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Abstract

This paper investigates the gendered impact of paid work, and transition into paid work, on the mental health of adolescents and young adults (AYAs) in resource-poor settings in India. Data on 16,292 AYAs aged 10–19 years at the baseline were drawn from a longitudinal survey conducted in 2015–16 in India who are followed-up again in 2018–19. The mean estimates convey that Mental Ill-health Score (MIS) for AYAs who participated in paid work was significantly higher than those who had never participated, especially for females. The absolute female-male gap in MIS also increased from 1.16 in 2015–16 to 1.78 in 2018–19. Findings based on multiple robust econometric models reveal that the increase in MIS as a result of transitioning from not working to paid work or remaining in paid work was more significant for females than males net of other confounders. The gendered effect of paid work on MIS was sensitive to school attendance and marital status. Instrument variable regression estimates strengthen our argument that transition to paid work in adolescents and school-going ages higher psychological issues net of other predictors. In conclusion, we advance that participation in paid work during adolescence negatively impacts mental health and is gender-sensitive, with a more pronounced effect for school-going and married female AYAs.

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Keywords (separated by '-') Gender - Child labour - Mental health - Education - Child marriage - India

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# 1 Gender, Paid Work, and Mental Health of Adolescents 2 and Young Adults in Resource-Poor Settings of India

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## 6 Abstract

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24 **Keywords** Gender · Child labour · Mental health · Education · Child marriage ·  
25 India

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## 26 1 Introduction

27 Child and teenage labor remains inadmissibly common in the world today and is  
28 directly imperiling the health and wellbeing of children and adolescents. Labour  
29 force participation in the age group 5 to 17 years has risen to 160 million in 2020  
30 from its earlier estimate of 152 million in 2016, a rise of 8 million in four years  
31 (International Labour Office [ILO], 2017; International Labour Office & United  
32 Nations Children’s Fund [ILO & UNICEF], 2021). In particular, the situation is  
33 dismal in low-middle income countries where gendered influences and partici-  
34 pation in paid work at an early age are more common. In the world’s poorest  
35 regions, more than 1 in 5 children are involved in child labor (UNICEF, 2022)  
36 and the ratio would be slightly higher for the age group 10–19 years. Moreover,  
37 this has an enduring impact on the mental health status and development of ado-  
38 lescents, especially among those who belong to fragile socioeconomic settings  
39 (Edmunds & Alcaraz, 2021; World Health Organization [WHO], 2021).

40 Because of the recent growing significance of better education and decent  
41 employment for the well-being of the population across the life course, under-  
42 standing the impact of transition from school to paid work at an early age has  
43 become very important. Adolescents experience wide-ranging and emotionally  
44 challenging pathways from school to work (Ibrahim et al., 2019; Woodhead,  
45 2004) and this process is often governed by a gendered pattern of socialization  
46 (Kapungu et al., 2018). In particular, the low quality of work available at these  
47 ages makes adolescents more vulnerable as it defies them through stressful condi-  
48 tions for which they are impromptu. Further, the poor employment preparedness,  
49 adverse working environments, along with an additional burden of unpaid house-  
50 hold work for girls shows a gendered impact on their psychological wellbeing  
51 (Lam et al., 2016; Mortimer et al., 2002).

52 This paper investigates the gendered impact of paid work, and transition into  
53 paid work, on the mental health of adolescents and young adults (AYAs) aged  
54 10–19 years in resource-poor settings in India. Cutting-edge empirical research on  
55 adolescents with a gender focus in the analyses in the global context has helped  
56 to formulate gender-specific interventions (Lane et al., 2017; Murray, 2003; Pat-  
57 ton et al., 2016). Until now, difficulties in obtaining comprehensive mental health  
58 data in a longitudinal framework, exclusively for adolescents in a resource-poor  
59 setting in India, have inhibited robust empirical assessment. Therefore, our study  
60 is a significant addition to the empirical literature linking transition to paid work  
61 and its gendered influence on the mental health of AYAs in India.

62 Specifically, this study has three objectives: first, to assess the independent  
63 effect of paid work and gender on the mental health of AYAs. Second is to investi-  
64 gate the interaction effect of gender and the transition to paid work on men-  
65 tal health. Third, to assess the heterogeneous effect of the interaction of gender  
66 and the transition to paid work on mental health across sub-populations derived  
67 from schooling and marital status. To examine these objectives, we used a robust  
68 and multifaceted dataset provided by a longitudinal survey titled “Understanding  
69 the lives of adolescents and young adults (UDAYA)” conducted in the Bihar and

70 Uttar Pradesh states of India. In this survey, interviewers asked all the questions  
71 on mental health directly to the AYAs, which provide a reliable measure directly  
72 reported by the study participants to understand their mental well-being (Ben-  
73 Arieh, 2005).

## 74 1.1 Mental Health Burden among Adolescents

75 Globally, 33% and 16% of all population in 2020 are in the age group 0–19 years  
76 and 10–19 years, respectively, and almost 90% of them live in low-income and mid-  
77 dle-income countries (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs,  
78 Population Division, 2022). Mental health disorders are a fast-emerging global issue  
79 that accounts for 13% of the global burden of diseases and disability among ado-  
80 lescents. One in seven of 10–19-year-olds experiences a mental disorder such as  
81 depression, anxiety, and behavioral issues (WHO, 2021). Among adolescents, psy-  
82 chological disorders are a top cause of health-related burden (Erskine et al., 2015;  
83 Kieling et al., 2011).

84 Adolescents with mental illness and disability conditions are particularly sus-  
85 ceptible to social isolation, exclusion, discrimination, and humiliation (affecting  
86 readiness to seek help). Further, they face obstacles in educational attainment and  
87 achievements (Agnafors et al., 2021; Smith et al., 2021), are prone to risky behav-  
88 iors (Orri et al., 2022), and experience physical ill-health (Aarons et al., 2008; Chen  
89 et al., 2006; Hughes et al., 2017). Previous studies have already documented multi-  
90 ple factors which affect adolescent mental health. Some of the important determi-  
91 nants of mental health during adolescence include the quality of their home environ-  
92 ment (Repetti et al., 2002), early marriages and intimate partner violence (Burgess  
93 et al., 2022; John et al., 2022), exposure to family violence in terms of both interpa-  
94 rental and parent/caregiver to the child (particularly physical abuse, sexual violence,  
95 verbal abuse) (Annerbäck et al., 2012; Hughes et al., 2016; Mehlhausen-Hassoen  
96 & Winstok, 2019), emotional neglect (Leiva et al., 2022), school bullying and rela-  
97 tionships with peers (Arslan et al., 2021; Kaufman et al., 2020; Long et al., 2021),  
98 mother's education level and area of residence (Pandia et al., 2021) and financial  
99 hardships (Kiely et al., 2015).

100 Greater the risk factors adolescents are exposed to, higher the likelihood of  
101 adverse impact on their mental health in later life. Notwithstanding the worldwide  
102 acknowledgment of the significance of mental health preferment and prevention in  
103 AYAs, there is a dearth of quality evidence in terms of measuring the extent of the  
104 problem, mapping underlying predictors and needs across the heterogeneous popu-  
105 lations, especially in low and lower-middle-income countries (Belfer, 2008; WHO,  
106 2021).

107 The undesirable costs of failing to protect adolescents from adverse mental health  
108 conditions extend to adulthood—damaging them both psychologically and physi-  
109 cally and off-putting prospects to lead recompensing lives as grownups (Lane et al.,  
110 2017; Patton et al., 2016; WHO, 2021). In particular, the failure to prevent mental  
111 health disorders, together with developmental and intellectual impairments in ado-  
112 lescents and young populations in low-resource settings, is not only a health crisis

113 but also has wide-reaching impacts on the accomplishment of basic developmental  
114 goals of the country (Eaton et al., 2014; Kieling et al., 2011).

## 115 **1.2 Paid Work and Mental Health among Adolescents**

116 Adolescence is a critical juncture in a life-course for developing social and emo-  
117 tional habits important for mental well-being (Petersen et al., 1993). At this stage,  
118 human life experiences not only lead to physiological changes in the body but also  
119 set the foundation for the process of attaining critical social and economic achieve-  
120 ment and personal life goals (Patton et al., 2016). In particular, adolescence is the  
121 important life course stage and a primary preparatory period for transition from  
122 school to work (Patton et al., 2016; Vuolo et al., 2014). Thus, this phase in a human  
123 life course is sensitive and emotionally challenging, and any unfavorable circum-  
124 stances put extra pressure on psychological well-being (Mortimer et al., 2002).

125 In the context of India, the transition from school to work or continuing both  
126 school and work among adolescents is largely determined by the socio-economic  
127 status of their household and the demand for labor (paid work and unpaid domestic  
128 work) in the family (Chowdhury, 2020; Singh et al., 2018). Adolescents from socio-  
129 economically disadvantaged section disproportionately carry the burden of paid  
130 work. Further, studies underscored that factors like financial difficulties (Richardson  
131 et al., 2017), the experience of material hardships (Edmunds & Alcaraz, 2021; Kim  
132 et al., 2015), and poor quality of work (Mortimer et al., 2002; Ornek & Esin, 2018)  
133 are deleterious to the mental health outcomes of the AYAs. In particular, the con-  
134 flict between school and paid and unpaid domestic work at school-going age, and  
135 their impact on mental health in adolescence received significant attention in the  
136 global context (Ibrahim et al., 2019; Woodhead, 2004). However, the adverse impact  
137 of paid work on mental health in adolescence received very little attention in low-  
138 income settings such as India where children and adolescents often support parents  
139 in earning livelihoods.

