The Impact of Mother Literacy and Participation Programs on Child Learning: Evidence from a Randomized Evaluation in India

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Abstract

We report the results of a randomized evaluation of three programs designed to improve the home learning environment among rural households in India. Households were assigned into one of four groups that received either: (1) adult literacy classes for mothers, (2) training for mothers on how to enhance their children's learning at home, (3) a combination of the first two interventions, or (4) nothing, which serves as the control group. We find that mothers in the first three groups perform 0.11, 0.06, and 0.15 standard deviations better (respectively) on a combined language and math test when compared to the control group. We find that the three programs had statistically significant effects of 0.04, 0.05, and 0.06 standard deviations on children's math scores (respectively), but only the combined intervention had significant effects on language scores. We also find that the interventions increased women's empowerment, mother participation in child learning, and the presence of education assets in the home.

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1 Introduction

Improving the quality of primary education in the developing world remains a crucial issue for researchers and policymakers alike. While developing countries have made significant gains towards universal enrollment, with a net enrollment rate of 90% in low and middle income countries in 2011 (World Bank, 2013), learning has not matched this progress. For example, a 2012 survey in India found that 96% of rural primary school-aged children were enrolled, but only 38% could read a simple story (ASER Centre, 2013). Low quality education is often considered the result of a low quality education system, characterized by poor school infrastructure, limited materials, inappropriate pedagogy, and low-quality teachers.

However, low learning levels can also be attributed to the home environment: in low-income households parents spend less time on educational activities with their children, are less productive with the time they spend, have lower expectations, and allocate fewer resources to education. All of these factors are believed to be directly related to the low education levels of parents. While the correlations between parents' education levels, the home environment, and ultimately child outcomes are strong, endogeneity makes it difficult for researchers to establish causal links. [Thomas et al., 1996]. However, for policymakers who face a generation of parents with already low levels of education, perhaps the more important question is: if the household environment is indeed an important factor in the child's education, can policies targeted toward parents help promote a better home learning environment?

With the aim of influencing the home environment, some policymakers have proposed launching adult education campaigns, and this movement has been gaining momentum. In India, the National Literacy Mission was launched in 1988 "to impart funtional literacy to non-literates in the age group of 15-35 years in a time-bound manner" (Government of India, 2009). In 2009, the Prime Minister of India launched Saakshar Bharat, the revised version of the National Literacy Mission, aiming to achieve by 2012 an "80 percent literacy rate and reduc[e] the gender gap in literacy to 10 percent" (UNESCO, 2012). Many other countries and donors are investing in such programs, in part because they could promote children's schooling (DFID, 2008). Unfortunately, the evidence of the effectiveness of such programs on child learning is sparse, especially in contexts where parents have little-to-no formal education.

This study is designed to evaluate whether child learning can be improved through interventions focused on improving the human capital of the mother herself, and/or by interventions that work with the mother but are focused on enhancing at-home learning for the child. We present the results of a randomized evaluation of three interventions in rural India designed by Pratham, an education NGO in India[1], to improve child learning through increased mother literacy and direct encouragement of learning at home. We test for these effects by randomly assigning villages to one of four groups. In the first group, mothers in the village are offered the mother literacy (ML) intervention: daily literacy and math classes. In the second, mothers are given the Child Home Activities and Materials Packet (CHAMP) intervention: materials, activities, and training each week to promote enhanced involvement in their children's education at home. In the third, mothers are offered both the literacy and enhanced home-learning interventions (ML-CHAMP). The fourth group serves as a control with no intervention. The evaluation was carried out in 480 villages in the states of Bihar and Rajasthan. In each state, 240 villages were randomly assigned in equal proportions to the four groups.

We find significant positive impacts of the programs on both mother and child outcomes. For mothers, the ML program increased learning outcomes by 0.11 standard deviations, CHAMP increased test scores by 0.06 standard deviations, and ML-CHAMP increased test scores by 0.15 standard deviations. We also find significant impacts of each of the 3 programs an aggregate measure of women's empowerment outcomes. Turning to the results for children, we find that the ML, CHAMP, and ML-CHAMP increased child math scores by 0.04, 0.05, and 0.07 standard deviations, respectively. The only significant impacts on language scores were in the combined interventions. We find little evidence that the programs affected formal schooling behavior, but each of the 3 interventions affected the mother's self-reported participation in child learning and educational assets in the home. The evidence is therefore consistent with the interventions improving child learning by changing the home environment, particularly through increased productivity of the time children spend studying. However, in the cases of ML and ML-CHAMP we cannot rule out that the interventions affected children directly through child attendance in the classes.

[1]Pratham, is a large, India-wide NGO specializing in child literacy and numeracy. For more information, see http://www.pratham.org.

