor, P. and Pain, A.</td>
<td>Education, livelihoods, transition to adulthood</td>
<td>This grant studied the livelihood transformations and poverty outcomes of 64 rural Afghan households since 2002, using retrospective research techniques in 3 areas. Data collection involved household interviews with men and women and observation as well as key informant interviews. This research also considers the reasons behind young people’s decision to migrate through interviews with families in Afghanistan. There is also a spin-off paper that directly examines youth and labour markets.</td>
<td>1. Rigorously examine processes of livelihood transformations and their poverty outcomes in rural Afghanistan, across varying social, political and economic contexts defined by varying degrees of formality and informality. 2. Examine the relevance and refine the application of the welfare regimes typology to rural Afghanistan, and test and develop the Faustinian bargain concept (i.e. discounting future rights and opportunities in favour of present security). 3. Apply the understanding developed through in-depth study of livelihood transformations within the framework of welfare regimes, risk and trade-offs.</td>
<td>Migration to Iran and Dubai to work is a common decision made by young men. Migration is both an economic choice and also sometimes a decision made in order to escape an undesired marriage. In Kandahar, young men were choosing to migrate even when their household was relatively successfully economically. In Badakhshan, migration seems to be more local and seasonal, in response to immediate household needs. The need for money in order to marry is also a push factor in migration, related to the rising costs of marriage and fear of political insecurity at home.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lehrer, K.</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>This study explored the opportunities of senior high school graduates after graduation. It used a nationally representative survey of students and recent graduates from 136 randomly sampled senior high schools throughout Ghana, which collected information from 2008 to 2012 regarding employment status and job search activities, post-secondary school applications and attendance, expectations and life satisfaction.</td>
<td>Graduation rates and exam scores increase significantly as a result of a change from three to four years of senior high school. However, in Ghana a substantial proportion of senior high school graduates do not move more quickly into tertiary institutions or the labour market, as they overestimate their ability, and retake the senior high course.</td>
<td>1. Why does regulation formally intend to cover the entire economy but not do so? 2. How can formal yet illegal wages be attracting to workers? 3. How can we measure and monitor the informal economy?</td>
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<td>Author and Project Title</td>
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<td>Morley, L.: Widening Participation in Higher Education in Ghana and Tanzania: Developing an Equity Scorecard</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>These students and recent graduates were interviewed at regular intervals, creating a panel dataset of socioeconomic characteristics of senior high school graduates in the years following their graduation.</td>
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<td>This research illuminated the effectiveness of widening participation policies in higher education in relation to gender, SES and age. The project investigated which groups are entering higher education in Ghana and Tanzania, and how different social groups fare in terms of retention, achievement and experiences of higher education. It used mixed methods: qualitative (interviews) and quantitative (educational access and achievement data).</td>
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<td>of senior high school graduates to work and post-secondary education in Ghana.</td>
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<td>1. To explore the role universities are playing in poverty reduction to achieve the MDGs.</td>
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<td>2. To build theory about sociocultural aspects of higher education in low-income countries and provide new knowledge, insight and literature that could contribute to making higher education more socially inclusive.</td>
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<td>3. To provide a comprehensive statistical overview of patterns of participation and achievement in higher education in Ghana and Tanzania.</td>
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<td>4. To provide qualitative data that will help explain patterns and trends in statistical data and provide more textured information about enablers and barriers to participation and achievement for underrepresented groups in higher education.</td>
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<td>5. To devise Equity Scorecards to evaluate the effectiveness of existing policy interventions to promote inclusion in the case study institutions.</td>
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<td>Moser, C.: Understanding the Tipping Point of Urban Conflict: Violence, Cities, and Poverty Reduction in the Developing World</td>
<td>Livelihoods, violence, social exclusion</td>
<td>This project developed a comparative case study in order to understand how and why urban conflict tips into violence with a focus on four key factors: 1) poverty; 2) youth bulges; 3) political exclusion; and 4) gender-based insecurity. It used qualitative and quantitative research in Nairobi, Santiago, Patna and Dili using participatory and inductive methodologies.</td>
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<td>1. Does the conventional wisdom concerning global urban violence provide robust causal interpretations for the tipping of urban conflict into overt violence in cities in the developing world?</td>
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<td>2. Can the identification of ‘violence chains’ help develop alternative violence reduction solutions for the poor?</td>
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<td>3. How can poor communities best introduce new codes of negotiation with violent social actors and local authorities to ensure safer local environments that no longer erode the community and household assets of the poor?</td>
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<td>Newell, J.: Understanding Tuberculosis-Related Stigma in Asia</td>
<td>Health, social exclusion</td>
<td>The overall objective of this research was to gather new empirical evidence and develop further theoretical understanding of the mechanisms of stigma associated with tuberculosis in Asia (Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan). The study was qualitative, making use of in-depth interviews and focus groups.</td>
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<td>To gather new empirical evidence and develop further theoretical understanding of the mechanisms of stigma associated with tuberculosis in Asia.</td>
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<td>Noble, M.: Lone Mothers in South Africa – The Role of Social Security in Respecting and Protecting Dignity</td>
<td>Income poverty, social protection, social exclusion</td>
<td>This research explored the meaning of dignity in ‘lone mothers’ lives and the extent to which existing or potential social security provision (the CSO) protects or erodes their dignity. As well as speaking to young mothers, the project explored with policy-makers the extent to which they take into account people’s dignity in the process of social security design and implementation.</td>
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<td>1. How lone mothers interpret dignity in the context of their daily lives.</td>
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<td>2. How their lived experience of poverty and inequality impact on their dignity.</td>
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<td>3. The extent to which they regard social grants as respecting and protecting their dignity.</td>
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<td>4. How the experience of claiming social assistance intersects with their dignity.</td>
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<td>Porter, G.: The Impact of Mobile Phones on Young People’s Lives and Life Chances in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Three-Country Study to Inform Policy and Practice</td>
<td>Communications, Health, education, livelihoods, violence</td>
<td>This research builds directly on previous research on children’s mobility (in which baseline quantitative data and preliminary qualitative information were collected on mobile phone usage) to explore how the rapid expansion of mobile phone usage impacts on young lives. The project took a mixed methods, participatory child-centred approach (using ‘child researchers’) with a sample of 4,500 young people aged 9-25 in 24 sites across Ghana, Malawi and South Africa. It included the following data collection methods: story-based approaches, call registers to record everyday and exceptional phone use, collection of phone stories to record everyday and exceptional phone use. This research built on the research that mobile phones are a route to therapeutic resources such as contacting health care providers, getting money for health care, getting information and advice and phone-based healing. There is also a strong gendered discourse of phones as risky. The research found examples of physical and mental harm – e.g. going without food, weekly and daily credit, soliciting sex in exchange for airtime, receiving threatening calls and risk of theft. Mobile phones facilitate health-seeking through facilitating access to radio shows, allowing owners to search symptoms.</td>
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<td>How is the rapid expansion of mobile phone usage impacting on young lives and how can policy-makers support the positive aspects of change (and constrain negative elements)?</td>
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New knowledge on children and young people 81