## 140 **1.3 Intersection Axes of Gender, Paid Work, and Mental Health**

141 The cross-cutting and multi-layered influence of gender roles and norms on ado-  
142 lescent behavior plays a key role in determining their mental health, especially  
143 in low and middle income settings (Kapungu et al., 2018). Unequal treatment for  
144 male and female children in households, schools, and other public spaces, espe-  
145 cially at the adolescent ages is widely documented in a highly patriarchal setup  
146 like India (Gnanaselvam & Joseph, 2018; John, 2021; Raj, 2010; Raj et al., 2019).  
147 Specifically, socioeconomic and family institutions interacting with gender exac-  
148 erbate the low well-being of female children and adolescents in the country (Afifi,  
149 2007). With a similar hypothesis, a few studies on time-use data of children sug-  
150 gested that girls with lower socio-economic status in India are burdened with both  
151 paid and unpaid work, and higher prevalence of child marriage compared with  
152 boys disrupting their physical health, educational performance, skill formation,  
153 and subjective well-being (Borga, 2019; Pells, 2011; Vikram, 2021). Further,

154 female adolescents have a greater likelihood of involving in low-quality unpaid  
155 work than their male counterparts (Das & Mukherjee, 2011; Khan & Lyon, 2015).  
156 Thus, the susceptibility to psychological distress is higher for females.

157 However, not many studies have investigated the question of whether the par-  
158 ticipation in paid work during adolescence is a defining factor of mental ill-health  
159 perpetuated in adulthood. In the Indian context, two existing studies suggest that  
160 children with a history of work are at a higher risk of mental health problems  
161 (Pandey et al., 2020; Trinh, 2020). Nevertheless, Pandey and colleagues (2020)  
162 did not report gender gaps, while Trinh (2020) assessed a cohort of children aged  
163 7 to 8 years who are generally less commonly found in paid work and not really  
164 in a position to self-assess their mental health status. Moreover, the overall sam-  
165 ple of Trinh (2020) is very small ( $n=956$ ). Thus, it is critical to understand the  
166 gendered influence of paid work on mental health among AYAs using a bigger  
167 longitudinal dataset and robust statistical assessment.

## 168 **2 Need for the Study and Contribution**

169 The level of the child and teenage labor in India is one of the largest in the world  
170 and the highest among the South-Asian countries (ILO & UNICEF, 2021; Khan  
171 & Lyon, 2015). In addition, despite undercounting the numbers, mental disorders  
172 during adolescence have increased in the last two decades with notable gender  
173 differentials (Gundi et al., 2020a, 2020b; Ibrahim et al., 2019; Sagar et al., 2020).  
174 A limited number of previous studies from India have examined socioeconomic  
175 and demographic determinants of poor mental health among AYAs (Chauhan &  
176 Dhar, 2020; Gamlin et al., 2015; Gautham et al., 2020; Sagar et al., 2020). Few  
177 studies have also investigated other factors that contribute to mental health issues  
178 such as abuse (Beattie et al., 2019), the gendered nature of socialization (Ram  
179 et al., 2014), lifestyle issues, and substance use (Kumar et al., 2012; Pillai et al.,  
180 2008; Sunitha & Gururaj, 2014).

181 However, how far transition to paid work in adolescents adversely impacts men-  
182 tal health across gender with their increasing age has not been documented so far.  
183 School drop-out rates due to financial problems or early marriages and entering into  
184 paid work at an early age is a widely recognized social problem in India, which can  
185 have a significant impact on the mental health of AYAs; however, empirical evi-  
186 dence is weak owing to data related limitations. Thus, understanding the intersection  
187 of gender, adolescent labor, and mental health is the key focus of our study. Using  
188 comprehensive and robust longitudinal survey data, this study contributes in three  
189 aspects: (1) the study is the first comprehensive investigation of the transition to  
190 paid work and its impact on the mental health of AYAs. (2) Using the intersectional  
191 framework for the investigation of differential effects of the transition to paid work  
192 on the mental health of AYAs by gender, this study makes a significant contribution  
193 to existing literature. (3) Additionally, we examined the heterogeneous effect of the  
194 transition to paid work on the mental health of male and female AYAs by their edu-  
195 cational and marital status, the first attempt in the Indian context.

## 196 **3 Methods**

### 197 **3.1 Study Design**

198 We used data from the UDAYA project, which was administered by the Population Council  
199 and supported by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the David and Lucile Pack-  
200 ard Foundation. In India, UDAYA is the only longitudinal survey that collected compre-  
201 hensive information on the socio-psychological, economic, and demographic behaviors of  
202 AYAs. It was conducted in 2015–16 and 2018–19 using a multi-stage systematic sampling  
203 method and provides representative robust data for the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh  
204 (UP). UP and Bihar rank first and third in terms of the share of population, represent about  
205 25% of the country's population and contribute the largest number of child labour in India  
206 (Census of India, 2011; Labour Resources Department, 2017). The respondents were inter-  
207 viewed face-to-face in both the waves. In the first wave of the survey (2015–16), the age of  
208 the respondents was between 10 to 19 years. The age range was selected as per the World  
209 Health Organization's definition for adolescents. The study design remains same in both  
210 waves. A full description of the study design, sampling weights, and quality assessment  
211 and challenges are documented elsewhere (see, Santhya et al., 2017a, 2017b).

### 212 **3.2 Study Population**

213 For the analyses, we created panel data using two rounds of the survey from both sur-  
214 veys states. Our study is restricted to a total of 16,292 (UP: 7825 & Bihar: 8467) individ-  
215 uals who were interviewed in wave 1 and re-interviewed in the second wave. All means  
216 indicated in the tables and figures have been weighted using normalized state individual  
217 follow-up weights for deriving estimates representative of the general population (Gundi  
218 et al., 2020a, 2020b). The survey incorporated a range of questions on the socioeconomic,  
219 demographic, and lifestyle characteristics of the respondents and their parents and other  
220 related domains to assess the quality of their transition to adulthood (Santhya et al., 2017a,  
221 2017b). Information has been collected from the boys and girls by maintaining their pri-  
222 vacy to avoid any conflict with the family as well as in the community.

### 223 **3.3 Outcome Measure**

224 Our outcome measure was the mental ill-health score (MIS). MIS was measured based  
225 on a series of 9 questions obtained from the Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ-9)  
226 depression screening module, a reliable, valid, and sensitive depression severity meas-  
227 ure (Kroenke et al., 2001). AYAs reported whether they experienced such symptoms  
228 in the past two weeks preceding the survey. For each question, respondents can report  
229 “not at all”, “less than one week”, “one week or more”, and “nearly every day”, the  
230 weightage for each response ranges from 0 to 3 in the order of the response categories  
231 on the scale. Therefore, for a total of 9 questions, the overall MIS ranges from 0 to 27  
232 with a higher score indicating a greater degree of ill-health. A detailed description of  
233 the questions used for the construction of the measure is given in Table 8, while their



234 reliability (Cronbach's alpha) coefficients and the direction of contribution to the MIS  
235 scale are presented in Table 9. The overall reliability (Cronbach's alpha) coefficient of  
236 9 items used in the MIS measure is 0.86 in 2015–16 and 0.83 in 2018–19 (Table 9). A  
237 qualitative evaluation of the robustness of mental health status measures in this survey  
238 was also documented elsewhere (Gundi et al., 2020a, 2020b).

### 239 3.4 Independent and Control Measures

240 Our principal independent measure was the participation in paid work of male and  
241 female AYAs in the last 12 months preceding the survey. Out of the total sample,  
242 27.2% were boys and 72.8% were girls. Both male and female AYAs were asked  
243 whether they were engaged in any paid work in the last 12 months (yes/no) pre-  
244 ceding the survey in both waves. In the study sample, 21% and 42% of boys and  
245 14% and 21% of girls, respectively in 2015–16 and 2018–19 reported that they were  
246 engaged in paid work in the last 12 months. A detailed description of the control  
247 measures used in this study is presented in Table 10.

## 248 4 Ethical Considerations

249 The UDAYA project protocol was approved by the Institutional Review Board of  
250 the Population Council. The Population Council took several measures to guarantee  
251 that research ethics were strictly followed. Interviewers undertook rigorous training  
252 in ethical considerations, and teams were taught to acquaint community leaders with  
253 the study and seek their support for its implementation in their community. Both  
254 oral and written consent was also sought from each individual to be interviewed, and  
255 from their parents. The interviewers or their parents were signed in a consent form  
256 that explains the content and purpose of the survey. The anonymity of the respond-  
257 ents and their households is fully ensured in the datasets available for public access  
258 (for more details see Santhya et al., 2017a, 2017b).