This study makes two main contributions to the literature. First, by evaluating interventions targeted at parents, our study adds to the literature that asks whether the skills believed to help parents influence their child's learning can be acquired as an adult. Such programs fall into three categories: (1) adult literacy programs, (2) child-participation programs, and (3) "family literacy" programs which typically bundle the first two, along with other compenents such as job training, remedial education for children, etc, in different combinations. Also, these programs are implemented in different contexts: some in higher-income countries, where parents have had some personal expereince with a formal education system and varying levels of literacy, and developing countries where there is much less exposure, and literacy levels are far lower. We focus our literature review on research in developing countries, as parents in poor countries are much less likely to have a substantial experience with formal education and therefore are likely to respond differently to these programs. However, we do highligh particularly relevant studies from higher-income countries.

Several evaluations attempt to establish the impact of developing-country adult literacy programs on adults and children, although much of the research suffers from methodological limitations. Some studies find significant impacts of adult literacy programs on adult learning using ex-post comparison with non-participants (Carron, 1990; Ortega and Rodriguez, 2008). Aker et al. (2011) conduct a randomized evaluation of a program that provided cell phones to participants in existing adult education classes in Niger and find significant impacts of the cell phone program on math and literacy scores. However, there is no evaluation of the adult literacy program, *per se*. Research on the effects of adult literacy programs *on children's outcomes* is sparse, and these studies also rely on retrospective selection of a comparison group (Aoki, 2005; Abadzi, 2003). [2]

There are few existing studies evaluating developing-country participation programs that encourage parents to be more involved in their children's schooling. Bekman (1998) evaluates a Turkish program that trained mothers to help educate their children at home. Using a matching procedure to construct a comparison group, the study finds large effects of the program on child learning. In the developed country context, a randomized evaluation of a program in France

[2]Although there are numerous evaluations of adult literacy programs in the U.S., much of the research also suffers from methodological limitations (Beder, 1999) .

to enhance parental involvement in the education of their adolescent children found significant positive effects on parental and student participation, student attitudes, and students' grades in school (Avvisati et al., 2011).

In the family literacy movement, we only know of one randomized evaluation, which is in the developed-country context.: St. Pierre et al. (1993) evaluate the National Even Start Program in the U.S. They find no statistically significant effects on child learning, performance, or parental help with studies. However, sample size was small and take-up was low.

Our study adds to the prior literature by providing the first randomized evaluation (of which we are aware) of 1) an adult literacy program, 2) a participation program, and 3) a combined "family literacy" program, in a developing country. We also examine impacts on both adult and child outcomes, a feature that is relatively rare in prior literature.

Second, our study adds to the broader literature exploring the relationship between parental education and child outcomes. A number of studies provide causal evidence on this relationship (e.g., Rosenzweig and Wolpin, 1994; Oreopoulos et al., 2006), although rigorous evidence on the mechanisms through which this occurs is more scarce. Several studies suggest that the home learning environment is indeed a key factor in this relationship. Using data from Pakistan, Andrabi et al. (2009)instrument for mother's schooling with the availability of girls' schools in the mother's birth village and find that children study more hours at home and perform better if their mother had some education.[3] Using data from the Green revolution, where women's schooling did not enhance their opportunities outside the household, Behrman et al. (1999) rule out that bargaining power and matching of parental preferences cause the relationship between women's schooling and children's learning outcomes, suggesting that it is productivity—women's ability to teach their children—that is causing it.

Our study, by creating exogenous changes to the home environment, provides further evidence of the channels through which learning is affected at home. As with some of the prior literature, our analysis relies on intermediate outcomes that are not themselves exogenously influenced. We determine which channels are most plausible in our context by examining which

[3]Indeed, the context is one where returns to schooling on the labour market for women are nonexistent, ruling out increased female earnings as a possible channel of bargaining power. The authors also find no relationship between women's education and educational decisions taken in the household.

intermediate outcomes were influenced by the programs. Further, we cannot rule out the possibility that children benefited directly from mother literacy intervention by accompanying their mothers during class time.

Our paper is structured as follows. Section 2 discusses the programs and context. Section 3outlines a conceptual framework for the effects of the programs on child learning. 4 covers the study design, data collected and analysis. Section 5 describes the results for mothers and 6, the results for children. We conclude in Section 7.

2 Program Description

The interventions were conducted in two blocks (district subdivisions) of the Purnia district in Bihar and two blocks of the Ajmer district in Rajasthan. Bihar and Rajasthan were selected by Pratham based on the low literacy levels of the two states. According to the latest census, these states have the lowest female literacy rates in India at roughly 53% each (Census of India, 2011). The intervention districts within each state were selected because of existing Pratham programs and infrastructure in those areas. Within the intervention districts, the blocks were selected because they did *not* have any pre-existing Pratham programs.