Key research questions

- School leaving exam multiple times instead. If they do gain entry to university, they often wait up to 2.5 years before studying; during this time, the majority remain unemployed.
- Most higher education programmes enrolled very few (or no) low SES students; low SES students tended to be on programmes that led to lower-paid jobs in the labour market; fewer low SES students withdrew and they performed as well as, and sometimes better than, other groups; mature students are at most risk of withdrawal; women are underrepresented in science programmes and more women enter private – rather than public – universities. Students viewed higher education in terms of identity, transformation (‘becoming a somebody’), an escape route from poverty, enhanced self- efficacy and self-esteem; and national economic and social development. A central finding was that, while disability was associated with constraints, misrecognition, frustration, exclusion and even danger, students’ agency, advocacy and achievement in higher education offered opportunities for transforming their identities. The study found poor-quality teaching, resources and assessment were widely reported in both universities.
- This research showed that a combination of poverty, youth and political exclusion – is a general and contextual rather than causal factor in tipping urban fragility into violence. Both the DI and Nairobi studies showed young men – particularly those unemployed – often become instrumentally involved in violence as a consequence of being manipulated by other groups, including political parties. This suggests youth are generally not a driving force behind urban violence, and means city-level policy recommendations aiming to minimise the potential involvement of youth in violence should focus on providing them with realistic occupational alternatives in order to avoid their falling prey to manipulation by external agents.
- Marriage prospects are reduced for both young men and young women (most severely for women); this is related to fear that bride and tuberculosis will not be able to work hard and will infect others. The study also found (limited) evidence of divorce and family tensions based on tuberculosis status, especially in recent marriages (thus affecting young women disproportionately).
- There were concerns as to whether grants were large enough to meet children’s basic schooling needs. Respondents spoke of the shame they feel when they are unable to provide the things their child needs for their education. When women talked about the impact of receiving the CSO on their ability to provide care, there was some evidence that receipt of the grant made it easier to pay fees and for school lunches, which improved children’s experience of school. However, respondents also spoke with anger about the grant amount and how they struggle to meet the expenses associated with children’s schooling.
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<tr>
<th>Author and project title</th>
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<tr>
<td>Porter, G.: Children, Transport and Mobility in Sub-Saharan Africa: Developing a Child-Centred Evidence Base to Improve Policy and Change Thinking across Africa</td>
<td>Mobility, access to information, education, transitions to adulthood, violence</td>
<td>This project focused on the mobility constraints faced by children in accessing health, educational and other services in Sub-Saharan Africa, the lack of direct information on how these constraints impact on children’s current and future livelihood opportunities and the lack of guidelines on how to tackle them. The overarching objective was to provide an evidence base strong enough to substantially improve policy in the three focus countries: Ghana, Malawi and South Africa. The project used mixed methods and data collection tools included focus group discussions, interviews, accompanied walks, life histories, school essays, ethnographic notes and field diaries, observation and a quantitative survey.</td>
<td>1. To explore the practical and theoretical challenges of improving children’s physical accessibility to services in Sub-Saharan Africa, developing these beyond the traditional road and engineering concerns into the complexities of human reality. 2. To provide a substantial evidence base of how girls’ and boys’ rights to primary education and health in Sub-Saharan Africa are affected by issues of spatial mobility and transport. 3. To show how current constraints imposed by limitations of transport, mobility and accessibility to services impact on children’s current and future lives and gender dynamics and to sensitise policy-makers to these issues.</td>
<td>Receiving SMS health tips and additional information about soliciting money for health care. They are used by young people to support education, by contacting relatives/social connections to ask for school expenses, and – in South Africa, where smartphones are more common – to access information. There are concerns about young people missing school to access cheap airtime, and disruption of classes by students’ and teachers’ phones, but perceived difficulties in tackling these problems among policy-makers.</td>
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<td>Pridmore, P.: Nutritional Improvement for Children in Urban Chile and Kenya</td>
<td>Health and nutrition</td>
<td>This participatory action research in Kenya and Chile was used to design small-scale nutrition interventions that were evaluated at baseline and endline. The results of these surveys were measured quantitatively using weight-for-height, weight-for-age and height-for-age data collected in baseline and follow-up surveys. Can child malnutrition among families living in poverty in informal settlements in the cities of Mombasa in Kenya and Valparaiso in Chile be reduced through broadening community and stakeholder participation to change the social determinants of nutritional status?</td>
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<td>Pridmore, P.: Strengthening ODFL Systems to Increase Education Access and Attainment for Young People in High HIV Prevalence Southern African Development Community Countries</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>This research aimed to help two project countries (Lesotho and Malawi) increase access to learning for vulnerable school children living in high HIV-prevalence areas, through complementing classroom teaching with ODFL of the curriculum and strengthening support for learning. The objectives were: 1. To synthesise existing knowledge through reviewing literature and interviewing stakeholders to identify factors that disrupt schooling, analyse key ODFL initiatives and structures to increase access to education and describe the policy context for ODFL. 2. To generate new knowledge by developing case studies to describe factors that disrupt conventional schooling and learning in the study sites. 3. To increase understanding of how ODFL can be used to address these factors by conducting research with school teachers and field workers from community-based NGOs to develop and implement interventions to complement conventional schooling. 4. To evaluate the effectiveness of interventions in reducing student absenteeism, dropout and grade repetition.</td>
<td>1. Inform the development of a school-based educational intervention programme for children at risk of dropping out. 2. Evaluate the effectiveness of the intervention programmes.</td>
<td>Mobility constraints interacting with heavy work demands place a particularly strong constraint on rural girls’ education. Distance from school and perceived risks en route, coupled with a heavy workload at home, affect school attendance, punctuality (rendering children liable to corporal punishment) and performance; this can be the tipping point in the decision to withdraw from formal education, with inevitable impacts on livelihoods. Girls’ mobility constraints also limit their potential to build social networks needed to obtain work. Physical access presents a major barrier to health service use for children. Over a third of respondents said travel costs/difficulties had prevented them seeking health care in the preceding year. Load-carrying also presents a substantial burden on children; over 50% of both girls and boys in all Ghana survey sites complained of pain associated with head-loading.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quisumbing, A.: What Development Interventions Work? The Long-Term Impact and Cost-Effectiveness of Anti-Poverty Interventions in Bangladesh</td>
<td>Health and nutrition, education, livelihoods, social protection</td>
<td>This research project investigated 1) the long-term impacts of three anti-poverty interventions on per capita consumption, gender-disaggregated measures of monetary and non-monetary wellbeing and physical and human capital accumulation; 2) the underlying processes, at household, community and national levels, that have contributed to the success or failure of these interventions; and 3) the cost-effectiveness of the three interventions. Mixed methods were used: quantitative techniques included matching beneficiaries to comparable non-beneficiaries and panel data regression analysis of data from 511 households in rural Bangladesh; qualitative components involved</td>
<td>1. What are the long-term impacts of each intervention (microfinance, new agricultural technologies and educational transfers) on per capita consumption and gender-disaggregated measures of monetary and non-monetary wellbeing? 2. What is the impact of each intervention on physical and human capital accumulation? 3. What underlying processes, at household, community and national levels, have contributed to the success or failure of these interventions?</td>
<td>Despite the minimal monetary gains in the improved vegetables sites, early adopters of new technologies achieved sustained improvements in nutritional status, particularly women and children. The proportion of stunted girls (HAZ ≤ -2) decreased differentially by 28 percentage points, while the proportion of thin boys decreased differentially by 43 percentage points. Among fastfood adopters, whereas stunting and thinness rates for boys appear to have been higher among early adopters, these rates declined for boys in early adopting households over the long term.</td>
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<td>Rea-Dickins, P.: Student Performance in National Examinations: The Dynamics of Language in School Achievement</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>This research focuses on examination processes in three curriculum areas in Zanzibar (science, maths and English) and aims to 1) develop insights into the extent to which language factors contribute to poor examination achievement; and 2) identify factors that will raise the quality of examining processes, thereby enhancing students’ potential to demonstrate fully their conceptual understandings. The research used qualitative and quantitative methods (systematic review, analysing exam results and the way exams are set, interviews and case studies).</td>
<td>4. Which of the three interventions is most cost-effective?</td>
<td>However, startling rates for girls were higher among early adopting families and there were no significant impacts on adult anthropometric measures. The PES, an educational transfer in Bangladesh, had a significant impact on grade progression as well as small nutrition outcomes for girls and boys. However, overall, medium-term impacts are small. While educational transfers were viewed positively in the life histories of 29% of respondents, only 6% listed these transfers as a main cause of life improvement.</td>
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<td>Teal, F.: Finance and Formalisation as Mechanisms for Poverty Reduction in Africa</td>
<td>Livelihoods, education, youth employment</td>
<td>This project looked at wage differences between sectors and the impact of education on type of employment/wages and the availability of credit/finance. Quantitative longitudinal labour market survey information was collected on income, education, labour market experience and household characteristics in urban areas in Ghana and Tanzania.</td>
<td>1. Incidence: Who are the recipients of microfinance? Who participates in business registration and formalisation programs? 2. Impact: What is the causal impact of these policies on recipient incomes and poverty status?</td>
<td>The level of students’ English significantly contributes to school achievement. Moreover, some of the English teachers did not have a sufficient understanding of the language themselves to successfully teach students. Providing bilingual examination papers (Kiswahili and English) gives more students the opportunity to demonstrate their school learning.</td>
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<td>Thomas, S.: Improving Educational Evaluation and Quality in China</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>This research analysed school effectiveness in China using multilevel modeling in rural and urban secondary schools. It focused on 1) the impact of student characteristics and classroom, school and contextual factors on students’ attainment and progress at school; 2) the relevance of these factors in the evaluation of school performance in China; and 3) how western approaches to evaluating educational quality have been adopted and developed to take account of local contexts and priorities. The project started with a systematic literature review and aimed to lead to the development of innovation in education through work with policy-makers.</td>
<td>The study aimed to investigate the effectiveness and contextual features of innovative school evaluation methods to educational policy and practice in rural and urban secondary schools.</td>
<td>The returns to education are far higher in the large firm sector than in others, and in this sector they are linear not convex. While education, particularly at post-secondary level, is associated with far higher earnings, there is no evidence that the increase in earnings between 1968 and 2005 was a result of increased returns to education or increased levels of education. They resulted almost entirely from increases in earnings rates, for given levels of education, across all job types, particularly among the unskilled. Why unskilled earnings rates rose so rapidly is unclear. Among 15-24 year olds, an increasing proportion of this age group continue full-time education. For women: this proportion has increased from 16.5% to 32.3% and for men from 25.4% to 40.5%.</td>
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<td>Thomas, S.: Improving Teacher Development &amp; Educational Quality in China: Examining Schools as Professional Learning Communities</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>This research aimed to identify 1) the key features of effective teacher development and learning in China, taking into account local contexts and priorities; 2) the value, relevance and utility of the concept of professional learning communities in Chinese schools; and 3) the impact of teacher development factors, in addition to pupil, school and contextual factors, on students’ attainment and progress at school. The research was primarily quantitative and involved the analysis of longitudinal datasets, but also included some interviews with adult stakeholders.</td>
<td>Examine the aspects of teachers’ work as experienced within the context of a fast-developing emerging economy and identify the barriers impacting on the provision of good quality teaching.</td>
<td>There was clear consensus among stakeholders that quality education should be central around appropriate outcomes for students. It was felt to be important that the students received an education that contributed to their all-round development, and that they should be able to contribute to the economic prosperity of the nation. However, it was also clear from the responses that, in common with much research around the world, society in mainland China was changing. One significant change was the complex nature of student experience, which required a broader understanding of the lives of students so as to understand students’ social and emotional needs. The dual importance of a supportive school culture and appropriate classroom climate was also referred to by most interviewees.</td>
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<td>Timeaus, L.: Demographic and Poverty Dynamics in an African Population with High AIDS Mortality and</td>
<td>Education, social protection, health</td>
<td>This research explored the impact of deaths of working-age adults on household welfare and the determinants of differential vulnerability and resilience. It draws on 2 South African datasets based on household surveys and linked qualitative work that developed case studies of individual households.</td>
<td>1. Improve understanding of the impact of deaths of working-age adults on household welfare, responses and the determinants of differential vulnerability and resilience. 2. Examine the effects of demographic change, including the AIDS epidemic, on poverty dynamics across the life-course in South Africa.</td>
<td>Various continuing professional development activities were reported via stakeholder interviews and a survey of 17,000+ senior secondary teachers. However, inequity in resources was found between regions indicating greater training needs in the west. Peer observation, informal dialogue and teaching research group activities were considered to have highest impact on teachers’ development but the reality of individual reflective inquiry was questioned by some teachers. Orphans in South Africa do less well at school and in other ways than other children. This results not from poverty alone but from bereavement itself and the accompanying disruption in children’s living and schooling arrangements. Thus, the research indicates that orphans’ problems can only be addressed by targeted support.</td>
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<td>Wahba, J.: Temporary Migration and Economic Development: The Triple-Win Policy Vision Applied to North Africa</td>
<td>Education, migration, livelihoods</td>
<td>This project aims to highlight the determinants and impacts of return migration by focusing on two North African countries, Egypt and Morocco, which share similar domestic labour market problems, such as high youth unemployment and lack of jobs, but have different migration profiles in terms of gender, education and destination.</td>
<td>How can returning migrants positively impact on the source country and how can sending countries maximise its returns by supporting returnees?</td>
<td>Implementation affect participants’ incentives to comply with conditionality. The first round of a youth panel survey, in 2009, examined the relationship between education and migration aspirations. Youths who wished to migrate were found to invest more in their education than those who did not, with those who aimed to migrate to Europe making larger investments than those who aimed to migrate to the Gulf states. Analysis of a further round of data will commence in 2015 and look at the experience of new futures.</td>
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<td>Walker, M.: Development Discourses: Higher Education and Poverty Reduction in South Africa</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>The project aims were 1) to investigate the equity trajectory of higher education institutions and their role as ‘engines of reform’, using the lens of discourses of development and professional education; and 2) to make a contribution towards the achievement of the MDGs by developing a conceptual and practical application of human development and wellbeing through professional education and graduate professionals.</td>
<td>1. How can/ought professional education in universities form public good professionals who are able to contribute to poverty reduction in South Africa? 2. What is the explanatory, practical and normative value of the capability approach?</td>
<td>8 key professional capabilities were identified: 1) informed vision; 2) affiliation; 3) resilience; 4) involvement in collective struggle; 5) emotions; 6) integrity; 7) assurance and confidence; 8) disciplinary knowledge and practical skills. Educational arrangements to support the development of public good professionals were curriculum; appropriate pedagogies; encouraging professional ways of being; and attention to departmental cultures. 4 significant university dimensions were institutional culture; advancing critical, deliberation and responsibility; social engagement; and contributions to building just futures.</td>
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<td>Walker, R.: Shame, Social Exclusion and the Effectiveness of Anti-Poverty Programmes: A Study in 7 Countries</td>
<td>Social exclusion</td>
<td>This qualitative study sought to explore whether poverty is universally associated with a shame related to the inability to participate fully in society. It explored both cultural representations of shame in literature and in 7 countries over the preceding 150 years as well as a set of interviews in each country. In-depth interviews were conducted with a total of over 300 adults and children experiencing poverty as judged by local standards – children aged 10-18 were interviewed in 4 of the 7 countries (India, Pakistan, Uganda and the UK). Analyses were also conducted on samples of national and local newspapers to explore popular and policy discourses on poverty before undertaking analyses of policy documents.</td>
<td>1. Explore the social construction of shame as expressed in public discourse. 2. Identify the cultural coincidence of shame and poverty as revealed in public discourse. 3. Investigate how publics conceptualise poverty and people in poverty and whether in thought or deed they contribute to shaming people in poverty. 4. Explore how people directly experience poverty, social exclusion and shame and recognise connections between them. 5. Investigate how people in poverty i) characterise their exclusion or lack of engagement, with anti-poverty programmes; ii) programmes as diminishing dignity and individual agency or their converse and in what ways.</td>
<td>Children spoke of shame and unwillingness to invite school friends home because of their living conditions. They often despised parents; women despised their men-folk; and some men were reported to take out their self-loathing on their partners and children. Despite feeling they were trying their best, people felt they were failing. In 3/4 countries (less so in Pakistan), school reinforced shame and humiliation of poverty, as peers expressed children’s lack of specific possessions. At home, children’s reference points were limited such that the experience of extreme poverty sometimes seemed normal. School broached social and moral horizons but the stark differences it exposed were a source of shaming. Children, who were on the whole resigned to poverty, also occasionally admitted to being angry. This anger sometimes erupted when they were told they could not have the things they wanted, or stayed just below the surface, directed against their parents and society at large. Children in Uganda, e.g., were often deeply ashamed of their circumstances and blamed their parents, yet felt confused because they saw their parents struggling to feed and clothe them. Their counterparts in the UK also talked about anger and the need to control it when faced by peers gloating over possessions and derisively coaxing a response from those who could not afford them. Analysis is underway and the strength of statistical relationships is still being tested, but preliminary findings include the following. School dropout appears to be strongly related to low levels of parental education (particularly mothers’ education), and to birth order, with the youngest siblings being least likely to drop out – this may reflect family decision-making about which children to invest in. One reason for the importance of mothers’ education is that poorly educated mothers often find it hard to negotiate with schools and let children drop out rather than face situations where they lack confidence to deal with people in positions of authority. Interviews with young people found norms in flux about inter-caste and inter-religious love marriages, and an expectation that inter-caste marriages would be completely acceptable in the future. However, some young people in the study experienced the strength of norms.</td>
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<td>Wessels, M.: Inter-Agency Research on Strengthening Community- Based Child Protection for Vulnerable Children in Sierra Leone</td>
<td>Child protection, health</td>
<td>To help strengthen the evidence base on child protection in Sierra Leone, this study tested the effectiveness of community-designed interventions for linking community child protection mechanisms with government-led health and social welfare aspects of the national child protection system. In each of Moyamba and Bombali districts, comparisons were made over 2 years between 2 similar, rural chidlodras (1 of which has an intervention and the other of which does not). 2 surveys, delivered with an interval of 11 months, measured changes in risk and well-being outcomes in random samples of teenage girls and boys (13-19 years). These outcomes were derived from a mixture of local views and those of international child rights standards.</td>
<td>Evaluate the effectiveness of interventions for linking community child protection mechanisms with government-led health and social welfare aspects of the national child protection system. Using a survey of adolescents (13-19 years) this study reports on mid-term (T2) changes in contrast to the baseline. 1. Exposure to the intervention was found to increase with age and was particularly high among individuals who had a partner but were unmarried. 2. Between baseline and T2, the % of teenagers aged 15-17 in intervention areas who were willing to ask their partners to use a condom increased by 17.1 percentage points, whereas the control villages showed a decrease of 6.2 percentage points 3. Girls and adolescents who were exposed to the interventions were nearly twice as likely to report intending to say no to unwanted sex. 4. Girls and adolescents under 15 years in intervention areas showed a significant increase in their intentions to use condoms, regularly; the opposite was true in control areas. 5. Sexual activity was also found to have increased between T1 and T2 in control areas, while no increase occurred in intervention areas, suggesting possible signs of impact of the programme.</td>
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<td>Bobbington, A.: Social Movements and Poverty</td>
<td>Social protection, civic engagement, health and nutrition</td>
<td>Using mapping and case studies in both Peru and South Africa, this study sought to explore the significance of social movements to poor people and examine the strategic choices facing such grassroots movements, their preferred strategies and the effectiveness of these strategies in given political and economic contexts.</td>
<td>Research objectives: 1. Map the overall significance of social movements for poverty reduction. 2. Document and analyse the strategies used by these social movements. 3. Identify those social movement strategies that have secured enhanced inclusion and recognition, and the redistribution, transfer or generation of material benefits. 4. Analyse the influence of state regime type on social movements’ choice of strategy and their relative success. 5. Consider how social movements incorporate the poorest.</td>
<td>In Peru, the Vasco de Leoco (Glass of Milk) programme, around which there had been social movement mobilisation, resulted in limited nutritional benefits for children, was time consuming and did little to transform the political culture.</td>
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<td>Ceuvas, L. and Theobald, S.: Identifying Barriers to Tuberculosis Diagnosis and Treatment under a New Rapid Diagnostic Scheme</td>
<td>Health, child labour</td>
<td>This study sought to identify barriers to tuberculosis diagnosis and treatment uptake and to strengthen the evidence that accelerated diagnostic schemes could lead to increased access to treatment in high-incidence countries to inform whether new policies could facilitate diagnosis or inform how services had to be further modified to increase access. It used mixed methods, including large multi-country and multi-stage cross sectional surveys among adults attending diagnostic centres in Ethiopia, Nepal, Nigeria and Yemen, as well as qualitative interviews and focus group discussions with patients.</td>
<td>1. Identify barriers preventing adults from completing the diagnostic process for tuberculosis when examined through new accelerated schemes. 2. Establish whether accelerated schemes for diagnosis result in an increased uptake of treatment. 3. Identify changes required by health services to address these barriers.</td>
<td>There is some mention of how child care constraints made it hard for people to access treatment, and mentions of children selling fat (child labour) to help finance treatment. However, there is no consolidated analysis on this.</td>
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<td>Davila, J.: Local Governance, Urban Mobility and Poverty Reduction, Lessons from Medellin, Colombia</td>
<td>Livelihoods, mobility</td>
<td>Looks at the impact of a comprehensive transport project, which involved the provision of cable cars to link poor neighbourhoods to the centre of the city and also involved social housing, public space, libraries and employment and training for local people. Comparisons are made with a similar project in Soacha. Methods made use of secondary and existing data (to provide a point of comparison) with focus group discussions (some with young people).</td>
<td>1. To document the economic, institutional and political factors underpinning local government intervention in the construction of 2 aerial cable-car lines and related upgrading processes in Medellin and the extent to which, as argued in official documents, public participation was Residents in the neighbourhoods noted a fall in the incidence of violence related to gang warfare, improved leisure activities for children, new meeting places for young people and the new public library as a new landmark, as well as rent increases and rises in the number of both informal street</td>
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<td>Research objective and approach</td>
<td>Key research questions</td>
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<tr>
<td>Herrick, C.: Alcohol Control, Poverty and Development in South Africa</td>
<td>Health, social exclusion, violence</td>
<td>The project outputs highlight alcohol’s importance to intellectual agendas that stretch beyond health and into urban planning, urban studies, political ecology, development and livelihoods, violence, crime, gender and governance. It explores social dynamics of alcohol drinking in South Africa through focus group discussions that explore narratives of liquor use, abuse and its consequences in poor communities in Cape Town, as well as their complex entanglements with the spaces and places in which they unfold and are made meaningful.</td>
<td>1. What are the lived relationships between the alcohol control agenda, poverty and development in South Africa? 2. How are the lived experiences of drinking understood and taken up in the policy-making process? 3. How, why and where do the poor drink and under what conditions do these practices become ‘problematic’?</td>
<td>One paper records young women’s and young men’s perceptions of issues related to alcohol. Positive stories related to alcohol were rare. A group of younger women expressed concern at the practice of making oneself dependent on men for liquor, suggesting it cheated and left them vulnerable. Younger focus group respondents were more likely to admit they ‘don’t have a cause of [their] drinking, to some it is a problem and to some [i.e. them] it is happiness and exploration’. Many of the young men, e.g., sought to distinguish themselves through the purchase of ‘green bottle’ premium lagers. Green bottles are thus seen as a drink for the young and a marker of wealth and status.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Locke, C.: Linking Migration, Reproduction and Wellbeing: Exploring the Reproductive Strategies of Low-Income Rural–Urban Migrants in Vietnam</td>
<td>Migration</td>
<td>This study looked at the impact of migration on marriage, child-bearing and child-rearing strategies. The methodology included life history interviews with 80 male and female migrants in Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi and focus on their varied reproductive strategies, migratory and work experiences and wellbeing over time.</td>
<td>1. Explore the reproductive aspirations of migrant men and women. 2. Develop understanding of how migrants manage their reproductive lives. 3. Investigate how varying institutional conditions shape these strategies. 4. Explore the implications for wellbeing over time of self, spouse and children.</td>
<td>Migrants were seriously concerned about parent-child separation - emphasising parent-child relations and children’s social development - but raising children in the city was extremely difficult. Many absent mothers actively sustained a parenting role over short distances; however, remote parenting relationships could not be credibly sustained over longer distances. Strategies were oriented to making a better life for the family, especially the children, including visiting marriages or remote parenting strategies that trade off the togetherness of husband/wife with keeping at least one parent and children ‘living together’.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manor, J.: Enforcing Transparency: Enhancing Poor People’s Access to Information in India</td>
<td>Social protection, education</td>
<td>The focus of this research was on the effectiveness of the transparency provisions in India’s National Rural Employment Guarantee Act. The research used mixed methods: surveys and interviews. Survey samples were carefully constructed so a representative sample of the rural poor (based on census data) – in terms of age, gender, caste etc. – would be consulted (but it is not clear if young people were a specific group).</td>
<td>How the Act impacts on poor people.</td>
<td>Poor people who can obtain well-paid work under the programme see that the money may give them opportunities to earn enough to feed their families adequately, to send their children to school instead of to work and to protect them against shocks such as sudden illnesses and illnesses. All local residents – poor and non-poor – understand it may now be possible to create or repair local assets (school buildings, wells, minor roads etc.) that have long been local priorities but that higher-level government actors have ignored.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thirille, C.: Factor Endowments, Biased Technological Change, Wages and Poverty Reduction: Can Genetically Modified Crops Bring a Green Revolution</td>
<td>Child labour</td>
<td>This project aimed to measure the impact of GM on output growth, employment, wages and livelihoods in KwaZulu-Natal. Qualitative work using Food and Agricultural Organization data with a focus on labour and wages and household income.</td>
<td>1. Measure the impact of GM on employment, wages and livelihoods. 2. Assess the overall impacts on labour incomes and poverty reduction. 3. Provide policy departments with an understanding of the likely outcomes of introducing GM.</td>
<td>There was no impact on child labour from the introduction of GM crops.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bloom, G.: Information and Communication Technology and the Changing Health Knowledge Economy: How People Find Health Information in Bangladesh</td>
<td>Access to information, health</td>
<td>This research aims to examine how the spread of mass media, increased access to the internet and high levels of mobile phone use are changing the ways poor people seek health-related information and advice in Bangladesh. In 1 relatively remote rural area, 1 rural area with good transport links to Dhaka and 1 slum in Dhaka, questionnaire surveys, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews were used to explore how men (including young men) and women use mobile phones and how and where they find information and advice for different kinds of health problems. Interviews with key decision-makers in the health and telecommunications sectors were used to discuss their views of the regulatory challenges associated with a technology that enables suppliers of pharmaceuticals and specialised services to communicate directly with potential consumers.</td>
<td>The research is currently in the data analysis stage.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Burgess, R.: Basic Entrepreneurship: A Means for Transforming the Economic Lives of the Poor?</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>This project examines randomised evaluations of an anti-poverty programme that simultaneously tackle’s capital and skills constraints among women entrepreneurs in an effort to encourage occupational change among the world’s poorest women (Bangladesh, Pakistan, Uganda.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carson Akers, J.: How Can Technology Improve Learning? Information Technology, Education and Welfare in Niger</td>
<td>Livelihoods, child labour</td>
<td>This research was a follow-up study to a programme that looked at the delivery of adult education through mobile phone-based technology in Niger. Qualitative and quantitative techniques were used.</td>
<td>1. Impact of standard adult education programmes on adults’ learning. 2. Whether the impacts of the prior mobile phone education programme are similar when it is significantly scaled. 3. Assess the role of mobile phone technology in distance learning by providing educational content. 4. The impact of the programme on children’s educational attainment. 5. Assess the way education and technology affect intra-household and inter-village dynamics.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chen, K.: Energy Scarcity, Food Economies: The Case of Brazil, China, and India</td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>The aim is to improve understanding of the links among energy costs and use, the transformation of food supply chains and technologies and poverty alleviation in Brazil, supply chains; energy costs from electricity and fuel; and net incomes of supply chain participants and food prices. 2. The framework will be applied to analyse horticulture and dairy supply chains in Brazil, China and India to assess how energy costs are generated and affect behaviour in various segments of the supply chain, and what the implications of these are for food costs to consumers and incomes to producers. 3. Policy pathways will be formulated for moving towards more optimal energy use practices in food supply chains.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dean, M.: Determinants of Health Care Decisions: Children’s Health in Mali</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>This project conducts a randomised controlled trial of 2 health care policies in a peri-urban region of Bamako, Mali: the provision of free primary care and regular visits from health workers who teach mothers good practices and accompany children to the doctor. The authors will use this experiment to learn about the effects of these policies on the use of health care resources by the mothers of young children – in particular when they seek medical care, who they seek care from and the use of preventive measures such as mosquito nets and water purification. The results will also be used to study the importance of different types of constraints that may govern the health care decisions of poor families, such as lack of available credit, or lack of knowledge of good health care practice. The project will improve understanding of how the abolition of user fees can alleviate these constraints, and whether health workers can counteract some of the negative implications associated with providing health care entirely for free.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dolan, C.: Menstruation and the Cycle of Poverty: Does the Provision of Sanitary Pads Improve the Attendance and Educational Outcomes of Girls in School?</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>The study examines how puberty intersects with girls’ education in Karukul district, Uganda. It builds on a pilot study in which the start of menstruation appeared to catalyse a sequence of negative events for girls, with implications for health, safety, learning, fertility, community involvement and economic autonomy. It will conduct a randomised trial that will demonstrate the effects of puberty education and sanitary pads on school attendance, completion and retention, and investigate whether absenteeism that goes otherwise unchecked is articulated through poor performance, discouragement and dropout. Also includes qualitative research on girls’ experiences.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Evandrou, M.: Understanding Resilience in Later Life in a Low-Resource Setting</td>
<td>Health and nutrition</td>
<td>Using a mixed methods approach, this research aims to improve understanding of how social capital, economic and individual factors interact to enhance the wellbeing of older people living in the slums of Nairobi, Kenya. It combines in-depth qualitative research with quantitative analysis of unique panel data of 2,000 older people aged 50 and over living in two Nairobi slums who have been followed over time. It seeks to better understand resilience among older people in coping with stresses and shocks, and how some people are able to adapt and to emerge with better health and socioeconomic outcomes and overall wellbeing relative to other older people in these communities.</td>
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<td>Gertler, P.: Building a Brighter Future: A Randomised Evaluation of Slum-Housing Upgrading</td>
<td>Health and nutrition</td>
<td>Uses a randomised controlled trial to estimate the causal effects of a low-cost housing intervention on multiple dimensions of welfare in El Salvador and Peru. In both countries, urban slums have grown rapidly in the past several decades as a consequence of extreme rural poverty and civil conflict. The intervention is the work of the NGO Un Techo Para Mi Pais (‘A Roof for My Country’). Specifically, the study will test the hypotheses that providing improved housing: 1. Improves the health status of beneficiary young children measured by maternal reports of diarrhoea in the past 4 weeks, parasitic infestations in the faecal matter of young children, anthropometric statistics to measure stunting and wasting, anaemia and cognitive development. 2. Improves household economic conditions of beneficiary households, including labour force participation, income, asset accumulation and consumption. 3. Increases beneficiary school attendance and studying. 4. Improves beneficiary maternal well-being measured by depression, perceived stress, satisfaction with various aspects of life and dignity. 5. REDuces crime and improves sense of security. 6. Improves the same outcomes of non-beneficiary households living in the beneficiary communities.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Groos, N.: Social Protection and Disability: Policy Lessons from Vietnam</td>
<td>Social Protection and Disability</td>
<td>Mixed methods research looking at the integration of people with disabilities into social protection programmes and their impact.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
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<td>Hope, R.: Insuring against Rural Water Risk in Africa</td>
<td>Development Frontiers Grant testing an insurance product for water pumps looking at the features people would require from this product. Methods are not clear from the website but there may be disaggregation by age group.</td>
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<td>Kett, M.: Understanding the Political and Institutional Conditions for Effective Poverty Reduction for Persons with Disabilities in Liberia</td>
<td>This is a Phase 3 project with no details on the ESRC website. The email response from the PI states that fieldwork is yet to start but that outcomes are likely to be across all 3 themes.</td>
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<td>Olsen, W.: Gender Norms, Labour Supply and Poverty Reduction in...</td>
<td>The project measures the gender impact of poverty alleviation interventions in rural Bangladesh and India and how this impact has been mediated through social norms. The project focuses on social differentiation of attitudes about women’s work. It studies how modern and traditional</td>
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<td>Comparative Context: Evidence from Rural India and Bangladesh</td>
<td>Attitudes affect women’s work. In turn, the attitudes are affected by anti-poverty interventions. Data collection using mixed qualitative and quantitative methods first compares spatial and social differentiation in attitudes to women in rural Bangladesh and in three Indian states. A second part of the research explains the factors influencing high and low female labour supply in India, controlling for the informal sector and for caring labour. This part uses narrow and wide concepts of labour supply, and adds new pairwise models of men and women spouses in each household. Here, a series of datasets are used. These include national random-sample datasets and the World Values Survey. Third, the project measures which poverty alleviation initiatives have had the strongest direct and indirect impacts on wellbeing. Here, a statistical mediation model is used. Primary data collection allows a socioeconomic micro dataset to be created with N=450 per country and 2 visits per household. In addition, a series of interviews adds depth to the interpretation.</td>
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<td>Prince, M.: The Economic and Social Effects of Care Dependence in Later Life</td>
<td>Social protection and vulnerability</td>
<td>The objective is to study whether, and if so how, the onset of care dependence in an older household member leads to household impoverishment and vulnerability. Households with an older person who has developed needs for care (incident care households) will be compared with those with older residents with long-standing needs for care (chronic care households) and no needs for care (control households). Detailed household interviews will be used to assess consumption, income and assets, including changes that might be attributable to the onset or intensification of care dependence. Detailed case studies of selected households will be used to elucidate the pathways involved.</td>
<td>How is the care burden for dependent older people distributed across household members and wider kinship networks? What factors influence the distribution of the care burden inside and outside the household? How are decisions about the allocation of care made and justified? To what extent does this depend on the external policy environment, including the reach of social protection and health services?</td>
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Annex 2: Annotated bibliography