## 259 5 Statistical Analyses

260 The statistical analyses were performed in three stages. First, an ordinary least squares  
261 (OLS) regression model was conducted on the pooled sample to investigate the inde-  
262 pendent effect of gender and paid work on MIS controlling for all other socio-eco-  
263 nomic and demographic factors for the overall sample and separately for male and  
264 female AYAs. Second, using panel data from the two waves (Panel 1 & 2), OLS and  
265 Probit regression models were carried out with the interaction effect of the transition  
266 to paid work and gender as an explanatory variable on MIS, indicating the direction  
267 of the influence after controlling for a range of other factors. Taking the advantage  
268 of longitudinal data, the status of participation in paid work among AYAs available  
269 from wave 1 and wave 2 can provide us an opportunity to assess whether transition  
270 to participating in paid work impacts on their mental health in comparison to those

271 discontinued participation in paid work in the subsequent wave. Third, we analyzed the  
 272 heterogeneous effect of paid work across axes of schooling status and marital status by  
 273 modeling the interaction of 'schooling status and participation in paid work' and 'mar-  
 274 ital status and participation in paid work' on MIS for both male and female AYAs sep-  
 275 arately. Fourth, we computed random-effect regression models as robustness checks to  
 276 confirm the validity of our findings after controlling for dependencies of unobserved,  
 277 independent variables on MIS. Random-effects regression models are usually com-  
 278 puted in panel data to estimate the influence of variables that change over time (e.g.,  
 279 participation in paid work) as well as stable characteristics of the respondents (e.g.,  
 280 gender) on the outcome (Wooldridge, 2016). We used Hausman test specification to  
 281 decide between fixed versus random effects model. Lastly, we used instrument vari-  
 282 able regression to validate our main findings after adjusting to endogeneity issue in our  
 283 main explanatory variable: paid work.

284 The mathematical description of our linear regression model is written as below:

$$285 \quad Y_{MIS} = \alpha + \beta_1 X_{(gender*transition\ in\ paid\ work)} + \beta X_{controls} + \varepsilon_i \quad (1)$$

286  
 287 where,

- 288 Y Mental ill-health score
- 289  $\beta_1, \dots, \beta_n$  the coefficients of interest
- 290  $\varepsilon$  the standard idiosyncratic error term

291 The same methodology has been followed to assess the heterogeneous effect of  
 292 paid work on the linear variable of MIS among the study participants.

293 Further, a Probit regression model has been computed for assessing predictors  
 294 of change in MIS among AYAs: increase in MIS from 2015–16 to 2018–19.

295 The specification of the Probit regression model has been written as below:

$$296 \quad P_r(\text{increased MIS} = 1) = \Phi\{\beta_0 + \beta_1 X_{(gender*transition\ in\ paid\ work)} + \beta X_{controls} + \varepsilon_i\}$$

297 (2)

298 where,

- 299  $\Phi$  the standard normal distribution.
- 300  $\beta_0, \beta_1, \dots$  parameters to be estimated.

301 The same methodology has been followed to assess the predictors of change in  
 302 MIS of the males and female respondents separately.

## 303 6 Results

### 304 6.1 Descriptive Statistics

305 The results presented in column 1 of the Table 1 suggest a two-fold increase in the mean  
 306 MIS of the sampled AYAs, from 1.97 in 2015–16 to 3.50 in 2018–19. During this period,

307 the average percentage of AYAs participating in paid work also increased. There was no  
308 change in the gender distribution of the sample over time, while the average age of the  
309 respondents increased from 16 years in 2015–16 to 19 years in 2018–19. School attend-  
310 ance significantly dropped, whereas the proportion of ever-married samples increased  
311 from 0.26 in 2015–16 to 0.37 in 2018–19. The socio-economic characteristics of the sam-  
312 ple are in line with the general population characteristics of the states.

313 Column 2 of Table 1 presents the mean MIS by paid work, gender, and other  
314 socio-economic and demographic characteristics. MIS for AYAs involved in paid  
315 work (2.18) is higher than their counterparts (1.92) in 2015–16, though this differ-  
316 ence is significantly narrowed by the second wave of the survey in 2018–19. A con-  
317 siderable male–female difference in MIS was observed in both years where female  
318 AYAs were disproportionately burdened with higher MIS. The absolute female–male  
319 gap in MIS increased from 1.16 in 2015–16 to 1.78 in 2018–19. AYAs not attend-  
320 ing school report higher MIS compared to those currently attending school. Married  
321 AYAs have higher MIS than unmarried counterparts in both years. AYAs reported  
322 seeking for a job has higher MIS than those reported not seeking for a job. AYAs in  
323 households with lower educated mothers and disadvantageous social groups have  
324 higher MIS in both waves of the survey.

325 The mean estimates of MIS for AYAs across the intersectional axes of gender and  
326 paid work by survey year presented in Fig. 1 reveal that the score is higher for the  
327 females engaged in paid work for both years. Furthermore, not only the level of mean  
328 MIS was higher for females, but it also increased more for females than males over time.

## 329 6.2 Independent Effect of Gender and Paid Work on MIS

330 In this section, we tested the hypothesis that paid work and female gender are posi-  
331 tively associated with MIS net of other socio-economic, demographic, and behav-  
332 ioral factors. The results of the pooled OLS regression model in column 1 from  
333 Table 2 suggested that relative to males, females reported significantly higher lev-  
334 els of MIS ( $\beta = 1.15$ ; 95% confidence interval [CI]: 1.04–1.26). The level of MIS  
335 ( $\beta = 0.18$ ; 95% CI: -0.07–0.30) was also significantly higher for those who partici-  
336 pated in paid work in the preceding 12 months.

337 Separate estimates for male and female AYAs in column 2 and column 3 respec-  
338 tively presented in Table 2 also affirm that paid work makes a significant difference in  
339 MIS scores net of other socio-economic, demographic, and behavioral factors. Specifi-  
340 cally, paid work showed a greater effect on MIS among female population ( $\beta = 0.34$ ;  
341 95% CI: 0.20–0.49) than male population ( $\beta = 0.25$ ; 95% CI: 0.10–0.39). Further,  
342 these estimates also suggest that the effect of socio-economic characteristics on MIS  
343 is gender-sensitive. In particular, the results demonstrate that education, marital status,  
344 caste affiliation, and urban/rural residence make a significant difference in terms of  
345 the prevalence of MIS only for female samples. On the other hand, consumption of  
346 tobacco and alcohol, seeking jobs, physical violence by parents, and religious affilia-  
347 tion are significant predictors of MIS in case of both male and female samples, but in  
348 all cases, the adverse effect is stronger for female AYAs than male AYAs.

**Table 1** Change in MIS from 2015–16 to 2018–19

Explanatory variables	(1)		(2)		Mean MIS (SE) (weighted)	Difference (4)–(3)
	Sample distribution of the study variables, n = 16,292 (unweighted), mean/proportion (SD)					
	2015–16 (1)	2018–19 (2)	2015–16 (3)	2018–19 (4)		
MIS	1.97 (3.52)	3.50 (4.25)	2.18 (0.07)	3.48 (0.06)	1.30***	
Paid work	0.16 (0.37)	0.27 (0.44)	1.92 (0.03)	3.43 (0.04)	1.51***	
Gender	0.84 (0.37)	0.73 (0.44)	1.12 (0.03)	2.15 (0.04)	1.03***	
	0.27 (0.45)	0.27 (0.45)	2.28 (0.04)	3.93 (0.04)	1.65***	
	0.73 (0.45)	0.73 (0.45)	0.82 (0.03)	-	-	
Age	16.10 (2.44)	18.99 (2.47)	2.24 (0.03)	-	-	
	10–14 years		-	2.17 (0.05)	-	
	15–19 years		-	3.79 (0.04)	-	
	13–17 years		-	4.14 (0.11)	1.64***	
	18–22 years		0.10 (0.31)	2.50 (0.11)	2.24***	
Education level	Illiterate (None)	0.10 (0.31)	0.04 (0.19)	1.19 (0.07)	3.43 (0.17)	
	1–4 years (primary)	0.10 (0.30)	0.39 (0.49)	1.90 (0.04)	3.38 (0.05)	
	5–9 years (secondary)	0.49 (0.50)	0.47 (0.50)	2.15 (0.05)	1.48***	
	10 & above (higher)	0.31 (0.46)	0.44 (0.50)	1.61 (0.03)	1.20***	
Attending school	Yes	0.68 (0.47)	0.56 (0.50)	2.49 (0.06)	0.99***	
	No	0.33 (0.47)	0.37 (0.48)	2.87 (0.07)	1.42***	
Marital status	Ever married	0.26 (0.44)	0.63 (0.48)	1.64 (0.03)	1.77***	
	Never married	0.74 (0.44)	0.14 (0.35)	2.31 (0.12)	1.02***	
Consumed tobacco	Yes	0.05 (0.22)	0.86 (0.35)	1.95 (0.03)	1.12***	
	No	0.95 (0.22)		3.45 (0.04)	1.50***	

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Table 1 (continued)