Children's education outcomes are similar between the two states. For example, 48% of rural children in grades 3 to 5 can read at a grade 1 level in both states, just below the national average of 54% (ASER Centre, 2013). On the other hand, Bihar is a much poorer state. Bihar has the lowest GDP per capita of any state in the country, and while Rajasthan is below the national average, its per captia GDP is double that of Bihar (Central Statistics Office, 2013). Similarly, in Rajasthan 67% of households have electricity, about the national average, while Bihar ranks last among Indian states, with only 16% of households having electricity (Census of India, 2011).

Households in our sample broadly follow these patterns. Appendix Table 1 displays the differences in baseline demographic variables between the two states. Households in the Rajasthan sample have more assets and are more likely to be electrified, but child learning levels are only slightly higher than households in the Bihar sample. Women in the Rajasthan sam-

ple spend more time working (46 hours per week compared to 26), while women in the Bihar sample spend more time per week reading to their children or helping with homework (2.4 hours per week compared with 1.4). The average education level for a woman in our sample is under 1 year for Rajasthan and Bihar, and both have similar scores on our baseline test, with Rajasthan mothers scoring slightly higher in math.

Running the interventions in multiple sates in different areas of the country aids external validity of the evaluation. Although the interventions were identical in both states, they were implemented by different local teams and supervised by separate state-level Pratham leadership. And while learning levels in both states were similar, the differences in wealth and preexisting activities of the mothers presented distinct implementation challenges in each area.

In each state, 240 hamlets were selected for the randomization. Hamlets were selected based on a target number of households (the approximate size that could support one mother literacy class) and geographic disctance from other target locations to limit spillovers. In Rajasthan, where villages are typically far apart, one appropriately-sized hamlet per village was selected, and the randomization was effectively conducted at the village level. In Bihar, where hamlets may be close to one another (whether in the same village or in different villages), hamlets of the target size were included if they were sufficiently far from other included hamlets. For ease of exposition, we refer to the randomization unit as a "village" throughout.

In each state, 60 villages were randomly assigned to each of the four treatment groups. Randomization was stratified geographically to allow Pratham to organize its monitoring structure based on a known number of program villages in each area. The 240 villages in each state were first divided into geographically proximate groups of 20 villages. These groups of villages were further divided into 2 "phases". These phases determined the order of the rollout of the programs. The Pratham team rolled out the interventions in Phase 1 villages and began in Phase 2 villages approximately 3 weeks later. The randomization was stratified by the resulting 24 groups of 10 villages in each state, subject to integer constraints.

There interventions were designed and implemented by Pratham in each location. Each was implemented for approximately one year. Recruitment of mothers for each program was targeted towards a set of women in each village with children aged 5 to 8. These mothers

were targeted in order to maximize precision of estimated effects on children just beginning formal education. It was hypothesized that the programs would have the greatest effects on children that were just beginning to develop the most basic reading and math skills. Within each village in the sample, a census was conducted to determine a list of target mothers. Twenty-two mothers of children aged 5 to 8 years old were randomly selected to be targeted. If there were less than 22 such mothers in the village, all mothers were targeted.

The Mother Literacy (ML) intervention consisted of daily literacy classes held in the villages. In each location, a volunteer was recruited from the community to teach classes for two hours per day at the time and place that was most convenient to interested women. Volunteers utilized a version of Pratham's Read India methodology. This approach, shown effective in teaching children to read Banerjee et al. [2010], was modified to suit the interests of adults. While ML classes were open to any who wished to attend, volunteers were given a list of target mothers to recruit into the classes.

The Child and Mother Activities Packet (CHAMP) intervention was designed to engage the mothers at home with their children's learning. Once per week, a Pratham staff member visited each target mother and gave her a worksheet to help her child complete. Mothers were also given instruction on how to review her child's school notebooks, discuss child learning with her child's school teacher, and encourage the child to do schoolwork at home.

The combined intervention (ML-CHAMP) included both the ML and CHAMP interventions. The combined intervention was not integrated—both interventions were simply conducted in the same villages with the same target group of mothers.

3 Conceptual Framework

3.1 Conceptual Framework

In theory, the amount children learn at home is a function of the time they spend on educational activities and the productivity of that time spent. The factors that contribute to both time and productivity are quite similar: child preferences, the educational inputs or assets available, time parents spend monitoring educational activities and/or directly instructing, and the productivity

of the time parents spend. In other words, children will likely spend more time learning and be more productive learners when their parents dedicate resources and (productive) time to their education.

The amount of resources and time that parents spend on child learning, and the productivity of those inputs, can in turn be influenced by a number of factors. We identify three key factors relevant to our context. First, parents' expectations and aspirations can directly influence child motivation, parents' own time allocation, and the amount of resources they dedicate to educational assets in the home. Second, if mothers have a relative preference for educational outcomes, their own empowerment may serve as a key intermediate step in procuring educational assets, or allocating their time accordingly. Third, parents' own human capital and experience with the process of learning influence the productivity of the time and inputs they provide. This last set of factors may also influence their preferences, as well as relative empowerment.