This annotated bibliography highlights the methodology and key CYP-related insights from all the grant outputs cited. It is organised by grant.


This briefing note discusses the various methodologies used in the three stages of Ansell’s livelihoods research on AIDS-affected young people in Malawi and Lesotho: (i) community and household profiling, (ii) participatory research with young people and (iii) policy interviews. In the first stage, community meetings were held and members produced a list of good and bad things about the village and being young in the village (both now and in the past) and listed livelihood opportunities and how these have changed over time. Household profiling was conducted through interviews with each household in the village to obtain information on family trees, assets, livelihood activities, religion and history. The second stage consisted of various visual research activities with approximately 30 young people from profiled households, of which at least half were affected by AIDS-related sickness or death. The activities included: mental maps, activity calendars, photography, assets and problem trees, life maps, social network diagrams, emotional storyboards and dramatisations about their lives and experiences. Finally, the third stage involved key informant interviews with decision makers in relevant government departments, donor and UN agencies and national and international NGOs in each country to explore past, current and future policies and programmes, policy-making processes and partnerships, and perceptions of the impacts of policies.

Ansell, N (2009a) Averting ‘New Variant Famine’ Briefing Note 11: AIDS-affected young people’s decision making about livelihood strategies. DFID and ESRC.

This briefing note summarises findings regarding young people's decision-making on livelihood strategies. The study found that school children in both Malawi and Lesotho aspire to formal sector careers that require secondary education; however, some Malawian schoolchildren had more modest ambitions to repair radios or become car mechanics, illustrating the influence that school and exposure to local opportunities has on children’s ambitions. All children envisaged staying in school as long as possible, even if it meant they had to spend a few years earning money to pay for it themselves. Most young people leave school because of exam failure, parental sickness or death, poverty (including inability to afford soap or school user fees), pregnancy or marriage. Most school leavers expected a rural future in the long term. In Malawi, many unmarried school leavers borrow money from parents to start small businesses. This option is less available to AIDS-affected youth.

Marriage was a strategic livelihood option for young people; in matrilineal southern Malawi, men generally need to marry to access land. For Malawian women, marriage was seen as a solution to inadequate family support. Girls in Lesotho were less enthusiastic about marriage perceiving that it would lead to excessive restrictions on their mobility. In both countries, young women remained unmarried for long. In both countries, marriage options were limited by young people’s resources – one young man mentioned that as a poor orphan he could not be ‘picky’ in his choice of a wife; several fatherless girls in Basotho married men payment of cattle as bridewealth. Through its effects on assets and social networks, marriage altered the available livelihood options for young people: many Basotho young people expressed interest in learning new skills, while Malawians planned to start or restart businesses after marriage.

Ansell, N (2009b) Averting ‘New Variant Famine’ Briefing Note 12: AIDS-affected young people’s livelihood strategies and long-term vulnerability. DFID and ESRC.