Explanatory variables	(1)		(2)		Mean MIS (SE) (weighted)	Difference (4)–(3)		
	Sample distribution of the study variables, n = 16,292 (unweighted), mean/proportion (SD)							
	2015–16 (1)	2018–19 (2)	2015–16 (3)	2018–19 (4)			2018–19 (4)	
Consumed alcohol	Yes 0.01 (0.12)	0.05 (0.22)	2.37 (0.24)	3.11 (0.14)	0.74*			
	No 0.99 (0.12)	0.95 (0.22)	1.96 (0.03)	3.46 (0.03)	1.50*			
Currently seeking job	Yes 0.15 (0.35)	0.25 (0.43)	2.80 (0.10)	4.07 (0.07)	1.27***			
	No 0.85 (0.35)	0.75 (0.43)	2.14 (0.03)	3.46 (0.04)	1.32***			
Physically hurt by parents	Yes 0.39 (0.49)	0.39 (0.49)	1.96 (0.04)	3.02 (0.12)	1.06***			
	No 0.61 (0.49)	0.61 (0.49)	1.97 (0.04)	2.60 (0.04)	0.63***			
Mother's education	Illiterate 0.70 (0.46)	0.70 (0.46)	2.01 (0.03)	3.51 (0.04)	1.50***			
	1–9 years (primary & sec) 0.18 (0.39)	0.18 (0.39)	1.89 (0.06)	3.32 (0.08)	1.43*			
	10 and above (higher) 0.12 (0.32)	0.12 (0.32)	1.73 (0.07)	3.19 (0.09)	1.46***			
Caste	SC/ST 0.24 (0.43)	0.24 (0.43)	2.52 (0.06)	3.54 (0.07)	1.02***			
	OBC 0.59 (0.49)	0.59 (0.49)	1.90 (0.03)	3.45 (0.04)	1.55*			
	General 0.18 (0.38)	0.18 (0.38)	1.91 (0.06)	3.27 (0.07)	1.36***			
Religion	Hindu 0.80 (0.40)	0.80 (0.40)	1.94 (0.03)	3.46 (0.04)	1.52***			
	Muslim 0.20 (0.40)	0.20 (0.40)	2.07 (0.07)	3.36 (0.08)	1.29***			
	Others 0.00 (0.06)	0.00 (0.06)	1.71 (0.37)	3.40 (0.45)	1.69*			
Wealth quintile#	Poorest 0.12 (0.32)	0.12 (0.32)	1.87 (0.08)	3.49 (0.10)	1.62			
	Poorer 0.16 (0.37)	0.16 (0.37)	1.87 (0.07)	3.50 (0.08)	1.63*			
	Middle 0.21 (0.41)	0.21 (0.41)	2.02 (0.06)	3.53 (0.07)	1.51			
	Richer 0.27 (0.44)	0.27 (0.44)	2.05 (0.06)	3.45 (0.06)	1.40***			

Table 1 (continued)

Explanatory variables	Sample distribution of the study variables, n = 16,292 (unweighted), mean/proportion (SD)		Mean MIS (SE) (weighted)		Difference (4)–(3)
	2015–16 (1)	2018–19 (2)	2015–16 (3)	2018–19 (4)	
Category	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(4)–(3)
Richest	0.25 (0.43)	0.25 (0.43)	1.96 (0.05)	3.25 (0.06)	1.29*
Urban	0.43 (0.49)	0.43 (0.49)	2.01 (0.05)	3.58 (0.05)	1.57***
Rural	0.58 (0.49)	0.58 (0.49)	1.96 (0.04)	3.42 (0.04)	1.46***
Bihar	0.52 (0.50)	0.48 (0.50)	2.05 (0.04)	3.77 (0.05)	1.72***
Uttar Pradesh	0.48 (0.50)	0.52 (0.50)	1.88 (0.04)	3.08 (0.05)	1.20***

Note: MIS = mental ill-health score; SD = standard deviation; SE = Standard error; SC = Scheduled caste; ST = Scheduled Tribe; OBC = Other Backward Class

\* T-test significance level

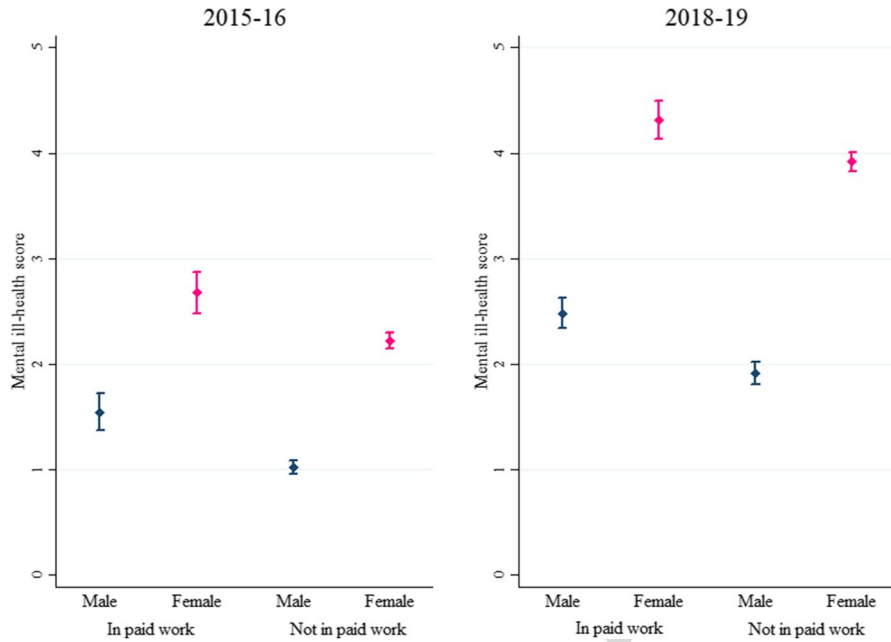


Fig. 1 Mean MIS by gender and paid work interactions across the waves

349 Additionally, separate regression models for 2015–16 and 2018–19 reveal that  
350 while the effect of paid work on MIS has not changed much over time, gender differ-  
351 ences widened such that MIS worsened in females relative to males (Fig. 2).

### 352 6.3 Interaction Effect of Gender and Transition in Paid Work on MIS

353 The second hypothesis was that the transition from no work to paid work impacts the  
354 mental health status of female AYAs more than male AYAs. Evidence presented in  
355 Fig. 3 suggests that the proportion of AYAs who have experienced a decrease in MIS  
356 from 2015–16 to 2018–19 was lower than those who experienced an increase. Although  
357 the transition from not working to participating in paid work from 2015–16 to 2018–19  
358 adversely affected the MIS of both female and male AYAs, the absolute level of MIS for  
359 the second wave (2018–19) and its increase over time (from 2015–16 to 2018–19) was  
360 greater for female AYAs than male AYAs.

361 Supporting the bivariate estimates shown in Fig. 3, the Probit regression esti-  
362 mates (Table 3) also suggest that the predicted probabilities of the increase in MIS  
363 was significantly higher for the AYAs who transitioned from not working to paid work  
364 during 2015–16 to 2018–19 than the reference category (those transitioned from partic-  
365 ipated in paid work in wave 1 to not participated in paid work in wave 2) net of other  
366 controls. Thus, our longitudinal results provide evidence on how an exit or entry into  
367 paid work over two waves can bring changes in the MIS of AYAs, and help to estab-  
368 lish the direction of causal relationship between participation in paid work and MIS.

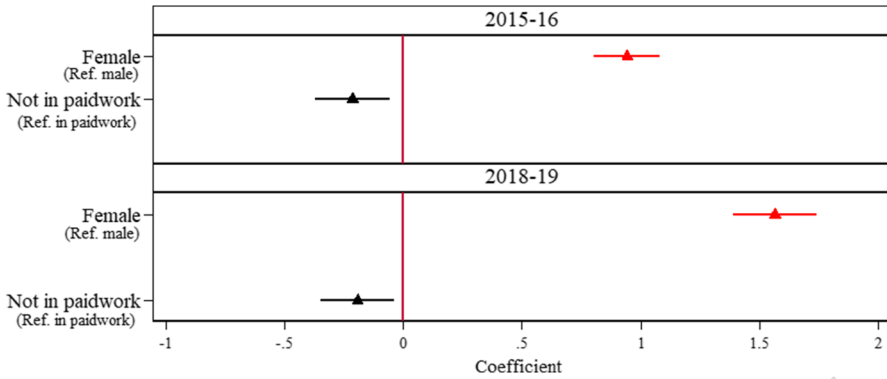
**Table 2** Pooled OLS regression estimates: The independent effect of gender and paid work on MIS of the study participants