This briefing paper considers the potential of the various livelihood strategies that AIDS-affected young people in Malawi and Lesotho adopt to reduce long-term vulnerability. It highlights the following livelihood strategies employed by young people to develop security: herding cattle (particularly among Basotho boys), despite the fact that cattle are vulnerable to drought, disease and theft and herd boys are vulnerable to maltreatment by employers; casual work; small businesses (in both countries, young people had engaged in businesses of various forms, although these do not tend to offer long-term security); migrant work
This paper explores the opportunities that rural young people (aged 10-24 years) in Malawi and Lesotho have to learn skills and access capital and assets to engage in income-generating activities. Using data drawn from participatory group exercises and individual interviews, the study gained insight into young people's strategic thinking about engaging in various livelihood options. The research found that various factors including age, gender, size and strength of social networks and the effects of AIDS all can impact on young people's prospects of succeeding in their ventures; in addition to these factors, sickness and death in the family can have a negative impact, including the loss of parent(s) who can lend or give money, the loss of productive assets through difficulties young people face in claiming their inheritance, the diminution of social networks as a result of their caring responsibilities and the loss of valuable knowledge when parents die before passing on skills. However, mitigating factors were also identified: most young people learn skills from other relatives or friends (an opportunity that remains for AIDS-affected young people), relatives or friends can lend money to orphans and orphans who have to move can broaden their social networks and have more contact with people who have skills to teach. Young people identified lack of skills, lack of capital to invest and lack of business skills as the major constraints for engaging in income-generating activities. The authors

**Note 13:** Enhancing AIDS-affected young people's prospects of achieving sustainable rural livelihoods. DFID and ESRC.

This paper proposes policy recommendations based on the grant's research findings. The recommendations are as follows: education must be more relevant to the livelihood options available to the majority of rural youth; successful engagement in rural enterprise requires not only skills training, but business education and the identification of opportunities that rely not only on the local market; fertiliser subsidies, food aid and food-for-work programmes that free time and energy to devote to activities with secure long term prospects and cash transfers, including those directed at elderly people, help young people do business and find employment. Importantly, the project findings did not support the specific targeting of interventions at AIDS-affected young people as there were no notable differences between the livelihood options available to AIDS-affected and non-AIDS affected young people.


This paper explores the links between the impacts of AIDS and young people's livelihood prospects. It draws on intensive case study research, with young people aged 10-24 in two villages: one in southern Malawi and the other in the mountains of Lesotho, which combined participatory methods and life history interviews. The researchers found that although some young people's trajectories are disturbed by the influence of AIDS, there are no systematic patterns. Within the sample group, livelihoods were developed through the iteration between present circumstances and future aspirations; however, experience of AIDS has no generalised impact on the principal livelihood activities young people undertake. This may be because AIDS leads young people to focus on their present livelihoods at the expense of the future, or forces young people and their parents/relatives to examine closely their future prospects and make plans. Furthermore, AIDS-affected young people proceeded further through school than their unaffected counterparts.


This paper examines the use of participatory research methods to explore sensitive topics, such as the impacts of AIDS on young people’s livelihoods in Malawi and Lesotho. Experience from conducting the research suggests that, when undertaking group-based participatory research, the responses and generalisations given by participants are not always based on their own personal experiences. The team found that working with inexperienced research assistants as well as outsider adults increased the difficulties they encountered working with young people.

There is a danger that accounts generated through participatory methods are accepted as truth and they need to be interpreted critically in part to ensure that the research does not further any harmful myths. To facilitate more grounded responses the authors suggest giving participants the opportunity to share their accounts with researchers in less public arenas. Anonymised summaries of these interactions can then be presented to groups for discussion, ranking and debating, although this requires considerable facilitation skills. Participatory ethnography might have advantages as researchers can engage with participants individually as well as collectively producing knowledge and action with them over time and through direct involvement in their lives and communities.


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This literature review explores the impact that AIDS has on the livelihoods activities, opportunities and choices of young people in southern Africa. It focuses on impacts specific to adolescents, such as disrupted school attendance, being forced to care for family members, exacerbated poverty and labour migration. The authors state that although there is evidence that AIDS places extra burdens on youth and their ability to secure future livelihoods, there has been little empirical research on the issue. The authors argue that the sustainable livelihoods approach can be a useful tool for understanding the complexity of the issues surrounding the impacts of AIDS on young people’s livelihoods; they also call for further research to explore how AIDS-affected young people’s access to future sustainable livelihoods in rural southern Africa in particular.

Attanasio (RES-167-25-0124) Human development and poverty reduction in developing countries.


This paper explores how a household’s behaviour is influenced by the presence and characteristics of its extended family. Using data gained from the PROGRESA programme in Mexico that provided cash transfers to households conditional on their children’s secondary school attendance, the paper identifies intergenerational family links among households and examines whether the treatment effects of PROGRESA vary according to the characteristics of extended family. The analysis indicates that the cash transfer programme only raises secondary enrolment among households that are embedded in a family network; eligible but isolated households do not respond. The authors suggest that extended families influence household schooling choices through the redistribution of resources among family members to enable eligible individuals to fully overcome the opportunity costs of enrolling their children into school.

This paper investigates the impacts of the Mexican cash transfer programme Oportunidades (that targets children’s education, health and nutrition) on child wellbeing outcomes other than primary school enrolment, given that Mexico already has almost universal primary school enrolment and completion rates. After analysing the Oportunidades


This research compares the impacts on children’s nutritional status in Colombia of a Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) and a nursery-based feeding programme. Using evaluative and administrative data from the Familias en Acción (FA) CCT that transfers money to mothers, and Hogares Comunitarios (HC), a community nursery programme which provides food directly to participating children, the research calculated the average treatment effect of each programme, using the different degrees of availability of FA and HC to model participation and impacts on children’s nutritional status. The analysis indicate that both programmes have similar impacts on nutritional and morbidity outcomes. However, they are not substitutes as different groups of the population prefer different programmes (for example, single mothers prefer the HC programme) and they may be considered complementary. The authors recommend further research on the potential complementarities of both programmes.


This paper analyses the link between people’s expectations of returns to schooling and their decision to invest in higher education (both high school and college). The research used data from a household survey on Mexican junior and senior high school graduates that gauges their own and their parents’ beliefs about future earnings for different schooling scenarios, as well as individual risk perceptions of earnings and unemployment. The analysis shows that: both adolescents’ and parents’ expectations matter for high school attendance decision, while for the college attendance decision the adolescents’ expectations are most relevant and depend on expected returns to college investments; adolescents play a key role in intra-family decision-making on human capital investments, and, in a country where student scholarships and loans are more or less non-existent, credit constraints highly influence college attendance decisions.

This paper evaluates the impact of a Colombian randomized training programme for disadvantaged youth on the employment and earnings of trainees. Using primary data (a baseline survey and follow-up interviews) obtained from young people randomly offered and not offered training in seven cities, the research found that the Jóvenes en Acción programme raises earnings and employment for both men and women, with larger effects on women. Young women who received the training earned 18% more than those who did not, whereas men who received training earned about 8% more than their untrained control group. The benefits of training are greater when individuals spend more time doing on-the-job training (as opposed to classroom learning), and the earnings increases are mainly attributed to increased employment in the formal sector.


This paper investigates the effect of a large expansion of universal pre-primary education on subsequent primary school performance in Argentina. Using government data from the school construction programme in Argentina between 1993-1999, analysis show that attending primary school had a positive effect on third grade standardized Spanish and Mathematics test scores, and that one year of pre-primary school increases average third grade test scores by 8% of a mean/23% of the standard deviation of the distribution of test scores. Furthermore, the research found that pre-primary school attendance positively affects student’s self-control in the third grade as measured by behaviours such as attention, effort, class participation and discipline.


This paper investigates the relationship between educational attainment and wages in Brazil to show an overall picture of large increases in the returns to higher education and large declines in the relative returns to secondary and high school. Despite the expansion of the Brazilian education system at secondary and high school levels the proportion of students progressing to higher education has decreased and the numbers continuing to college remain low. The authors show that there is no constraint in the availability of places at college, as although places at elite public universities are over subscribed private colleges are not, so what has prevented greater participation? The authors find that the increase in graduation rates resulted in a decline attainment at all levels of education, particularly at secondary and high school but individuals also face significant constraints when facing the decision to enrol in college. These constraints are primarily related to the education system: individuals need to have attended expensive good quality intermediate schools to be able to access the public university system as private colleges are expensive; secondly, the reduction in spend per pupil and number of teachers per school, has impacted on students’ performance. There have also been significant changes in the market value of education as the expansion of intermediate level education has depressed wage levels.

measured as the hourly wage received in 2000. The analysis shows a considerable degree of heterogeneity in the returns to schooling with returns being as high as 150% for individuals very likely to attend upper secondary schooling and as low as 0% or even negative for those who are not likely to attend.


This paper investigates how the permanent departure of the head of a household, mainly because of death or divorce, affects children’s school enrolment and work participation in rural Colombia. The researchers analysed three years of panel data from a survey of households and individuals in rural Colombia that was collected to evaluate the Familias en Acción cash transfer programme. The findings show significant differences for boys and girls: for boys, the departure of a head of a household reduces school participation and increases participation in paid work. However, for girls there is a beneficial impact on schooling. The authors find evidence to explain these differences: in 96% of households that suffer the adverse event, it is a male head that leaves and a female that becomes the new head. For boys, the male head’s departure reduces the household income, whereas for girls, changes in the household decision-maker play an important role as women are more likely to prioritise education. The authors suggest that the consequences of a departed head of household on the schooling and work of children needs to be considered in the design of safety nets.


This working paper investigates the effect of health shocks on household consumption and child nutrition in Colombia. The research is based on a large longitudinal dataset collected from poor households in small towns that was originally collected in an evaluation of the Familias en Acción cash transfer programme. The findings show that household consumption increases following the illness of a male adult usually active in the labour market, but girls’ weight is negatively affected. In contrast, boys’ nutritional status does not deteriorate. The authors believe that girls’ nutritional status deteriorates after illness shocks because households increase their consumption (such as medical expenditure and food consumption) to speed up the recovery of adults who are active in the labour market, but decrease the resources given to girls.


This paper aims to synthesise the diverse current policies for ethnic minority development in Vietnam and their development over the last 10 years; it includes a discussion of education policies and their relation to ethnic minority pupils. It is based on a literature review of key documents (including Vietnamese government decisions and decrees as well as donor project papers), as well as a series of policy process interviews conducted with government officials in three Vietnamese provinces between January and August 2007. The paper found that, special support has been provided for ethnic minority students and teachers working in ethnic minority areas. Support for ethnic minority education includes scholarships and social grants for school materials and living expenses, boarding schools at all levels, pre-universities and a university pre-selection policy for ethnic minority students who complete higher secondary school. Nevertheless, language barriers continue to hinder ethnic minority children’s performance (instruction in Vietnamese, as opposed to ethnic minority languages, is the rule), and the distance and time it takes for ethnic minority children to travel to school were also mentioned as factors limiting attendance and performance.


This paper evaluates the impact of Payment for Performance (P4P) on maternal and child health services in Rwanda. The study was designed to separate out the effect of P4P incentives from increased resources through a quasi-experimental evaluation design over 24 months and included 166 health care facilities. The authors found that the P4P programme was associated with significantly increased use and quality of a some, but not all, maternal and child health services. The authors argue that this difference can probably be accounted for by the structure of the incentives as services with higher incentives, and which are more in the control of the provider achieved better results. Large increases were observed in the highest yielding services - delivery within health care facilities, children’s preventative visits, and quality of prenatal care.
No effect was found on the number of prenatal care visits or immunisation rates. The analysis indicates that an equal amount of financial resources without the incentives would not have achieved the same gain in outcomes.

Bhalotra, S (RES-167-25-0236) Religion and Child Death in India.


This paper identifies social inequalities in education in India and the extent to which they have narrowed during 1993-2005, a period of rapid economic growth in the country. It considers attendance, dropout and completion data from three rounds of the National Sample Survey to describe and analyse the relative educational deprivation of Hindu and Muslim children in India, comparing community differentials in education with other factors such as caste, gender, wealth, rural/urban location and state of residence. The findings show that these characteristics interact to reinforce inequality; educational participation remains strongly dependent on family wealth, especially for secondary age children. For example, the authors found that Muslim girls from relatively poor and uneducated families who live in rural areas of certain states suffer an enormous disadvantage relative to high caste Hindu boys from richer, educated families residing in urban areas of other states. Overall, such inequalities contribute to the intergenerational persistence of marginalisation and disadvantage.

Bryceson, D (RES-167-25-0488) Urban Growth & Poverty in Mining Africa (UPIMA)


This paper examines young people’s role in mining in Tanzania and questions the characterizations of African youth that present a picture of diminished agency (either overly materialistic in reaction to diminished economic prospects relative to their parents’ generation, or in the pay and control of self-serving big men). After analysing data from surveys conducted in the country’s northwestern gold fields, the authors find that current youth involvement in mining provides an avenue for autonomy. In artisanal mining areas, young people are likely to be experiencing greater economic empowerment than youth in rural and urban settings elsewhere in Africa. However, this comes with trade-offs between: long-term benefits of education and short-term benefits of mining; increased mobility and autonomy from parents and elders versus a lack of parental oversight and loss of traditional family cohesion, and a decline in bridewealth-related marriage and an increase in casual relationships.

The authors argue that, by taking on economic responsibility in a risk-filled occupation, and/or living in families where parents employed in the mining sector are heavily pre-occupied, it is likely that youth are being catapulted into premature adulthood. Nevertheless, whether young people are full-time or part-time miners, artisanal mining provides a temporary economic fix, as well as a stepping-stone, to gaining the capital to invest in another occupation.


This paper explores the relationships between young men and women in Tanzanian mining settlements that deviate from the traditional sexual norms of the surrounding countryside. Using interview data with women migrants, the authors provide insights on the temporary sexual/conjugal relationships between men and women, which they term ‘wIFESTYLES’. The main difference between these wIFESTYLES and traditional relationship norms is that the young people that engage with them have complete agency over their decisions and sexual liaisons and co-habitation agreements are made directly without third party intervention. This contrasts with traditional marriage arrangements in the neighbouring countryside that are arranged through elders’ negotiations and with bridewealth payments.

The authors are keen to emphasise that the young women involved in these temporary, often unstable, relationships are not prostitutes. The relationships that young people form are pragmatic as much as they are recreational, particularly for women, who endeavour to invite and maintain the sexual attraction and financial support of men for security, highly aware of the socioeconomic benefits of cohabitation. Young women in these mining settlements see themselves as liberated and modern but nevertheless, men have more freedom to be promiscuous and even polygamous.


This paper explores the dynamics of monogamy, polygamy and promiscuity in the context of rapid occupational change. Focusing on migration to Tanzania’s gold mining sites as a case study, the researchers use fieldwork interviews with both women and men to draw conclusions about trends in marriage and casual sex. The authors argue that sexual relationships in the Tanzanian mining settlements are characterised by promiscuous, casual sex rather than female prostitution, marking a contrast
with the presence of prostitution associated with large-scale corporate mining in Southern African literature on this topic. Findings indicate that women’s transition to artisanal mining presents opportunities for individualised, casual courting and partnering that leads to both greater freedom of choice (in the absence of male elder and extended family control) and material vulnerability exacerbated by the high mobility of male miners.

Although miners’ mobility can be enriching for men, it can be impoverishing for any female partners and children. Nevertheless, the authors state that financial interdependency between miners and stable female partners is the norm and many partnerships are emotionally and financially supportive.


This paper explores Zimbabwean children’s accounts of the challenges facing their HIV-affected peers and the role of schools in providing such support. The paper summarises the findings of a qualitative, participative exercise where 128 school children (aged 10-14) wrote a story about an HIV-affected peer and how school assisted them in tackling their problems. Analysis of these stories suggests that HIV had a negative impact on the social, physical and mental well-being of children and, whilst fellow learners and teachers provided a degree of support, this was patchy and generally limited to small-scale, one-off acts of material kindness (such as teachers giving children stationary or peers sharing lunches). These small acts had little potential to significantly impact on the wider social drivers of children’s daily challenges and children tended to keep a distance from their HIV-affected peers. The authors state that, although schools have the potential to provide a support system to HIV-affected children, the research demonstrates that the school setting was more of a source of bullying, stigma and social exclusion for HIV-affected children.


This paper presents the findings of multi-methods case studies from two Zimbabwean schools that sought to examine their HIV-competence (the readiness and ability of schools to provide a supportive function for HIV-affected and HIV-vulnerable children). The paper compares one rural and one small-town school, finding that the rural school scored higher on measures of child well-being and attendance, despite the fact that the small-town school had superior facilities, more teachers with higher morale and more specialist HIV/AIDS activities (such as after-school AIDS clubs) as well as an explicit religious ethos. The authors attribute the relatively impoverished rural school’s positive impact on HIV-affected children to its location in a more cohesive community that has a more critically conscious, dynamic and networking headmaster. The authors recommend that HIV/AIDS-related teacher training and specialist school-based activities should be supplemented with greater attention to the impacts of school leadership and the nature of the school-community interface.


This paper examines how HIV impacts directly and indirectly on receiving, and succeeding in, education in sub-Saharan Africa. Using quantitative analysis of a households survey in eastern Zimbabwe, the researchers examined educational outcomes (primary school completion, being in the correct grade-for-age and regular attendance of both primary and secondary school) and HIV presence in households. The findings indicate that HIV status does not affect children’s education outcomes. However being a young carer or orphan did affect education; young carers found to be significantly less likely to attend school regularly than their unaffected peers. The authors attribute this to time constraints and high burdens placed on children. Orphanhood in particular reduced the odds of children being in the correct grade for their age and completing primary school, with the percentage of maternal orphans behind in school being higher than paternal orphans (25.4% and 23.1% respectively). Nevertheless, orphanhood did not have an effect on enrolment or attendance and this is thought to be because orphaned children relocated to live with better-off relatives.


Coast, E (2014) Fertility transitions and induced abortion. Presentation delivered at The fertility transition in the South, 23rd-25th April, St Anne’s College, Oxford, 2014

This presentation presented preliminary findings from research into how, and to what extent, rates of induced abortion and contraception are related, considering whether abortion is the result of an unmet need for contraception. It used quantitative data from the 2007 Zambia DHS as well
as primary qualitative data collected from girls and women who sought safe abortion services or post-abortion care, and shows that young women and girls under 19 are more likely to have an unsafe abortion than a safe medical abortion. The preliminary findings present vignettes of different women seeking abortion: two of them feature young women aged 20 who both sought abortions with the help of female relatives and/or friends; one had a medical abortion arranged and paid for by an aunt, and one was given an ineffective herbal mixture by her step-mother to drink before a friend eventually told her about hospital abortions and she was able to access one, free of charge.


This presentation summarises preliminary research findings from a study exploring women’s pregnancy termination strategies in Zambia, and why public sector provision of safe abortion services in Zambia is under-used. Starting with the legal background to abortion in Zambia, the presentation explains how data was obtained through interviews with women who had sought terminations. The authors recognise that the facility-based recruitment for the study means that the research does not capture data from women who were unable to reach the hospital.

Four themes arose within the research: the influence of advice, perceptions of risk, delays in care seeking and receipt and the economic costs of treatment. All of these factors were found to influence women’s abortion trajectories in terms of direction, complexity and timing. Findings indicate that advice sought and received played a significant role in shaping women’s trajectories; respondents’ relationships with their significant others influenced who was told about the pregnancy, the decision to terminate it and how and where it was terminated and delays in care seeking were found to be common and were linked to health system inefficiencies and denial of pregnancy.

Furthermore, the financial costs of termination influenced the timing and complexity of women’s trajectories: finding money for transport to the hospital was an issue for some women. Even for women who knew how and where to access safe termination services, care-seeking trajectories were straightforward. However, for women unaware of these services, the process to achieving a termination was more complex; in particular, the false perception that abortion is prohibited steered women towards clandestine methods or payments for safe and legal treatment.

Cuevas, L. Theobald, S (RES-167-25-0387) Identifying barriers to TB diagnosis and treatment under a new rapid diagnostic scheme.


This PhD thesis draws on research conducted in Yemen, Nepal, Ethiopia and Nigeria and finds that the costs for attending diagnostic services are significant. The most significant expenses were for clinic fees and transport – services were typically a long distance from patient’s homes, transport logistics and costs are a major obstacle. Patients were often unaware of the duration of the diagnostic process – which can take several days. The research in Yemen found several examples of children working as a contribution to household expenses and medical fees.


This book brings together work on urban mobility and the impact new transport systems, through an examination of the impacts of the metrocable system of aerial cable cars in Medellin, which connect high-density hilly areas with the centre of the city, and the potential for the development of a similar system in Soacha. Chapters in the book look at the impact of the metrocable system in terms of poverty reduction, social mobility and physical mobility. Focus groups were conducted with adults and young people in Medellin and are reported in the chapter by Agudelo et al ‘Users’ Daily Experiences of Aerial Cable-Cars’. The responses show that people had strong positive feelings for the metrocable system, increasing mobility and revaluing neighbourhoods with increased commercial activity and the arrival of tourists in the neighbourhoods. Respondents also talked about the barriers to accessing the system, which include both long queues caused by the increase in the number of tourists in the area, and the expense of using the metrocable. Safety is also mentioned as a concern particularly as one metro station is in an area of high violence, while some respondents reported feeling less vulnerable carrying money on the metrocable in comparison to the bus. Young people’s responses show positive economic changes in the areas where cable stations are based through increased trading, shops and restaurants which translates to increased opportunities for employment.

De Neve, G (RES-167-25-0296) Transforming livelihoods: work, migration and poverty in the Tirappur garment cluster, India.
This paper examines how the availability of non-agricultural work in the Tiruppur area of India has affected the livelihoods of those living in the region. It focuses principally on the people indirectly affected by global production networks, considering three key aspects of their livelihoods: wages, the nature of labour agreements and broader aspects such as relationships. Using data obtained from fieldwork in the region, the researchers found that garment industry work in Tiruppur was a far preferable livelihood than pursuing agricultural means of earning money. Dalit youth seek work in the Tiruppur garment industry because they wish to break away from the history of subordination of their fathers and grandfathers, which is closely tied to agricultural work. The study touches upon marriage as a livelihood choice for young women; wealthy families stated how they explicitly seek out non-agriculturalists as husbands for their daughters, perceiving that an agricultural life will be hard.


This paper examines changes in a Dalit community in western Tamil Nadu over the 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s to explore Dalit women’s decisions to become ‘housewives’ rather than engage in paid employment or self-employment. Using 1981/2, 1996 and 2008/9 household survey data, the authors look at the changing position of Dalit women through their changing patterns of work. Findings indicate that an increasing number of young Dalit women have become ‘housewives’ over this period; however, there has also been a dramatic fall in child labour. In 1981/2, 50% of Dalit boys between 5-14 years old were either herding livestock or working as agricultural labourers; meanwhile, less than 5% of 5-14 year old Dalit girls and 10-15% of 5-14 year old Dalit boys were in school. By 2008/9, child labour had virtually disappeared and virtually all Dalit children aged 5-14 years were in school (the majority completing secondary as well as primary). Instead of the rise in women becoming housewives being seen as a retreat into more strongly patriarchal relationships, it is an indicator of strength in communities emerging from extreme poverty where women and children can rely on husbands to be the breadwinner.

Falkingham, J (RES-167-25-0191) Left Behind in Transition? Poverty, social networks and support amongst older people in Central Asia and the Caucasus.


This paper aims to understand the role that grandparents play in the migration processes in Kyrgyzstan and how these roles affect their lives. In particular, the research focuses on the intergenerational dynamics of migration and the role played by and for the generation of grandchildren. The research used quantitative (structured survey) and qualitative (participant observation, interviews and focus groups) methods. The findings show that grandparents become parents to their grandchildren, but despite their personal opinions about being good carers, teachers, doctors and police state that grandparents cannot replace real parents. The majority of teachers who participated in the study stated that children raised by their grandparents are more likely to skip classes and have poorer academic performance. Furthermore, grandparents frequently fail to meet and cooperate with teachers. From a health perspective, children under the care of grandparents often do not have access to medical services because grandparents do not trust the official medicine and prefer to use traditional methods. It is also suggested that children in grandparent-headed households are more prone to deviant behaviour. The authors are reticent to draw any strong conclusions that criticise the role of grandparents as child-carers, claiming that the scope of the study allows them only to acknowledge the diversity of opinions about the role of grandparents as child carers.

Bennett R, Clifford D and Falkingham J (2012) Household Members’ Migration and the Education
This paper examines the children left behind phenomenon in Tajikistan, a country with high rates of international labour migration. It uses data from the 2007 Tajikistan Living Standards Survey to explore the impact of fathers’, mothers’, siblings’ and other household members’ migration on the school enrolment of secondary school-aged children. Findings indicate that there is a significant positive association between longer-term parental migration and children’s enrolment, whereas the long-term migration of siblings sending remittances and the mid-term migration of ‘other household members’ (not parents or siblings) are both significantly negatively associated with children’s enrolment. The authors highlight that children are not only affected by parental migration, but the migration of other adults, and recommend that further investigation into sibling migration and educational enrolment should be conducted, particularly in relation to birth order and sex. They also recommend that the impact on household members’ migration for girls and boys should be measured separately, as well as together, to highlight any gender differences.


This paper explores the views of older Moldovan people with regard to the benefits of migration. It focuses on their increased responsibility for grandchildren; practically, emotionally and financially. It draws on data obtained from qualitative fieldwork conducted in Moldova between November 2008 and March 2009, combined with household survey data. Findings indicate that the elderly people left to care for their grandchildren struggle with financial hardship (especially caused by informal payments, such as contributions to school buildings) in addition to the strain of providing emotional support and practical care for children left behind; this was exacerbated when their role became permanent following the disappearance of migrant parents. Grandparents were found to want the best in terms of opportunities for both their children and grandchildren and therefore accept the necessary personal sacrifices to promote the gains of the family as a whole. However, where parents’ care for children is reciprocal (parental care being repaid once a child reaches adulthood), grandparents view their responsibilities to their children and grandchildren as ongoing.


This paper investigates girls’ educational vulnerability in Gansu, one of China’s poorest provinces. It uses quantitative data from the Gansu Survey of children and Families, a multisite survey that interviewed 2000 rural children and their families, teachers, principals and community leaders in 2000 and 2004. This paper investigates gender gaps in enrolment, aspirations and parental expectations and whether any gaps are related to household income level, whether girls’ educational outcomes are more sensitive to prior performance and whether the characteristics of early homeroom teachers and early classroom experiences have different effects on outcomes for girls and boys. Findings indicate that boys retain a modest enrolment advantage, but their advantage in educational aspirations is very small. The boys’ advantage is also larger in parental educational expectations; however, absolute expectations for both boys and girls are both high. Tests of interactions between gender and wealth, gender and prior performance and gender and teacher characteristics did not yield any compelling or consistent insights about gendered differences in education.

The findings indicate that, across the board, key predictors of enrolment are age, socioeconomic status and performance. Boys’ advantage declines when earlier expectations of mothers and teachers are taken into account. The authors conclude that girls do not face substantially greater access barriers to basic education than do boys in much of rural Gansu.


Using matched student-teacher, this paper investigates what kind of teacher attributes make a difference for student achievement in resource-constrained rural communities in northwest China. Results from a series of random-effects models controlling for student background and community economic and social resources identifies several teacher attributes that are associated with student mathematics achievement in the early years of schooling. Students who are taught by teachers who have official credentials, high levels of motivation to improve practice, commitment to the profession, and strong interpersonal skills have higher maths achievement, on average. In addition, students who are taught by teachers with 3-5 years of teaching experience have the highest performance, on average, controlling for other student, family, and community characteristics. Importantly, the analyses indicate that teacher attributes to be a distinct dimension of community inequality in rural Gansu rather than as an immediate link between community resources and
student achievement. The findings provide a complex picture of the influence of wide range of teacher characteristics on achievement, and carry important policy implications for teacher recruitment, retention, and professional development.


This paper examines seeks to address the fact that physical victimization at school is little studied in developing country contexts, where resource deprivation may heighten tensions that lead to student misbehaviour. Moreover, the role of school and classroom contexts as risk factors remains poorly understood. The authors perform a multi-level logistic regression analysis of physical victimization among middle school students from 100 villages in one of China’s poorest provinces. Results show that forty percent of students report having been beaten by classmates. Elevated risk is found among males; students with prior poor performance in language; students with past internalizing problems; students of female teachers and teachers evaluated as low-performing; students in disruptive classrooms; and students in classrooms undergoing mandated reforms. The results point to the importance of micro-climates within schools as risk factors in specific geographic zones, and the need to focus on best-practice in classroom management during teacher training.


The authors examine how, in the late-1990s, education policymakers began a process of curriculum reform with the goal of transforming Chinese schooling from exam-oriented education to student-centered learning. Traditional education practices have expected students to passively accept and memorize material presented by teachers, and to reproduce the knowledge on often high-stakes examinations. The new curriculum is designed to reduce teacher-centered instruction and favour active learners and enable creative problem-solving, the challenging of existing knowledge, and participating in lively discussion. Despite such a dramatic shift in curriculum policy, little is known about whether reform efforts are truly transforming the educational experiences of students. In this paper, the authors describe these changes in curriculum policy. Second, using data from three waves of the Gansu Survey of Children and Families (2000, 2004, 2007), we investigate how student perceptions of classroom and teaching practices have changed as over time as the new curriculum has been implemented. Finally, the authors examine the relationship between new curriculum practices and student engagement. The perspective of the students is a crucial dimension to understanding the shift in the practices of teaching and learning that seek to cultivate creativity and innovativeness in students to bolster China’s entrance into the global information age


This chapter investigates girls’ educational vulnerability in Gansu, one of China’s poorest provinces. Specifically, it analyses the Gansu Survey of Children and Families, a multisite survey that interviewed 2,000 rural children, along with their families, teachers, principals, and community leaders, in 2000 (when children were 9–12) and 2004 (when children were 13–16). Drawing on comparative and China-specific literature on gender and exclusion, the authors investigate several questions. First, do gender gaps favouring boys exist in enrolment, children’s educational aspirations, and parental expectations? Second, are gender gaps in enrolment, aspirations, and parental expectations worse among the poorest children and families? Third, are girls’ educational outcomes more sensitive to prior performance? Fourth, do characteristics of early homeroom teachers and early classroom experiences have different effects on outcomes for girls and boys? The findings suggest that girls do not face substantially greater access barriers to basic education than do boys in much of rural Gansu. Among enrolled students in 2004, boys’ advantage in educational aspirations is very small. The boys’ advantage is larger in parental educational expectations, but the gap pales next to the high absolute expectations for both girls and boys.