Explanatory variables	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Overall (N = 32,584)	Male (N = 8856,27.2%)	Female (N = 23,728, 72.8%)
	Coefficient (95% CI)	Coefficient (95% CI)	Coefficient (95% CI)
<b>Gender</b>			
Female	1.15 (1.04, 1.26)***	-	-
<b>Paid work</b>			
Yes	0.18 (0.07, 0.30)***	0.25 (0.10, 0.39)***	0.34 (0.20, 0.49)***
Age	0.22 (0.20, 0.24)***	0.07 (0.04, 0.10)***	0.28 (0.26, 0.31)***
<b>Education level</b>			
1–4 years	0.38 (0.17, 0.60)***	-0.13 (-0.53, 0.27)	0.46 (0.18, 0.73)***
5–9 years	0.46 (0.31, 0.61)***	0.14 (-0.22, 0.50)	0.58 (0.40, 0.75)***
10 & above	0.15 (-0.02, 0.32)*	0.27 (-0.11, 0.65)	0.17 (-0.03, 0.37)
Attending school	0.001 (-0.12, 0.12)	0.16 (-0.002, 0.32)*	-0.12 (-0.27, 0.03)
<b>Marital status</b>			
Ever married	0.86 (0.74, 0.99)***	-0.003 (-0.37, 0.36)	0.67 (0.52, 0.81)***
Consumed tobacco	0.53 (0.36, 0.69)***	0.41 (0.26, 0.57)***	1.13 (0.87, 1.39)***
Consumed alcohol	0.06 (-0.20, 0.33)	0.31 (0.11, 0.51)***	3.55 (2.62, 4.48)***
Currently seeking job	1.01 (0.89, 1.13)***	0.71 (0.57, 0.85)***	1.29 (1.13, 1.44)***
Physically hurt by parents	0.32 (0.23, 0.41)***	0.14 (0.03, 0.25)**	0.37 (0.26, 0.49)***
<b>Mother's education</b>			
1–9 years	0.06 (-0.05, 0.18)	0.10 (-0.04, 0.24)	0.05 (-0.10, 0.20)
10 and above	0.01 (-0.14, 0.16)	0.04 (-0.14, 0.21)	-0.04 (-0.24, 0.16)
<b>Caste</b>			
OBC	-0.21 (-0.31, -0.10)***	-0.06 (-0.20, 0.07)	-0.23 (-0.37, 0.10)***
General	-0.12 (-0.27, 0.02)*	0.11 (-0.07, 0.29)	-0.20 (-0.39, -0.01)**
<b>Religion</b>			
Muslim	0.20 (0.09, 0.32)***	0.17 (0.02, 0.33)**	0.19 (0.05, 0.03)***
Others	-0.25 (-0.94, 0.43)	-0.33 (-1.26, 0.60)	-0.22 (-1.09, 0.65)
<b>Wealth quintile</b>			
Poorer	0.03 (-0.13, 0.19)	-0.01 (-0.24, 0.21)	0.07 (-0.13, 0.27)
Middle	0.04 (-0.12, 0.19)	0.07 (-0.14, 0.29)	0.04 (-0.15, 0.24)
Richer	0.11 (-0.05, 0.26)	0.15 (-0.06, 0.37)	0.12 (-0.07, 0.31)
Richest	-0.03 (-0.20, 0.14)	0.11 (-0.12, 0.34)	-0.06 (-0.28, 0.16)
<b>Place of residence</b>			
Urban	0.26 (0.16, 0.35)***	-0.04 (-0.17, 0.08)	0.35 (0.23, 0.47)***
<b>States</b>			
Uttar Pradesh	-0.19 (-0.28, -0.10)***	-0.08 (-0.19, 0.03)	-0.26 (-0.38, -0.15)***
Constant	-2.86 (-3.29, -2.43)***	-0.37 (-0.98, 0.24)	-2.90 (-3.44, -2.35)***
Prob > F	0.00	0.00	0.00
R-squared	0.09	0.07	0.08
Adj R-squared	0.09	0.06	0.08

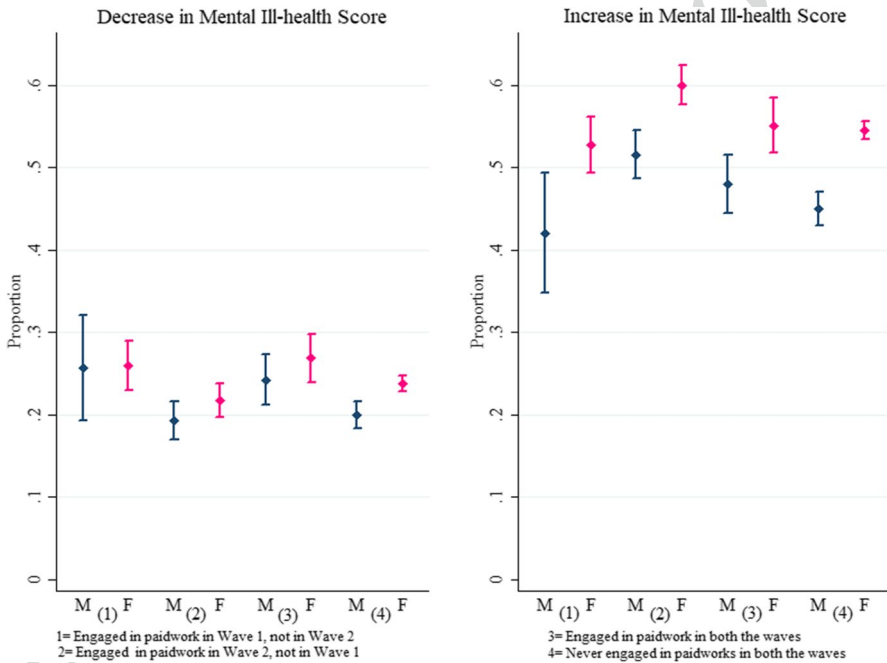
Note: Estimations are statistically significant at \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$



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**Fig. 2** Linear regression estimates: The effect of gender and paid work on MIS. Note: All models include additionally: age, educational level, currently attending school, marital status, consuming tobacco, consuming alcohol, currently seeking a job, physically hurt by parents, mother’s education, caste, religion, wealth quintile, place of residence, states



**Fig. 3** Proportion of decrease and increase in MIS by gender and paid work interactions across the waves, 2015–16 to 2018–19

369 **6.4 Heterogeneous Effect of Paid Work on MIS**

370 Table 4 shows the results in support of our third hypothesis that the burden of paid work  
 371 coupled with schooling and marriage may worsen the MIS of AYAs. The estimates based  
 372 on linear regression models for the overall sample revealed that AYAs who participated

**Table 3** Linear and Probit regression estimates: The interaction effect of transition in paid work and gender on MIS of the study participants

Interaction of transition in paid work and gender	Category	Coefficient of MIS in 2018–19 (95% CI)	Coefficient of increased MIS (95% CI)
Male*Paid work transition	Paid work in Panel 1 not in Panel 2 <sup>®</sup>		
	Paid work in Panel 2 not in Panel 1	0.21 (-0.25, 0.67)	0.22 (0.02, 0.42)**
	Paid work in Panel 1 and in Panel 2	0.14 (-0.35, 0.62)	0.14 (-0.07, 0.35)
	No Paid work in Panel 1 and Panel 2	-0.21 (-0.67, 0.24)	0.05 (-0.15, 0.24)
Female*Paid work transition	Paid work in Panel 1 not in Panel 2 <sup>®</sup>		
	Paid work in Panel 2 not in Panel 1	0.45 (0.07, 0.83)**	0.20 (0.09,0.31)***
	Paid work in Panel 1 and in Panel 2	0.42 (-0.01, 0.84)*	0.07 (-0.05,0.19)
	No Paid work in Panel 1 and Panel 2	-0.17 (-0.49, 0.16)	0.03 (-0.06,0.13)

Note: All models include additionally: age, educational level, currently attending school, marital status, consuming tobacco, consuming alcohol, currently seeking a job, physically hurt by parents, mother's education, caste, religion, wealth quintile, place of residence, states. Full results are provided in Table S1

<sup>®</sup> Reference category

Estimations are statistically significant at \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$

MIS = mental ill-health score; CI = confidence interval

373 in paid work while also attending school had a significantly higher likelihood of MIS  
 374 ( $\beta = 0.38$ ; 95% CI: 0.21–0.55) compared with those attending school but were not  
 375 engaged in paid work. However, the models disaggregated by gender suggest that partici-  
 376 pating in paid work irrespective of attending school makes a greater difference for female  
 377 AYAs than male AYAs. Females engaged in paid work reported higher MIS irrespective  
 378 of their current schooling status. Model 2 indicated that married females doing paid work  
 379 reported a significantly higher MIS ( $\beta = 0.37$ ; 95% CI: 0.13–0.62) than their counterparts  
 380 not doing paid work. Unmarried women, however, had lower levels of MIS irrespective  
 381 of paid work status. The effect of marital status made no difference for men. The hetero-  
 382 geneous effect analyses, therefore, suggested that the interaction effect of paid work with  
 383 schooling and paid work with marital status on MIS was gender-sensitive.