This paper explores the relationship between cumulative adversity and internalizing problems among adolescents, and the protective roles of parental warmth and teacher support in the Chinese province of Gansu. The authors applied multivariate regression models to longitudinal data from the Gansu Survey of Children and Families and developed an index of cumulative adversity (exposure to numerous potentially traumatic events) that includes risk factors specific to the experience of transitions to adolescence. The findings indicate that cumulative adversity is associated with internalising problems and along with parental warmth, teacher support emerges as an especially important protective factor. The authors note that this latter finding
highlights the significance of teachers as an often overlooked resource for poor rural adolescents.

The authors are conscious of limitations to their methodology: life events related to parental marital conflict, for instance, were not included in the cumulative adversity index used, and future research should include such scenarios. Furthermore, peers were not included as a source of support because of data constraints, but could also be included in future studies.


This paper investigates the role of children’s vision problems and classroom learning. Using data from the Gansu Survey of Children and Families (GSCF) and the Gansu Vision Intervention Project (GVIP), this research explores the prevalence of vision deficiencies and unmet need for vision correction. The findings indicate that around 11% of third to fifth graders in the GVIP had diagnosed vision problems, and children in Gansu themselves report that poor eyesight impedes their educational experience; however, just 1% of the GVIP sample and 7% of the GSCF sample wore glasses in 2004. Access to vision correction shows a sharp socioeconomic gradient in both datasets. Propensity score matching estimates suggest a significant effect of glasses-wearing on standardized maths and literacy tests, though not on language tests. The authors conclude that the high level of unmet need for vision correction, together with evidence suggesting that wearing glasses supports learning, indicates the potential value of a simple intervention for students in developing country settings.


This paper investigates whether school examinations are a barrier for children of the rural poor. It introduces China’s high school and college entrance examination systems, presenting a case study of examinations and educational transitions in rural Gansu province that offers a snapshot of educational progress among rural young adults in 2009. Findings indicate that high school and college entrance exams are key in determining transitions to secondary and tertiary education, as well as determining the type of education received. However, disparities in educational opportunity precede exams, shape who takes them and how they fare. Furthermore, fathers’ education was found to matter most consistently for exam taking and performance, and has a significant effect on university transitions. The authors state that the disadvantages faced by children of poorly educated fathers, even after accounting for household economic status, village context and performance, expose equity issues within the education system that require holistic strategies that extend beyond just addressing cost barriers.


This paper investigates whether and in what ways parental illness poses a risk for children’s schooling in rural China. The research, based on data from the Gansu Survey of Children and Families wave 2, specifically considers the link between parental health as a risk factor for enrolment. Findings indicate that parental health problems were a significant signal of risk for reduced enrolment: 77% of children whose fathers reported poor health were enrolled, compared with 88% of children with average or good health. Parental illness was linked to poverty; children in the poorest quintile were more than three times as likely as children in the wealthiest to have a mother who reported poor health. Ill parents are more likely to report borrowing for their children’s education, and prior parental ill health is associated with reduced household educational spending. Furthermore, mothers’ illness may affect children through reduced attendance at school, as children’s likelihood of absenteeism is greater with ill mothers. The authors speculate that this latter finding is connected to either reduced supervision, or children staying home to help care for ill mothers. On average, children with ill parents are more likely to take up paid labour, an effect explained by the economic vulnerability of the households in which these children live.

Another key finding was that cost barriers to both healthcare and education particularly impact poor, rural families. Health costs, in combination with education costs, mean that ill health may have a spill-over effect on the long-term educational (and economic) prospects of the next generation. This pattern can only be altered by initiatives to reduce health care and education cost burdens on the poor.


This paper examines the impact of migration by fathers on the development of children left behind in rural villages in China. The choice only to analyse the impact of fathers’ migration was influenced by the fact that migration by mothers is a rare occurrence, whereas children growing up with migrant fathers absent are common. The research analyses data from a longitudinal study of rural children in western China that includes child development indicators such as academic attainment (including enrolment, years held back, test scores) as well as measures of non-cognitive skills, such as children’s psychosocial development. Findings suggest that fathers’ migration
This paper explores the effect of youth smoking on educational outcomes. Using household survey data from rural China, the research uses counts of registered alcohol vendors and a food price index as instrumental variables. The study found that youth smoking has adverse effects on educational achievement. Conditional on years of schooling, smoking one cigarette per day during adolescence can lower students’ scores on mathematics tests by about 0.1 standard deviations, although students’ learning of Chinese is less affected by youth smoking. However, although the authors found strong empirical support for “parental effects”, i.e. that parental smoking has significant impacts on the probability and intensity of youth smoking, and suggest that policy interventions targeted at parental smoking may also improve the health and education of both parents and children.

The authors recognise there are two caveats to the results of this research. First, loss in learning could be underestimated since smoking may have additional adverse impacts on college level education, including admissions. Second, since many children in the sample were still in school, total years of schooling was not observed and the efficiency of estimates is limited.


This brief letter to the Editor summarises and seeks to explain the findings of the author’s research project that found community interventions with participatory women’s groups can substantially reduce socioeconomic inequalities in neonatal mortality (NMR). The author argues that the reasons women’s groups prove to be more effective than


Herrick, C (RES-167-25-0473) Alcohol Control, Poverty and Development in South Africa.


Houweling, A (RES-167-25-0682) Socio-economic inequalities and the MDGs: building evidence to support equitable improvement in maternal and newborn health in Asia & Africa

others in reducing NMR is that some groups are better-attended by pregnant women. The author also highlights that hygiene practices play an important role in reducing NMR, as women’s groups addressed hygienic practices and home care behaviours with pregnant women. Furthermore, Houweling et al state that the reason interventions have stronger impacts on the most socio-economically marginalised groups is biomedical; where neonatal death results from a combination of, and interaction between, morbidities, addressing one risk factor has an effect on the others.


This paper describes the equity impact of a women’s group intervention in India that sought to reduce the neonatal mortality rate (NMR). Using secondary analysis of quantitative data, the researchers estimated the intervention effects of women’s groups on neonatal mortality in the most and least socio-economically marginalised groups. The findings indicate that the intervention had the strongest impact on the most marginalised groups. Figures show that among the most marginalised, the NMR was reduced by 59%; among the least marginalised, the NMR was 36% lower. However, there was no effect on the use of healthcare services in either group, and improvements in home care were comparable. The authors conclude that participatory community interventions can substantially reduce socio-economic inequalities in neonatal mortality.


This presentation provides an overview of a newborn and maternal health intervention in India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Malawi. The quantitative research focused on women’s group interventions and found a 37% reduction in maternal mortality and a 23% reduction in neonatal mortality. After this outcome, the authors seek to understand the socio-demographic and socio-economic differences in attendance in women’s groups, the impacts on different socio-economic groups and why any differences occurred. Interviews were undertaken to understand these issues, as well as to engage with and learn from stakeholders to understand what works to reach lower socio-economic groups. The authors found that projects that work directly with marginalised communities, that engage these communities in planning and implementing programmes and that are free or subsidised are most effective in reducing inequalities. The authors identified the following barriers to reducing inequalities: discrimination and social hierarchy, lack of co-ordination among NGO and government and difficulties in identifying the marginalised.


This presentation summarises the socio-demographic and socio-economic differences that were found in a women’s group intervention to improve maternal and newborn survival. The intervention took place in seven sites in India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Malawi and resulted in a 37% reduction in maternal mortality and a 23% reduction in neonatal mortality. Both quantitative and qualitative data provide insights into variations (and reasons for these variations) within the sample groups. In all the intervention groups, there were little to no socio-economic differences in the women attending compared with the population. However, in all trials, young, married women with no children attended less. The qualitative component of the research found that there were limited socio-economic differences in women attending because: the facilitator was respected and encouraged all women, the materials were easy to understand and fun and maternal and newborn health issues affect everyone, not just rich or poor women, so everyone was interested to learn. The reasons young, married women and girls with no children in Nepal attended less were because they were new to the community and under the control of their husbands and families-in-laws, and because they were shy and fearful that other newly married girls would not attend to the group.

Female respondents suggested that the best way to overcome barriers to attendance is to split the women’s group into two; older women who have had children, and young married women who have not. The authors recommend that future interventions work with this latter group to encourage these women to attend.


This paper analyses the combined effects of political violence and adverse climate shocks in child nutrition. It uses longitudinal quantitative data from Andhra Pradesh, India and a natural experiment arising from an 8-month ceasefire in 2004 and used height-for-age measurements as an indicator of child nutrition. The findings indicate that drought has an adverse effect on child nutrition in Andhra Pradesh.
Pradesh only in violence-affected communities, and that political violence has large indirect negative effects on child nutrition through reduction in a household’s ability to cope with drought. The ceasefire period reversed the adverse effects of drought in communities previously affected by the conflict. Potential mechanisms explaining the strong joint welfare effect of conflict and drought are the failure of economic coping strategies in areas of violence and restricted access to public goods and services. The authors conclude that peace brings enormous benefits to millions of households in Andhra Pradesh in the form of higher levels of education and higher earnings.


This paper examines how and why the livelihoods of 64 households from eight villages across Badakhshan, Kandahar and Sar-i-Pul provinces in Afghanistan have changed between 2002 and 2009, using data obtained in household interviews. The findings indicate that, while many households have experienced improvements in access to basic services since 2002, livelihood security has declined for the majority. Young people’s families have struggled to meet the cost of vital social engagements such as weddings, and some families also delayed marriages for their sons in order to save money for a brideprice payment. Households that found themselves in debt and/or without male labourers married their daughters young to secure whatever brideprice they were able to. These early marriages involved little to no agency on the part of the daughters and sons involved.

The study also found that young men seeking a means to provide for their families joined the Afghan National Security Force (ANSF) as a way to escape the lack of local opportunities. However, some of these men quickly left the ANSF because of the rigours of training and three households had sons killed or gravely injured, which led to both emotional and economic shocks. The authors conclude by criticising the aid community – from donors to NGOs – for making little progress in willingness or ability to act on the risks facing rural Afghans. They also highlight opportunities for improving rural livelihood security, including: improving agricultural viability, labour market diversification, risk reduction orientation of financial services, education access and outcomes, social assistance and the transparency of aid delivery, as well as reducing expenditures on health and social events.

This report explores dynamics of rural livelihoods in three villages of Faryab Province, Afghanistan. The study is based on detailed household interviews. It finds that livelihood security in these three villages has deteriorated notably. The drivers of this livelihood decline were drought and physical insecurity linked to frequent political changes, as well as insurgent infiltration. The research also showed that young people played a key role in household coping mechanisms: marriage was used to build social links with other families or, in some cases, to gain brideprice, and young men migrated to Iran to find work and to escape physical insecurity in their hometowns.


This report explores the livelihood pathways of households in Badakhshan, Afghanistan from 2002-3 to 2008-9. Data was obtained from in-depth household interviews with 24 households in three villages in Badakhshan, as part of a larger study of livelihood changes in Afghanistan. Findings show that most of the study households are worse off than they were prior to 2001 and in all three of the villages, many of the poorer households rationed food during 2008-9 in order to survive. The study has a strong focus on young people’s marriage opportunities, finding that there is increasing difficulty in getting married.

For young people, the imperative to marry and the desire to establish a strong, large household are central to achieving physical and economic security; nevertheless, young men and women have very little say in their marriage decisions. Although forced marriage was mentioned, the way in which this operated varied: some marriages were forced internally, with parents and elders giving daughters no choice in marriage negotiations. However, others were externally forced, with men arriving at a family home and threatening families with guns and violence if they did not hand over their daughters for marriage. Overall, marriage is a decision made by a whole household. Families sold assets, generated income and took on debt in order to pay for a marriage, as this was often the major expenditure that a household had to face and plan for.

Marriage has security prospects for parents: for sons, the ability to command household labour and maintain a joint household helps provide security in old age. For daughters, marriage helps maintain the wider social networks on which the household depends. Nevertheless, because of increasing brideprice, families are struggling to meet the costs of marriage and young men are either delaying their marriages, migrating to Iran for work or joining the army or police.
The authors argue that the emotional costs arising from the difficulties of getting married should not be underestimated.


This report explores the livelihood pathways of households in Kandahar province, Afghanistan. Data was obtained from 16 household interviews in two villages (8 in each). Findings indicate that a primary school in one of the villages only has a minority of boys enrolled, and no girls at all. The authors attribute this lack of attendance to a failure of schools to function (partly due to the influence of religious leaders), social norms and early marriage practices (girls are married between the ages of 14-16) and their role in the production and selling of handicrafts embroidery, which is seen as more worthwhile for them than education. The research also found that young people saw marriage as a key to a sustainable livelihood. Underlying marriage traditions are the importance of the command of household labour and household survival; therefore, social norms and economic imperatives drive the impulse for marriage as soon it can happen. Young brides and grooms have very little say in their marriages, and decisions are made by men in the family (although mothers do have some say). Only older and rich men have independence in marriage decision-making and social norms, poverty and the need for labour drives early marriage; one woman interviewed stated that 9-13 year olds are considered ready for marriage.

Marriages require affordability, both in terms of brideprice payments and wedding costs, and can take place either through exchange (where two daughters marry two sons) or through the payment of a bride price. The research documents cases of families selling land and delaying marriage in order to fund brideprice. Exchange marriages were found more among the poorer Kandahar households that could not afford brideprice. The authors conclude that the strong parental imperative to marry their children is driven by social norms and self-interest, including the desire to break out of poverty and maintain relationships.


This paper examines peer effects and the role of peer group composition in learning achievement in senior high schools in Ghana. The research uses data from a framed field experiment where students are randomly assigned to either work individually or in groups to complete Sudoku puzzles. In a final round, all students complete a new set of Sudoku puzzles individually. The findings indicate that group assignment has, on average, large and significant positive effects on achievement. The impacts of group assignment are estimated based on measures of students’ cognitive ability, academic achievement, pre-treatment Sudoku scores and gender and the results show that although peer group work benefits most students, it can penalize many of the initially best-performing group members. The authors examined differential effects of group assignment based on peer group composition by investigating whether the gender composition of the group matters and found no additional benefits of same gender groups. Furthermore, they examined whether group size impacts learning achievement and found no significant differentials in performance between groups of two, three and four students.

The authors conclude that within groups, peer member ability has a positive and significant impact on student achievement.


This policy brief summarises the findings of a qualitative study into the family relations of labour migrants across their peak child-bearing years in Vietnam. Using life histories of 77 low-income rural-urban migrants, the study showed how low-income wives/mothers and husbands/fathers managed their relations with spouse and children when they had to ‘go away’ for work. Families employed a number of strategies to make a better life for the family, including: visiting marriages or remote parenting strategies which trade-off the togetherness of husband/wife with keeping at least one parent and child living together; strategies to make a life in the city which involves considerable costs and difficulties to keep the whole family together and strategies in which nobody in the family lives together and for whom the chronic family separation of both spouses and parents/children is regarded by migrants as a ‘failure’. The findings indicate how migration was both about and in tension with family roles; although social norms were more supportive of men’s separation from their family, women were under considerable pressure to simultaneously provide for their children and to care for their children.

The migrants interviewed were seriously concerned about parent-child separation, emphasising the impact on parent-child relations and children’s social development; however, they perceive the period when children are ‘still young’ and parents ‘not yet old’ represents an opportunity for migration to try to improve families’ lives. The authors recommend...
that rural and urban authorities in Vietnam take specific responsibility for the social protection of migrants and their families.