## 384 7 Robustness Checks

### 385 7.1 Panel Data Regression Estimates

386 As a part of the robustness check for the aforementioned estimates reported in  
 387 Tables 2, 3, and 4, taking advantage of the panel data, we re-estimated the models  
 388 using a random effects regression model to control for dependencies of unobserved

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**Table 4** Linear regression estimates: heterogeneous effect of paid work on MIS of the study participants

Interaction terms	Category	Overall (N = 32,584) Coefficient (95% CI)	Male (N = 8856, 27.2%) Coefficient (95% CI)	Female (N = 23,728, 72.8%) Coefficient (95% CI)
<b>Model 1</b>				
Attending school*Paid work	Attending school but not in paid work®	0.38 (0.21, 0.55)***	0.41 (0.24, 0.59)***	0.42 (0.19, 0.66)***
	Attending school and in paid work	0.09 (-0.05, 0.22)	0.07 (-0.15, 0.28)	0.14 (-0.02, 0.31)*
	Not attending school and paid work	0.13 (-0.03, 0.28)	0.02 (-0.17, 0.21)	0.44 (0.24, 0.65)***
<b>Model 2</b>				
Marital status*Paid work	Ever married, not in paid work®	0.26 (0.04, 0.47)**	-0.60 (-1.59, 0.38)	0.37 (0.13, 0.62)***
	Ever married and in paid work	-0.85 (-0.98, -0.71)***	-0.73 (-1.64, 0.19)	-0.66 (-0.81, -0.51)***
	Unmarried, not in paid work	-0.69 (-0.83, -0.54)***	-0.46 (-1.37, 0.45)	-0.33 (-0.53, -0.14)***
	Unmarried and in paid work			

Note: All models include additionally: age, educational level, currently attending school, marital status, consuming tobacco, consuming alcohol, currently seeking a job, physically hurt by parents, mother's education, caste, religion, wealth quintile, place of residence, states. Full results are provided in Table S2

® Reference category

Estimations are statistically significant at \*\*\* p < 0.001, \*\* p < 0.05, \* p < 0.1

CI = confidence interval

389 independent variables on MIS. We choose random effects over fixed effects follow-  
390 ing Hausman test. The model can be mathematically written as:

$$391 \quad Y_{MIS} = \alpha_i + \beta_1 X_{(gender*transition\ in\ paid\ work)} + \beta X_{controls} + u_i + \varepsilon_i \quad (3)$$

392  
393 where,

394 Y dependent variable, MIS  
395  $\alpha_i$  ( $i=1,\dots,n$ ) is unknown intercept for each entity (n entity specific  
396 intercept)  
397  $\beta_1,\dots,\beta_n$  the coefficients of interest  
398  $X_1,\dots,X_n$  gender\*transition in paid work and other covariates  
399 u between entity error  
400  $\varepsilon$  within entity error

401 The results reported in Tables 5 and 6 suggested that the findings from the ran-  
402 dom effect models are in tune with our main analyses, which affirm the robustness  
403 of the empirical findings reported in this study. For instance, results in Table 5 sug-  
404 gest 1.12 times higher MIS for females compared to their male counterparts. With  
405 reference to AYAs in paid work, those not involved in paid work have 0.20 times  
406 lesser MIS in the overall sample. While estimates for male and female sub-samples  
407 suggest that in comparison with AYAs involved in paid work, MIS is significantly  
408 less for not working females (0.35 times) than not working males (0.27 times).

409 The results in Table 6 are also in line with what we observed in Table 4, where  
410 findings further assert that additional burden imposed due to schooling and marriage  
411 coupled with paid work leads to a higher MIS, especially for female AYAs.

412 However, the random effect model assumes that observations from the same indi-  
413 vidual are correlated and this results in “non-standard” standard errors. Also, ran-  
414 dom effect models include a distributional assumption about the individual effect  
415 too. However, it is well known that random effect models cannot deal with the prob-  
416 lem of confounding (Wooldridge, 2016). Therefore, we have also run a fixed regres-  
417 sion model to see whether our results from random effects significantly vary from  
418 fixed effects, thereby ruling out potential bias in the results of random effects. Fixed  
419 effects model results from Fig. 4 do not hint at any bias and align with the results  
420 from the random effect model and pooled OLS model. Participation in paid work  
421 significantly pushes the MIS net of other socio-economic, demographic, and behav-  
422 ioral factors, particularly for female in comparison to male AYAs.

## 423 7.2 Instrument Variable Regression Estimates

424 The association that we observed in both OLS and panel data regression models  
425 could be a conditional correlation between employment outcomes and MIS because  
426 improvements in mental health can also lead to a higher probability of entry into  
427 employment. In order to deal with the possibility of reverse causality or endogeneity,  
428 we modelled two instrument variable (IV) regressions. We have considered three

**Table 5** Panel-data estimates: Random effects of gender and paid work on MIS of the study participants

Explanatory variables	Category	Overall (N = 32,514)	Male (N = 8842, 27.2%)	Female (N = 23,672, 72.8%)
		Coefficient (95% CI)	Coefficient (95% CI)	Coefficient (95% CI)
Gender	Male®			
	Female	1.12 (1.02, 1.21)***	-	-
Paid work (last 12 months)	Yes®			
	No	-0.20 (-0.32, -0.08)***	-0.27 (-0.43, -0.10)***	-0.35 (-0.50, -0.20)***

Note: All models include controlled for age, educational level, consuming tobacco, consuming alcohol, currently seeking a job, physically hurt by parents, mother's education, caste, religion, wealth quintile, place of residence, states. Full results are provided in Table S3

® Reference category

Estimations are statistically significant at \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$

CI = confidence interval

429 instruments for two models (Model 1: seeking a job and mother's education; Model  
430 2: seeking a job, mother's education, and receiving a scholarship for schooling).

431 First, seeking a job or entering the labour market at a young age in India is  
432 an indicator of impoverishment, given the very-low paid, unsafe, and informal  
433 nature of jobs available to them (Chowdhury, 2020; Singh et al., 2018). Also,  
434 seeking a job indicates a willingness to enter the labour market at tender ages.  
435 Moreover, voluntary participation in paid work is less likely to cause mental  
436 health problems than those compelled to do it without their will. Second, bet-  
437 ter educated mothers, most probably from higher income or social status, tend  
438 to encourage their children to continue their education instead of compelling  
439 them to enter into low-paid labour markets (Desai et al., 2010). In particular,  
440 the mother's education is used as a proxy of the parental preference for the  
441 investment in continuing children's education instead of pushing them into low  
442 paid jobs to help parents earn for the household. Third, access to scholarship  
443 for schooling or college helps AYAs from lower socio-economic groups to con-  
444 tinue their education and prevents forceful entry into the labour market, which  
445 can protect their mental health; otherwise, it can adversely impact their mental  
446 health. Thus, the study uses these three variables to control for endogeneity. The  
447 statistical expression for the model is as follows:

$$448 Y_{MIS} = \alpha + \beta_0(\text{paid work} = \text{seeking job, mother's education, schooling scholarship}) + \beta X_{i(\text{control variables})} + \epsilon_i \quad (4)$$

449 where,

451  $Y_{MIS}$  dependent variable, MIS

452 Instruments seeking a job, mother's education and schooling scholarship.

453 Instrumented paid work

454  $X_i$  control variables

**Table 6** Panel-data random effect estimates: Heterogeneous effect of paid work on MIS of the study participants

Category	Overall (N = 32,514) Coefficient (95% CI)	Male (N = 8842, 27.2%) Coefficient (95% CI)	Female (N = 23,672, 72.8%) Coefficient (95% CI)
<b>Model 1</b>			
Gender*Paid work			
Male not in paid work®	-	-	-
Male in paid work	-0.40 (-0.55, -0.24)***	-	-
Female not in paid work	0.90 (0.79, 1.00)***	-	-
Female in paid work	1.37 (1.20, 1.53)***	-	-
<b>Model 2</b>			
Attending schooling*Paid work			
Attending school but not in paid work®	0.39 (0.23, 0.55)***	0.43 (0.23, 0.63)***	0.43 (0.19, 0.66)***
Attending school and in paid work	0.08 (-0.06, 0.21)	0.06 (-0.17, 0.29)	0.13 (-0.03, 0.29)
Not attending school and paid work	0.14 (-0.02, 0.30)*	0.04 (-0.17, 0.25)	0.44 (0.22, 0.65)***
Not attending school, but in paid work	-	-	-
<b>Model 3</b>			
Marital status*Paid work			
Ever married, not in paid work®	0.28 (0.02, 0.54)**	-0.64 (-1.93, 0.65)	0.41 (0.12, 0.69)**
Ever married and in paid work	-0.81 (-0.96, -0.66)***	-0.79 (-2.01, 0.43)	-0.62 (-0.79, -0.46)***
Unmarried, not in paid work	-0.64 (-0.80, -0.47)***	-0.51 (-1.73, 0.72)	-0.30 (-0.50, -0.10)**
Unmarried and in paid work	-	-	-

Note: All models include controlled for age, educational level, consuming tobacco, currently seeking a job, physically hurt by parents, mother's education, caste, religion, wealth quintile, place of residence, states. Full results are provided in Table S4

Estimations are statistically significant at \*\*\* p < 0.001, \*\* p < 0.05, \* p < 0.1

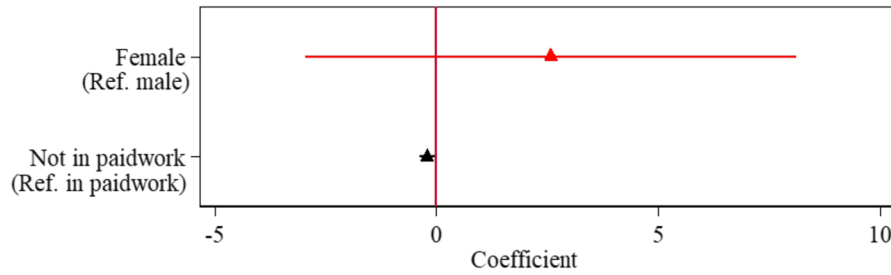


Fig. 4 Panel data regression estimates: The fixed effect of gender and paid work on MIS

455 The Instrument variable regression results reported in the Table 7 model 1  
456 and 2 strengthen our argument that transition to paid work in adolescent ages  
457 influence MIS. In particular, Table 7 suggests that AYAs in paid work are more  
458 likely to have higher MIS (6 times) than their counterparts. Tests of over-identi-  
459 fying restrictions suggest that our instruments are valid and not weak.