This article explores efforts to widen access to higher education, with a particular focus on disadvantaged groups. Drawing on findings from a mixed methods study into widening higher education participation in Tanzania and Ghana, the author argues that, provided they have strong and visionary leadership, universities can spearhead efforts to make higher education accessible to disadvantaged groups through the judicious use of their admissions and selection criteria, and by mounting special support programmes. The author states that more information on who the most disadvantaged groups are and what they need most in regard to higher education is essential in promoting equity in higher education.


This article explores disabled people’s access to higher education. It is based on a review of the global literature on disability in higher education and interview findings in Ghana and Tanzania. It indicates that while disability was associated with constraints, misrecognition, frustration, exclusion and even danger, students’ agency, advocacy and achievement in higher education (HE) offered opportunities for transforming stigma. Findings from interviews with disabled students indicate that education had transformative potential for disabled students, as it provided them with the skills and personal efficacy required for effective disability advocacy. The authors state that disability is a structure of inequality that has received little policy or research attention in HE in low-income countries; they recommend that higher education equality interventions must ensure full and effective participation and inclusion of diverse social groups. The authors believe that HE needs to play an enhanced role in the creation and dissemination of knowledge by and with disabled people in order to challenge prejudice and promote social inclusion.

Moser, C (RES-167-25-0483) Understanding the tipping point of urban conflict: violence, cities, and poverty reduction in the developing world.


This global policy report provides recommendations from the four cities involved in the research project which identified entry points in tipping point processes and violence chains that might allow the implementation of policy initiatives to reduce the risk of violence, or break strategic linkages within violence chains. The paper specifically explores whether the existence of “youth bulges” are correctly associated with violence. The four cities studied were Dili (Timor Leste), Patna (India), Nairobi (Kenya) and Santiago (Chile). In Dili, the study focuses on youth, where violence has been attributed to large numbers of unemployed youths; however, the research found that the underlying causes of political violence in 2006-7 were related to long-standing political issues rather than urban population dynamics. However, the results from Dili and Nairobi showed that young men (particularly those unemployed) often become involved in violence as a consequence of being manipulated by other groups including political parties.

Overall, the authors conclude that youth are not generally a driving force being urban violence, meaning that city-level policy recommendations aiming to minimize the potential involvement of youth in violence should focus on providing them with occupational alternatives in order to avoid them being exposed to manipulation by external agents.


This project synthesis leaflet summarises the methodology and background to the Urban Tipping Point (UTP) project, a project which conceives of the transition from conflict to violence in terms of a “tipping point”, where certain types of social phenomena move from being relatively rare occurrences to very common ones in a rapid and exponential manner. The UTP project has focused on qualitative factors such as systemic transformations, paradigmatic events, the evolution of perceptions and the existence of networks of social agents as possible causal factors that can all lead to a tipping point being reached. The project explores how different forms of violence that are generated by tipping points processes interacting with each other and forming violence chains or knock on effects by conducting mixed methods research in four cities associated with violence: Dili in Timor Leste, Patna in India, Nairobi in Kenya and Santiago in Chile.
This report explores issues of poverty and dignity amongst lone mothers in South Africa. Lone mothers were chosen for the research because of their roles as both caregivers and breadwinners, typically low levels of education and employment and reliance on childcare facilities. The research combined interviews and focus groups in the Eastern and Western Cape districts of South Africa with social attitudes survey data and interviews with senior government officials. The research considers women’s accounts of dignity, self and their position within their communities, the impacts of the Child Support Grant and the need for social protection policies targeted to lone mothers and traditional forms of social support. The section of the report on the impact of the South African Child Support Grant considers women’s reports of their ability to care and provide for children. Respondents spoke about the feelings of shame they experience when they are unable to provide for their children’s educational needs. There was some evidence that receiving the grant made it easier to pay for school fees and lunches and so improved children’s experience of school. However, respondents also spoke with some anger about the value of the grant which is insufficient to meet all the expenses associated with children’s education. While focus group respondents regarded paid employment as the primary route to obtaining dignity there was strong support for a grant that was aimed specifically at lone mothers would be positive. Some advocated that the grant would improve children’s educational needs. Some respondents felt that a grant targeted to lone mothers would produce stigma and lower their position in their communities. However, according to the social attitudes data collected by the project over three quarters of all adults and single mothers agreed with the statement that ‘there should be a grant for unemployed single mothers to meet their basic needs and two thirds of respondents disagreed with the statement that ‘unemployed single mothers do not need any help from the state and should stand on their own feet.’


This working paper explores social security provisions for lone mothers in South Africa by looking at women’s experiences of applying for and receiving the Child Support Grant (CSG) and views about how a grant designed to support their own needs who help to protect and preserve their dignity. Thirty focus group discussions took place in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape Provinces.

The focus groups discussions reveal that women feel the process of applying for and receiving the grant is detrimental to their dignity. The major areas of concerns were queuing, extensive and unclear qualifying criteria, disrespectful treatment from officials and judgemental comments. Participants held conflicting views about the grant, some focus group participants felt that the CSG enables them to better support their children and fulfil their caregiver role, while others stressed that the amount of the grant is so small that it impedes their ability to provide care and represents a lack of autonomy as receiving the grant signifies lack of income and paid work. Mothers viewed the idea of a social security grant designed for the their own needs positively: the most frequently expressed view was that this would increase their ability to provide for their children, and meet their own needs for items such as clothing, food and housing. Some negative comments were also noted, such as the view that a new grant may encourage women to have more children and lead to dependence.

there was a strong discourse of phones being associated with sex, teenage pregnancy and HIV, as well as evidence of young people undermining daily bodily care in order to sustain their phone activity: for example, going without food to buy credit and foregoing sleep to make cheap night calls. Furthermore, young people noted that threatening and frightening phone calls led to anxiety and the threat of physical attacks.


This brief presentation explores the role of mobile phones as a therapeutic resource. Using Ghanaian data from Porter’s study into phones and health-seeking, this presentation illuminates how young people use phones to call friends or family and ask for advice and/or to mobilise resources to enable less risky therapy and to maintain social relationships with family. For example, one vignette features a young 20-year-old man who describes how he uses his phone to contact his sister in the UK when their mother is unwell, even though these phone calls are expensive.

**Porter, G (RES-167-25-0028) Children, transport and mobility in sub-Saharan Africa: developing a child-centred evidence base to improve policy and change thinking across Africa.**


This paper examines young people’s health-seeking practices in Ghana: a country with a rapidly-changing therapeutic landscape, characterised by the recent introduction of a National Health Insurance Scheme, mass advertising of medicines, and increased use of mobile phones. It presents qualitative and quantitative data from eight field-sites in urban and rural Ghana, including 131 individual interviews, focus groups, and a questionnaire survey of 1005 8-to-18-year-olds. The data show that many young people in Ghana play a major role in seeking healthcare for themselves and others. Young people’s ability to secure effective healthcare is often constrained by their limited access to social, economic and cultural resources and information. However, many interviewees actively generated, developed and consolidated such resources in their quest for healthcare. Health insurance and the growth of telecommunications and advertising present new opportunities and challenges for young people’s health-seeking practices. The authors argue that policy should take young people’s medical realities as a starting point for interventions to facilitate safe and effective health-seeking.


This article explores how young people’s daily journeys (to school and other places) shape, and are shaped by, the possibility of wanted and unwanted sexual encounters. The research draws on qualitative and quantitative data from the Child Mobility Project, which focuses on children and young people aged 9-17 in eight study sites in South Africa, Malawi and Ghana respectively. The research found that young women face risks of sexual violence and socially transgressive relationships (such as transactional relationships with taxi drivers) in their daily travels (for example, travels to school, to fetch firewood or water, or social engagements). Girls interviewed in the study indicated widespread and well justified fear of sexual violence on their daily travels, with some girls providing accounts of assaults and others saying that they were afraid to walk home. Consequently, girls have their mobility constrained by parents and guardians, which in turn has negative impacts on education and social opportunities. However, mobility also presents young people with valuable opportunities for sexual encounters and experimentation and adult surveillance curtails young people’s mobility and ability to independently negotiate these relationships.

The author stresses the need for mobility-focused interventions that work with existing institutions, such as schools, or community-based youth organisations, to enable young people to effectively negotiate their sexuality and relationships.


This paper highlights the unforeseeable consequences of research participation on children’s lives. As part of Porter’s study on children’s mobility in Ghana, Malawi and South Africa, 70 child researchers received training to contribute to the research and this paper presents the findings of a small-scale evaluative study based on follow-up interviews with ten of the young researchers in Ghana. Although evaluations at the time of the project suggested largely positive impacts (such as increased confidence, acquisition of useful skills and expanded social networks), in some cases, the children’s roles also had effects on their schoolwork, domestic work and income-generation activities.
The authors argue that adult researchers must be conscious that, when working with children, things will change during and after research projects in unknowable ways, and ethical challenges may arise. Furthermore, participatory research is not a one-off event, whose effects are frozen at a single point in time, but can have effects that arise much later on and only by maintaining contact with ex-child researchers can adult researchers continue to observe the consequences of their participation.


This book chapter highlights an under-explored area in development thinking and practice - the issue of transport policy for children in Africa – with a particular focus on the barriers and other constraints concerning the achievement of the MDGs. The paper addresses the access issues (demand side), with specific attention to the gendered experiences of boys and girls, as well as other mobility issues relating to age, family structure, socio-economic status and geography (urban/rural). The paper situates the primary findings in relation to recent work on the issue (current state of knowledge on children and mobility in Sub-Saharan Africa), and parallel collaborative fieldwork in Ghana, Malawi and South Africa. The key research question in the study asks ‘to what extent do current constraints on African children’s spatial mobility and accessibility to services impede their livelihood potential and life chances and how can policy makers best address these problems?’. A series of broad hypotheses and explanations follow - including the impacts on children as transporters themselves, short-term impacts on health and education facility access, as well as longer-term impacts on educational attainment and how outcomes vary by various social dimensions and location.


This paper explores young people’s experiences and perceptions of mobility and mobility constraints in poorer urban areas of Ghana, Malawi and South Africa within the specific context of inter-generational relations. It uses primarily qualitative research findings from a study involving both adult and child researchers to chart the diversities and commonalities of urban young people's mobility experiences on an everyday basis. Three themes are explored: mobility as challenge, mobility as temptation and mobility control. The research found that the discourses around mobility presented by young people in three poor urban neighbourhoods centre around fear, thrill and temptation. Fears include supernatural dangers and witchcraft, traffic, guard/stray dogs, rape, theft, mugging and hijack, whilst thrill includes the excitement of new places, new people, new experiences and even a transformed personal identity. Mobility, to young people, is also a route to opportunity and freedom (including sexual freedom as well as freedom from parental gaze). In contrast, adult discourse is mostly negative, with a strong focus on danger shaped by HIV/AIDS prevalence, poverty, the incidence of rape, violence and transactional sex. Parents who feel disempowered in their efforts to maintain their duty of care frequently resort to mobility restrictions that fall disproportionately on girls in the name of ‘protection’.


This paper is a literature review exploring the challenges of meeting children and young people’s mobility and transport needs in Africa. The paper contextualises children and young people’s daily mobility and associated transport needs and constraints within the family and household as well as livelihood trajectories. The author divides the existing literature into the following sub-categories: urban and rural contexts; school journeys; access to health services; young people as pedestrian transporters and transport operators; the potential for intermediate means of transport (IMT) and other interventions to improve young people’s mobility and access to services, and traffic accidents and road safety. The paper concludes that there is an absence of a child focus in African transport policy and that knowledge on the mobility and physical access constraints faced by children in accessing health, educational and other facilities (and how these constraints impact on children’s future livelihood opportunities and life chances) are essential to developing transport policy guidelines to help tackle current constraints. Much of the material that this article draws comes from researchers whose primary focus is outside transport, as transport specialists are only just beginning to recognise the significance of children’s mobility.


This article explores the implications of practices, politics and meanings of mobility for women and girls in rural areas of sub-Saharan Africa. The paper is based on field research conducted in western and southern Africa (principally southern Ghana, southern Malawi and northern and central Nigeria). Findings show that, for women and
girls, physical remoteness and isolation compound the effects of poverty and deprivation. Patriarchal institutions (including the gender division of labour) and patriarchal discourses concerning linkages between women’s mobility, vulnerability and sexual appetite shape everyday social practices that compound the physical constraints imposed by poor accessibility and inadequate transport. These social inequalities impact on girls’ education, healthcare/ For example, girls living in less accessible areas often drop out of school not simply because the school is too far or the transport is costly, but because the domestic work required of them before they leave for school is particularly time-consuming. Even if the girls do make it to school, exhaustion as a result of pre-school work duties and a long journey to school will reduce their concentration in class.

Given that so many mobility constraints are social, transport interventions do not address the more fundamental problems of restricted mobility caused by gender inequality and female time poverty. The author stresses the need for a stronger focus on gendered mobility and access issues within the gender studies and development communities, as transport remains a surprisingly neglected area.


This paper explores mobile phone usage and perceived impacts among young people aged 9-18 years in three countries: Ghana, Malawi and South Africa. This research uses data from qualitative research (in-depth interviews, focus groups and school essays) with young people, their parents, teachers and other key informants, as well as a follow-up questionnaire administered to almost 3000 young people. Findings indicate that for most young people, access to mobile phones is a vital component of everyday life. In the areas with relatively low levels of ownership, they remain an object of desire and symbol of success. Girls, especially once they reach puberty, are more likely than boys to experience surveillance and mobility constraints imposed by parents and elders; the virtual mobility offered by mobile phones helps them circumvent such constraints, but not without gendered and generational implications.

Mobile phones were found to help young people maintain social networks and family connections, especially across distances; however, it also helps young people extend their social networks with exciting possibilities of meeting a partner. The potential to develop these new networks brings concerns to parents and guardians; in South Africa in particular, mobile phone ownership among poor schoolgirls/unemployed girls is perceived to be an indicator of sexual relationships with “sugar daddies”. The potential for mobile phones to increase inter-generational tensions is therefore evident. The author predicts that, given that social networks play an important role in enabling households and individuals to move out of poverty, networking activity is likely to expand as access to mobile phones expand.

Pridmore, P (RES-167-25-0217) Strengthening ODFL systems to increase education access and attainment for young people in high HIV prevalence SADC countries.


This paper is based on mixed methods empirical research which took place in Malawi between April 2008 and December 2008. The researchers tested the impact of an intervention designed to provide and more open and flexible way of learning. The project aimed to build ‘circles of support’ around vulnerable pupils who are at risk of dropping out of school, through the creation of a buddy system and clubs for vulnerable children. Vulnerable children were also given a ‘school-in-a-box’ kit which included textbooks and self study guides with the aim of increasing children’s opportunities for study and learning. The project showed positive educational and psychosocial impacts. Class drop-out from the intervention group (7.34%) was significantly lower than the control group (12.81%) (p = 0.011, 5% level) and at the school level there was a lower dropout rate amongst the group of targeted at-risk pupils (4.6%), compared to non-targeted pupils (9.5%) while class promotion rates for intervention schools was slightly higher than in the control group (66.5% and 61.7% respectively). In interviews many pupils said that they felt more motivated to attend school and found the new encouragement and emotional support received from teachers as an important motivating factor. As a result of the project there was also an increase in the awareness of the needs of HIV affected children within the community.


This report presents case studies conducted in two districts of Malawi and aimed to explore the school experience of children affected by HIV/AIDS and the strategies that schools used to support these pupils. Methods for the case studies included interviews, focus groups discussions, document analysis informal education and participatory techniques used during mini-workshops. The research finds that children affected by HIV/AIDS face specific educational disadvantages, such as exclusion from education despite the fact that they are enrolled. They stress the multi-faceted and often cumulative nature of children’s experiences. Central findings include that the route to
This paper investigates the medium-term impacts of Bangladesh’s Primary Education Stipend (PES) programme on a range of individual and household welfare measures. It uses a longitudinal study that gathered data between 2000-2006. The findings indicate that the PES programme had negligible impacts on school enrolments, household expenditures and calorie and protein consumption. Furthermore, at the individual level, the PES had a negative impact on grade progression, particularly among boys from poor households who are not eligible for stipends at the secondary level. Nevertheless, the PES leads to improvements in height-for-age among girls and body mass index among boys. The author concludes that given the size of the PES programme its impacts are small given the size of the programme, and attribute this to poor targeting combined with the declining value of the stipend. Baulch also recommends a review of the PES programme’s targeting mechanisms, and whether it would be more efficient to target larger cash transfers to smaller numbers in the poorest households.


This paper provides an overview of research that assessed the long-term impact of three antipoverty interventions in Bangladesh: the introduction of new agricultural technologies, educational transfers and microfinance – on monetary and non-monetary measures of well-being. Drawing on data from surveys conducted by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) in Bangladesh, the research found that the characteristics of new agricultural technologies matter considerably to whether the impact of the intervention grows or declines over time. Furthermore, early adoption of new technologies had beneficial effects on intake of calories, protein, iron and vitamin A for all three technologies examined. Stunting and wasting, however, had gender-differentiated impacts. The proportion of stunted girls and (thin) wasted boys decreased substantially among early adopters relative to late adopters in villages with improved vegetable technology, but the proportion of stunted girls increased among early adopting families compared with late adopting families in the individual and group fish pond villages. When it came to educational cash transfers, the PES (Primary Education Stipend) had a statistically significant impact on grade progression, but which is lower among PES beneficiaries than non-PES beneficiaries; the negative impact is strongest among boys from poor households who (unlike girls) are ineligible to receive the stipends. Nevertheless, boys of primary-school age were more likely to experience improvements in their body mass index and girls were more likely to improve their height-for-age scores. Overall, the authors conclude that the PES had few impacts for a programme of its size.

In conclusion, the authors argue that group-based approaches in Bangladesh that involve women seem to have had favourable impacts on individual nutritional status, particularly of children, even if their impacts on monetary indicators appear low.

Teal (RES-167-25-0371) Finance and formalisation as mechanisms for poverty reduction in Africa.


This paper assesses how far the reduction in poverty experienced by Ghana between 1991 and 2005 is linked to the creation of better paying jobs and increase in education. The authors use three rounds of Ghana labour market data covering 1991/2, 1998/99 and 2005/6 and covers formal employment and self employment. The analysis shows that earnings rose by $64\%$ for men and by $55\%$ for women in the period from 1998 to 2005. While education, particularly at the post secondary level, is associated with far higher earnings there is no evidence that the increase in earnings is due to increased returns to education or increased levels of education. In contrast there is very strong evidence, for all levels of education that the probability of having a public sector job approximately halved, while the probability of having a job in a small firm, which is equated with low wages, increased very substantially. The evidence suggests that there was a rapid increase in the earnings rate of unskilled workers, although it is unclear why this was.


This paper analyses the returns to education in terms of labour market outcomes. The analysis draws on a range of socioeconomic data collected from a panel of urban workers.
Nevertheless, the study found no evidence for a substantive increase in the proportion of households headed by children or skip-generation households.

The authors recommend that efforts to strengthen HIV-affected families must: a) support parents, b) recognise that the scaling-up of effective HIV treatment may have a profound effect on families and households affected by HIV and AIDS, c) actively explore ways to integrate family and support services in the rapidly expanding public HIV treatment programmes and d) make greater use of empirical data to inform policy and target interventions more accurately.


This paper investigates the expected state costs of cash transfers to children in South Africa up to 2015. As the child population is not expected to grow between 2008 and 2015, the fiscal cost of the Child Support Grant is expected to stabilise in the near future. Using national data to investigate the profile of child grant beneficiaries, this study models the possible evolution of the system up to the year 2015 by considering the costs of various simulated orphan grants (such as the Foster Care Grant) and juxtaposing them with the costs associated with increasing take-up of the Child Support Grant among maternal orphans. The research found that between 2008 and 2015 there will not be additional fiscal pressure on the Child Support Grant emanating from population growth. However another grant, the Foster Care Grant, presents a much greater fiscal risk given that three quarters of Foster Care Grant beneficiaries are orphans. The authors found that many maternal orphans who are entitled to the Child Support Grant are not receiving it and speculate that this reflects a perception that the Child Support Grant is for mothers; the authors recommend an extensive media campaign to change public perceptions on this issue and ensure maternal orphans have access to financial support.


This article assesses the magnitude of inequalities in under-five child malnutrition ascribable to economic status in South Africa. It compares national survey data from 1993 and 2008 and uses household income as an indicator of socioeconomic status, with stunted growth and being underweight as indicators of child malnutrition. The findings of the study indicate that children’s heights and weights have overall increased since 1993 and being stunted or underweight has become less common. Furthermore, pro-rich inequalities in stunting and underweight have significantly declined since the end of apartheid, suggesting
that pro-poor improvements in child welfare have taken place. The authors speculate that the Child Support Grant (introduced in 1998), alongside improvements in health care and women's education, contributed to this.


This paper presents on research from South Africa that examines the progress of maternal and paternal orphans in school compared with children who live in different households from their parents and children who reside with their parents. The research uses data from a panel of households first interviewed for the KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Survey in 1993 and then re-interviewed in 1998 and 2004. Co-residence with a well educated mother benefited children's schooling, but the fixed-effects model used in the analysis provided no evidence that maternal orphanhood or living apart from their mother adversely affected children's schooling. In contrast, both paternal orphanhood and belonging to a different household from one's father resulted in slower progress at school. Although absence of the father was associated with household poverty, this was not why it was associated with falling behind at school, which appeared related to social and emotional support.


This paper investigates the relationship between teenage childbearing and school attainment in South Africa. Using nationally-representative data, this analysis focuses on the 2010 outcomes of a panel of 673 childless young women aged 15-18 in 2008. The findings indicate that girls who had their first birth by 2010 had 4.4 times the odds of leaving school and 2.2 times the odds of failing to matriculate compared to girls who had not given birth in this age group. Overall, girls from the highest-income households were unlikely to give birth and girls who were behind at school relatively likely to do so. More than half the new mothers enrolled in school in 2010; those who tended to be rural residents who had resided with a mother who had attended secondary school were most likely to enrol.

The authors conclude that poor educational attainment, teenage motherhood and childhood poverty are interrelated problems in South Africa. For middle-class families, avoiding early motherhood contributes to the intergenerational transmission of privilege. The authors also recommend that dissuading girls in their mid-teens who are behind in school from becoming teenage mothers may require intervention at an earlier stage of schooling.


Using data from Familias en Acción, a Conditional Cash Transfer programme to explore the impact of conditionality on children's health outcomes, this study uses data collected in three waves of the Familias en Acción evaluation to assess whether conditionality makes a difference to children's attendance at health check-ups. The research found that preventive visits of children born after the mother registered in the programme are 50% lower because they are excluded from this conditionality. The results also indicate that preventive care improves a composite health indicator that includes measures of child morbidity (symptoms of respiratory disease and diarrhoea), but only significantly decreases the probability of children being underweight. In conclusion, the authors found that conditionality in cash transfer programmes have a positive effect on preventative health care for children.


This paper examines existing evidence on the effectiveness of conditional cash transfers (CCTs) in low-income settings, aiming to comment particularly on what affects programme outcomes in settings where infrastructure and capacity for delivery might be low, and that have high levels of poverty at baseline. The authors narrowed the scope of this research by reviewing only evidence from the three first large-scale CCTs implemented in Honduras and Nicaragua. The findings indicate that CCTs have the strongest effect on schooling outcomes in poorest households: they generate higher enrolment rates and reduce child working hours; programme effects on schooling are greater when macro-economic conditions are more favourable an CCTs help mitigate the potential detrimental effect on household consumption during economic shocks. Evidence of CCTs having a positive effect on nutrition and health was unclear; the authors conclude that such outcomes might be less sensitive to difference in household economic status. Finally, the review shows that both real and perceived programme delivery shape people's incentives for engagement in the CCT.

The authors state the limitations of the research: that there is a lack of analysis of long-term outcomes because relevant data is unavailable; randomisation was done at the
community or group level, despite outcomes being measured at household level and there was variation in the degree to which studies reported on attrition. They recommend that further research explores the extent to which outcomes in learning, nutrition and health might vary between communities and households as a result of CCTs.


This paper includes case studies conducted in three South African universities to explore how professional education in universities might contribute to improving the quality of education and poverty reduction and are designed to illustrate how the project developed the human development public good professional education index. The case studies involved interviews with students, lecturers, university leaders, alumni and professional bodies and discussion with a research working group and are coded and analysed using a capability framework. Overall the research located eight key professional capabilities: 1) Informed Vision; 2) Affiliation; 3) Resilience 4) Involvement in social and collective struggle 5) Emotions; 6) Integrity 7) Assurance & confidence; 8) Disciplinary knowledge & practical skills. The development of these skills requires both professional education and a supportive institutional environment.

Four significant university dimensions were identified as institutional culture; advancing criticism, deliberation and responsibility; social engagement; and, contributions to building just futures. These professional capabilities allow professionals space to think about the public good of professional education and what it is that they value about their work and in turn enable the development of professionals concerned with the public good. Educational arrangements to support the development of public good professionals were found to be: curriculum; appropriate pedagogies; encouraging professional ways of being; and, attention to departmental cultures – within these categories there are recurring themes of encouraging critical and deep thinking, on-going development, high expectations and participation.


This paper explores the links between poverty and shame in Uganda and explores both people’s experiences of shame and their coping mechanisms. The study was conducted in Central West Uganda and involved in-depth interviews with 30 adults and 30 young people between the ages of 10 and 18, who were living in the same homes as the adults and enrolled in school and were economically deprived. People made strong and repeated references to the fact that they felt ashamed of being materially and socially deprived and regularly experienced shaming in public spaces and forums such as local council meetings feasts and burial gatherings through deliberate and malicious comments. Many interviewees responded to the shaming effects of poverty by withdrawing from public life as much as possible by staying in the house as much as possible, discouraging visitors and not discussing their situation a strategy very much at odds with cultural expectations. Interviewees also talked about how they strove to ‘keep up appearances’ and to mask their poverty by pretending to be content with their hardship, ensuring that in public family members were always smartly dressed and making financial donations to those who were even worse off than themselves.

Interviews with children and young people demonstrated their acute awareness of family poverty and has developed feelings of poverty induced shame early in life. Children who were enrolled in government schools under Uganda’s Universal Primary Education scheme rather than in private schools felt that this marked them as needy and parents felt stigmatised for having no choice but to send their children to a school considered inferior by the community. However the research found that there was no evidence of teachers or peers deliberately stigmatising poor student and student self-reflection seemed to be the main source of any feelings of failure.


This chapter draws on fieldwork conducted in the Indian states of Kerala and Gujarat over a period of 4 months. The research combined key informant interviews and participant observation in poor households and included adults, young people and senior citizens. The households experienced a poor standard of housing and difficulties in providing adequate food for their household. Negative physical and psychological impacts of poverty were evident in undernourishment of children and adults, inadequate clothing and ill-health.

At the intrahousehold level poverty is shown to have detrimental impacts on family relations, Parents reported feeling embarrassment and shame when they failed to meet the needs of their children, such as school fees, new clothes, good food or gifts for festivals and ceremonies or paying for
medical treatment. Parents also felt pressure associated with their children comparing themselves negatively to their peers and their associated feeling of embarrassment. Struggling to meet social obligations on cultural occasions such as weddings and funerals was also cited as a difficulty.

Responses to feelings of shamed varied across groups and sites, one of the strategies repeatedly described by participants was that of evading situations where they were likely to feel ashamed which resulted in various degrees of social withdrawal. Children reported avoiding the free school meals provided in high school, especially when they had to go alone to receive the meal.

In conclusion the authors use the example of farmer suicides to identify a diffused sense of responsibility for poverty, which has resulted in a lack of collective response of those living in poverty to poor policy. While the poorest sectors of rural society remain dependant on the richest for employment and livelihoods, this acts as a mechanism of social control and instrumental in sustaining discrimination.


This paper reports interviews conducted with a small number of adults and children in seven countries (Uganda, India, China, Pakistan, South Korea, Norway and the United Kingdom) and shows that despite different degrees of deprivation and varied circumstances the interviewees lived experiences and psychological responses to poverty were very similar.

Across contexts feelings of shame associated with poverty arose from interviewees feelings of being judged, their inability to meet their own aspirations and failure to fulfil the social expectations placed upon them by others. These feelings of shame caused many respondents to withdraw from society and lead to depression and in some cases thoughts of suicide. Both men and women experienced these feelings, although women more frequently expressed that they felt shamed in public, while men felt shamed by their failure to live up to expectations of the male provider. Work and school are both examined as sites of shaming and areas of constant comparison with others.

Respondents often felt that the society they lived in dismissed poverty as the result of laziness, when in reality living within a very tight budget requires skill and inventiveness. Many also avoided anti-poverty programmes - as one Ugandan man explained, the benefits received do not outweigh the feelings of shame, while other felt that receiving social assistance marked them as lazy or dependant.

Wessells, M (ES/JO17663/1) Inter-Agency Research on Strengthening Community Based Child Protection for Vulnerable Children in Sierra Leone.


This report explores the effectiveness of a community-owned and driven intervention that seeks to reduce teenage pregnancy in Sierra Leone. It examines changes from baseline to mid-term in data collected from surveys of 13-19 year old adolescents. Although these research findings are only preliminary, they suggest that the intervention is on its way toward achieving intermediate results that will ultimately help reduce teenage pregnancy. Exposure to the intervention was found to increase with age, and was particularly high among individuals who had a partner but were unmarried; these latter individuals had 1.7 times the odds of attending a presentation (information giving sessions) compared to those who were married. Furthermore, between the baseline and midterm surveys, the percentage of teenagers aged 15-17 in intervention areas who were as willing as their partners to use a condom increased by 17.1 percentage points, whereas the control villages showed a decrease of 6.2 percentage points. Unlike in the control areas, girls and adolescents under 15 years in intervention areas showed a significant increase in their intention to use condoms regularly.
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