## 460 8 Discussion

461 Social, economic, and health behavior transition during adolescence and related psy-  
462 chological issues are cause for concern and need an urgent call for action in poor  
463 resource settings of India (Sunitha & Gururaj, 2014). In this context, using a robust  
464 dataset and statistical assessment, this study explored participation in paid work  
465 at adolescent and young ages and its impact on MIS. The findings from our study  
466 are in line with prior research in global (Ibrahim et al., 2019) and Indian (Pandey  
467 et al., 2020; Trinh, 2020) contexts. However, our study adds new and significant  
468 insights in three ways, in particular for the Indian context. First, our findings are  
469 based on a large sample relative to those in previous studies from India. Second, we  
470 provide evidence of more than a mere correlation using longitudinal data for esti-  
471 mating the influence of the transition to paid work on mental health status for both  
472 male and female AYAs. Third, the heterogeneous effect analyses indicate that the  
473 mental health impact of paid work's burden varies significantly by schooling and  
474 marital status, especially for female AYAs. Thus, we can interpret that the associa-  
475 tion between paid work and mental health is gender-sensitive across socio-economic  
476 characteristics, often resulting in a more adverse impact on female than male AYAs,  
477 particularly in resource-poor settings. Fourth, using instrument variable regression  
478 estimates, we ruled out the possibility of reverse causality: 'better mental health  
479 leading to higher-paid work' and also the endogeneity issues in our main explana-  
480 tory variable, thereby affirming robustness of our main findings.

481 Our findings support the previous assertion that mental health problems dra-  
482 matically escalate with age, more so for females than males, possibly due to the  
483 interference of bio-psychosocial factors (Petersen et al., 1993). Consumption of **AQ2**  
484 tobacco and alcohol, seeking for jobs, physical violence from parents and Muslim

**Table 7** Estimates of Instrumental variables (2SLS) regression

Variables	Coefficient (Standard error)	
	Model 1	Model 2
Male	-2.02*** (0.098)	-2.02*** (0.098)
Paid work	6.52*** (0.475)	6.49*** (0.473)
Constant	-1.15*** (0.376)	-1.15** (0.375)
Observations	24,849	24,849
<i>Tests of endogeneity—Ho: variables are exogenous</i>		
Durbin (score) chi2 (1)	231.916 ( $p=0.000$ )	230.03 ( $p=0.000$ )
Wu-Hausman F (1,24,827)	233.894 ( $p=0.000$ )	231.974 ( $p=0.000$ )
<i>Weak instrument test—Ho: Instruments are weak</i>		
First-stage F-statistic:	217.17 ( $p=0.0000$ )	163.304
<i>Tests of overidentifying restrictions- Ho: all instruments are valid</i>		
Sargan chi(2)	1.936 ( $p=0.380$ )	3.824 (0.281)
Basmann chi(2)	1.934 ( $p=0.380$ )	3.821 (0.281)

Note: *Dependent variable:* mental ill-health score

*Instrumented:* Paid work of AYAs

*Instruments in Model 1:* Seeking job, Mother educational level

*Instruments in Model 2:* Getting scholarship, Seeking job, Mother educational level

Control variables: age, educational level, consuming tobacco, consuming alcohol, currently seeking a job, physically hurt by parents, mother's education, caste, religion, wealth quintile, place of residence, states

Full results are provided in Table S5

Estimations are statistically significant at \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$

485 religious affiliation (in the case of both male and female AYAs), urban place  
 486 of residence, and marital status is positively associated with poor MIS. Female  
 487 AYAs from socially disadvantaged section Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes  
 488 (SCs/STs) revealed a higher MIS in comparison to the other castes, whereas caste  
 489 is not significantly associated with MIS for boys. These findings are also in line  
 490 with previous studies in India (Chauhan & Dhar, 2020; Gnanaselvam & Joseph,  
 491 2018; Kumar et al., 2012; Pillai et al., 2008) and global context (Kaufman et al.,  
 492 2020; Mehlhausen-Hassoen & Winstok, 2019; Russell & Odgers, 2020). The eco-  
 493 nomic (wealth) status did not show a significant difference in the MIS of AYAs  
 494 according to their paid work status, the lack of significant and expected direction  
 495 of influence by wealth status on AYAs is possibly due to its strong collinearity  
 496 with participation in paid work.

## 497 8.1 Limitations

498 This study has some limitations. First, the UDAYA dataset used in this study  
 499 provides information on AYAs only for two states of India, which hinders  
 500 the scope of national-level estimations. Second, to identify the mental health



501 condition of the AYAs in resource poor settings of India, the UDAYA survey  
502 was used only the PHQ-9 module, which does not capture other dimensions of  
503 mental ill-health associated with adolescents such as anxiety disorder and other  
504 behavioral developmental problems. Measures like the Diagnostic and Statis-  
505 tical Manual of Mental Disorders-5 (DSM-5) and International Classification  
506 of Mental and Behavioral Disorders-Tenth Edition (ICD-10) can provide a bet-  
507 ter understanding of mental ill-health that include occupational, interpersonal,  
508 and social impairments as the important symptoms and markers of depression  
509 among AYAs in the cultural context of India (Aggarwal et al., 2021). Third, data  
510 collected on the mental health of the respondents were based on self-reports,  
511 therefore, there is a greater chance of underreporting due to the public stigma  
512 or lesser priority associated with mental health issues (Gautham et al., 2020).  
513 Despite this, for the first time, this study empirically tested whether transition-  
514 ing to paid work impacts mental health and further revealed that schooling  
515 and marital status affect the relationship of MIS with paid work showing more  
516 adverse impact on female than male AYAs.

## 517 9 Conclusion

518 Transition to work at the schooling ages with poor preparedness to deal with  
519 stressors and adversities in work environments, especially managing con-  
520 flicts in 'school time' and 'work time' put a lot of psychological burden on  
521 AYAs. In highly patriarchal cultural and resource-poor settings like Bihar  
522 and UP states of India, gender norms and discrimination towards female chil-  
523 dren put additional psychological burdens on them. High child marriage rates  
524 and the additional burden of household chores for females alongside paid  
525 work worsen school time and work time conflicts for female AYAs. These  
526 could be the leading reasons why female adolescents in our sample report  
527 higher MIS than male adolescents. In conclusion, from a policy and prac-  
528 tice point of view, our findings advance the argument that existing policies  
529 addressing adolescent mental health issues in India must consider gender-  
530 sensitive interventions for the positive development of AYAs. As suggested  
531 previously (Moreau et al., 2021), interventions at the individual, household,  
532 education, and community levels to prevent the early transition into paid  
533 work, early marriage, substance abuse, and parental violence will greatly  
534 improve adolescent mental health and wellbeing. School-based interventions  
535 to improve mental health of the students and introducing social assistance  
536 programmes can also be an effective strategy to deal with mental illness of  
537 AYAs (Fazel & Kohrt, 2019; Kosher et al., 2014; Mendes de Oliveira, et al.,  
538 2022; Vaalavuo & Bakkum, 2021). From a practical perspective, we suggest  
539 an urgent need for generating a comprehensive longitudinal dataset repre-  
540 sentative of the entire country on adolescents' familial, social, and economic  
541 contexts of mental health for tracking adolescent social and health behaviors  
542 and wellbeing.

**Appendix**

**Table 8** Sample distribution of AYAs according to mental health questions by gender and participation in paid work, n = 16,292

Questions on mental health	Paid work in last 12 months								
	2015–16				2018–19				
	Yes		No		Yes		No		
<i>Had trouble in falling asleep or sleeping too much in the last two weeks</i>									
Nearly every day	25.68	74.32	9.83	90.17	30.73	69.27	6.88	93.12	
One week or more	29.70	70.30	13.17	86.83	21.35	78.65	8.23	91.77	
Less than one week	27.74	72.26	19.64	80.36	33.60	66.40	14.82	85.18	
Not at all	37.86	62.14	27.12	72.88	47.59	52.41	25.33	74.67	
<i>Been feeling tired or having little energy in the last 2 weeks</i>									
Nearly every day	19.74	80.26	6.25	93.75	23.94	76.06	5.51	94.49	
One week or more	25.40	74.60	11.76	88.24	22.73	77.27	5.14	94.86	
Less than one week	32.28	67.72	18.12	81.88	35.88	64.12	15.36	84.64	
Not at all	38.34	61.66	28.54	71.46	50.46	49.54	28.11	71.89	
<i>Had been poor appetite or overeating in the last 2 weeks</i>									
Nearly every day	20.91	79.09	16.41	83.59	29.91	70.09	10.52	89.48	
One week or more	30.66	69.34	17.45	82.55	26.58	73.42	8.54	91.46	
Less than one week	27.84	72.16	20.86	79.14	35.35	64.65	15.57	84.43	
Not at all	39.15	60.85	27.25	72.75	48.67	51.33	26.13	73.87	
<i>Had trouble concentrating on things in the last 2 weeks</i>									
Nearly every day	26.53	73.47	15.42	84.58	30.86	69.14	17.98	82.02	
One week or more	28.43	71.57	13.94	86.06	23.17	76.83	14.61	85.39	
Less than one week	22.35	77.65	17.73	82.27	33.79	66.21	16.37	83.63	
Not at all	38.74	61.26	27.33	72.67	46.93	53.07	23.44	76.56	

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Table 8 (continued)

Questions on mental health	Paid work in last 12 months							
	2015–16		2018–19					
	Yes	No	Yes	No				
<i>Had little interest or pleasure in doing things in the last 2 weeks</i>								
Nearly every day	21.74	78.26	12.09	87.91	30.94	69.06	15.47	84.53
One week or more	24.18	75.82	9.85	90.15	21.23	78.77	8.89	91.11
Less than one week	25.00	75.00	15.88	84.12	30.72	69.28	14.33	85.67
Not at all	39.39	61.61	27.43	72.57	47.51	52.49	24.33	75.67
<i>Been feeling down, depressed or hopeless in the last 2 weeks</i>								
Nearly every day	20.29	79.71	4.90	95.10	29.00	71.00	10.24	89.76
One week or more	20.59	79.41	6.30	93.70	27.57	72.43	8.86	91.14
Less than one week	24.46	75.54	13.79	86.21	36.22	63.78	14.22	85.78
Not at all	39.22	60.78	28.47	71.53	47.57	52.43	25.41	74.59
<i>Been feeling bad about yourself in the last 2 weeks</i>								
Nearly every day	20.93	79.07	4.19	95.81	27.45	72.55	8.49	91.51
One week or more	25.00	75.00	3.94	96.06	25.74	74.26	7.34	92.66
Less than one week	24.07	75.93	14.16	85.84	34.36	65.64	12.58	87.42
Not at all	37.60	62.40	26.94	73.06	45.52	54.48	23.71	76.29
<i>Been moving or speaking so slowly in the last 2 weeks</i>								
Nearly every day	5.56	94.44	2.94	97.06	29.58	70.42	6.56	93.44
One week or more	23.81	76.19	4.17	95.83	20.62	79.38	7.00	93.00
Less than one week	21.72	78.28	11.17	88.83	28.25	71.75	10.83	89.17
Not at all	37.58	62.42	26.95	73.05	46.14	53.86	23.84	76.16
<i>Had thoughts that r would be better off dead in the last 2 weeks</i>								
Nearly every day	0.00 <sup>#</sup>	100.00	0.00 <sup>#</sup>	100.00	12.12	87.88	6.02	93.98

**Table 8** (continued)

Questions on mental health	Paid work in last 12 months						
	2015–16		2018–19				
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
One week or more	15.00	85.00	5.63	94.37	21.54	78.46	90.63
Less than one week	8.02	91.98	4.99	95.01	22.39	77.61	94.73
Not at all	38.16	61.84	26.59	73.41	44.70	55.30	77.19

Note: # Zero because the cross tab of this variable with gender reveals that no boy reported “nearly every day”

Gender, Paid Work, and Mental Health of Adolescents and Young...

**Table 9** Estimates of reliability test-scale of items used in MIS measure

<b>2015-16</b>						
Items	Observations	Sign	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average inter-item covariance	Alpha
Had trouble in falling asleep or sleeping too much in the last two weeks	16,292	+	0.6802	0.5635	0.1294301	0.8477
Been feeling tired or having little energy in the last 2 weeks	16,292	+	0.7352	0.6256	0.1231958	0.8415
Had been poor appetite or overeating in the last 2 weeks	16,292	+	0.7203	0.596	0.1224676	0.8464
Had trouble concentrating on things in the last 2 weeks	16,292	+	0.7638	0.6785	0.1250705	0.8354
Had little interest or pleasure in doing things in the last 2 weeks	16,292	+	0.7533	0.6725	0.1281319	0.8367
Been feeling down, depressed or hopeless in the last 2 weeks	16,292	+	0.7608	0.6697	0.1238509	0.8361
Been feeling bad about yourself in the last 2 weeks	16,292	+	0.6534	0.5645	0.1382271	0.8475
Been moving or speaking so slowly in the last 2 weeks	16,292	+	0.6590	0.5844	0.1411991	0.8475
Had thoughts that r would be better off dead in the last 2 weeks	16,292	+	0.4595	0.3798	0.1540443	0.8617
Test scale					0.1317353	0.8597
<b>2018-19</b>						
Items	Observations	Sign	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average inter-item covariance	Alpha
Had trouble in falling asleep or sleeping too much in the last two weeks	16,292	+	0.6354	0.495	0.1814593	0.8126
Been feeling tired or having little energy in the last 2 weeks	16,292	+	0.6806	0.5501	0.1752813	0.8054
Had been poor appetite or overeating in the last 2 weeks	16,292	+	0.6575	0.5118	0.1765233	0.8116
Had trouble concentrating on things in the last 2 weeks	16,292	+	0.6985	0.5911	0.1780776	0.8000
Had little interest or pleasure in doing things in the last 2 weeks	16,292	+	0.7020	0.6024	0.1798649	0.7992
Been feeling down, depressed or hopeless in the last 2 weeks	16,292	+	0.7264	0.6133	0.1705533	0.7967
Been feeling bad about yourself in the last 2 weeks	16,292	+	0.6453	0.5391	0.1876226	0.8067
Been moving or speaking so slowly in the last 2 weeks	16,292	+	0.6315	0.5422	0.1946392	0.8083
Had thoughts that r would be better off dead in the last 2 weeks	16,292	+	0.4455	0.3632	0.2152804	0.8246
Test scale					0.1843669	0.8252

**Table 10** Description of study variables

Name of the variables	Description/Definition
Mental ill-health score	Mental Ill-health Score (MIS) was measured based on a series of nine questions which were asked from the Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ-9) depression screening module (Appendix Table 1). The questions are: 1) <i>Had trouble in falling asleep or sleeping too much in the last two weeks</i> , 2) <i>Been feeling tired or having little energy in the last 2 weeks</i> , 3) <i>Had been poor appetite or overeating in the last 2 weeks</i> , 4) <i>Had trouble concentrating on things in the last 2 weeks</i> , 5) <i>Had little interest or pleasure in doing things in the last 2 weeks</i> , 6) <i>Been feeling down, depressed or hopeless in the last 2 weeks</i> , 7) <i>Been feeling bad about yourself in the last 2 weeks</i> , 8) <i>Been moving or speaking so slowly in the last 2 weeks</i> , 9) <i>Had thoughts that respondents would be better off dead in the last 2 weeks</i> . For each question, respondents can report “not at all”, “less than one week”, “one week or more”, and “nearly every day” and the value varies from 0 to 3, thus for a total of 9 questions, overall MIS ranges from 0 to 27, a higher score represent greater illness
Paid work	The respondents were asked if they were participated in any paid activities in last 12 months. The answers were reported in “yes” or “no”
Gender	The sex of the respondent. Out of the total sample, 27.2% were boys and 72.8% were girls
Age	The age of the respondents ranges between 10 to 23 years. The mean ages of the respondents were 16 and 19 years respectively during 2015–16 and 2018–19
Education level	The recorded education levels of the respondents was recoded in four categories: illiterate, 1–4 years of education (primary level), 5–9 years of education (secondary level), and 10 years and above level of education (higher secondary and above)
Attending school	The respondents were asked if they were currently attending school. The answers were reported in “yes” or “no”
Marital status	The respondents were asked their current marital status. The recorded response was recoded in two categories: “ever married” and “never married”
Consumed tobacco	The respondents were asked if they ever consumed tobacco. The answers were reported in “yes” or “no”
Consumed alcohol	The respondents were asked if they ever consumed alcohol. The answers were reported in “yes” or “no”
Currently seeking job	The respondents were asked if they were currently seeking for a paid job. The answers were reported in “yes” or “no”
Physically hurt by parents	The respondents’ were asked if they were physically hurt by their parents since age 10 years. The reported response was recoded in “yes” or “no”
Mother’s education	The level of respondents’ mother’s education was recoded in three categories: illiterate, 1–9 years (primary and secondary), and 10 and above years (higher)
Caste	The caste system is a social hierarchical division of Indian society. The caste of the respondents was recoded in three categories: SC/ST (Scheduled caste and Scheduled tribe), OBC (Others backward class), and general (unreserved category). SC/STs are the lower caste groups historically experienced oppression and socio-economically marginalized section
Religion	The religion of the respondents was recoded in three categories: Hindu, Muslim, and Others (combining Christian, Sikh, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Jain and no religion)

**Table 10** (continued)

Name of the variables	Description/Definition
Wealth quintile	Wealth quintile was recoded as poorest, poorer, middle, richer, and richest. The survey measured respondents' household economic status using a wealth index composed of household asset data on ownership of selected durable goods, including means of transportation, as well as data on access to a number of amenities. The wealth index was constructed by allocating the following scores to a households reported assets or amenities. By using the scores, they were divided it into five quintiles. Wealth quintile collected during first wave of the survey (2015–16)
Place of residence	Place of residence is categorised into urban (42.5%) and rural (57.5%) area
States	The survey collected data for the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh

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556 Acquisition of data: Dibyasree Ganguly  
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558 Drafting the manuscript: Dibyasree Ganguly  
559 Revising the manuscript critically for important intellectual content: Dibyasree Ganguly, Srinivas  
560 Goli, Oriel Sullivan

## 561 **Declarations**

562 **Ethical Statement** The authors declare that all the procedures used in the data collection process comply  
563 with the ethical standards of the relevant national and institutional committees on human experimentation  
564 and with the Helsinki Declaration of 1975, as revised in 2008 (for more details see Santhya et al., 2017a,  
565 2017b).

566 **Competing Interest** The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

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