3.2 Theory of Change

One driving assumption behind ML and CHAMP is that mothers have a preference to help their children learn, but lack the skills and/or experience to do so, and therefore do not dedicate as much (productive) time or resources. By design, ML was intended to directly influence the human capital of mothers.. Classes focused on basic literacy and numeracy skills. Through an increase in these skills, the productivity of time and inputs that mothers provide to their children will increase. CHAMP was intended to increase mothers' experience with the process of learning, time spent, and assets available in the home, but not human capital nor preferences directly. Parents were given materials and guidance on how to interact with their kids at home to foster child learning. Again, this increase in experience is intended to increase the inputs and productivity of inputs that mothers provide.

However, these interventions could influence the other factors as well. ML classes teach mothers how to read, write and do simple arithmetic, influencing their human capital, but these classes also give mothers experience in the process of learning as adults. While different from child learning (e.g. it doesn't involve the formal education system), mothers may still be able to

translate their own experience of learning into an understanding of how children learn. By providing confidence and skills to make decisions within the household, or by creating or strengthening social networks through class attendance, ML could promote a sense of empowerment. Finally, if children attend the ML classes (along with, or in place of mothers), it could influence children's own motivation, the time they spend on educational activities, and the productivity of that time.

CHAMP interactions teach mothers the process of how children learn, endowing them with experience. While not directly giving instruction on how to read, write or do math, the interaction—both with Pratham staff and/or with their own children—may result in mothers learning, improving their human capital directly. As with ML, CHAMP classes could give mothers the confidence and skills to make household decisions related to education. Finally, CHAMP could affect child learning directly: if children are present when material and activities are being demonstrated, this could impact their productivity, time and preferences, independent from interacting with their mother.

4 Data collection

Baseline data was collected from selected households at the onset of the interventions, and endline data was collected after approximately one year. Data collection consisted of standardized tests and household surveys.

The standardized tests, designed to evaluate a basic set of Hindi and math skills, were developed by the ASER Centre, Pratham's research arm and were an expanded version of the ASER Centre's standard assessment tool used each year in their Annual Status of Education Report..[4] At the baseline, the tests were administered to all eligible mothers, target children, other children in the household in grades 1 to 4, and children aged 4 and below who were going to be enrolled in school in the next year. The endline testing included all mothers and children tested at baseline, in addition to the remaining children who were aged 3 or 4 at the baseline. These tests were scored on a 20-point scale for children in both the baseline and endline, a

[4]The ASER tool is used in the ASER Centre's national assessments of child learning and is administered to approximately 450,000 children annually (ASER Centre, 2013).

24-point scale for mothers at baseline, and a 28-point scale for mothers at endline. The mother test was the same as the child test, but included several additional questions that related to the material taught in the mother literacy classes. Minor additions and deletions were made in the testing instruments between baseline and endline. For the purposes of the analysis, test scores were normalized based on the control group means and standard deviations in each round of testing, separately for mothers and children.

In addition to the primary standardized testing instruments, at the baseline other household members were given very short tests designed to quickly assess whether they could read simple sentences and do basic subtraction.

The household surveys were administered to eligible mothers. The baseline contained modules on basic household demographics, asset ownership, schooling status of children in the household, mother perceptions of education, and mother's time use. In addition, questions were asked about the time use of the child aged 5-8 in the household (in the cases where there was more than one such child, one was randomly selected). The endline survey repeated the measures of the baseline survey, with the exception of demographics, and included additional questions on empowerment.

Table 1 contains descriptive statistics from the baseline tests and surveys and compares the means of the variables between each treatment group and the control group. Out of 60 comparisons performed, 6 are significant at the 10% level, and 3 are significant at the 5% level. No variable is jointly significantly different at the 10% level between the 3 treatment groups and the control group (not shown). On the whole, this suggests that the randomization was successful in creating comparable groups.

Appendix Table 2 details weighting procedure and the weighted test scores for each question on the test. The average baseline mother scores on the test were 3.0/10 for reading and 3.1/14 for math. Mothers scored the highest on the most basic competencies on the test, such as picture recognition, letter recognition, writing one's own name, and number recognition. Child scores averaged 2.9/10 in reading, and 2.9/10 in math. As with mothers, children scored the highest on the most basic competencies.

Out of 8857 mothers tested at baseline, 8552 (97%) were re-tested for the endline. Child

tests are available for 14,575 out of 15,502 (94%) of children tested at the baseline.

5 Results - Mothers

5.1 Estimating Equation

Throughout the analysis we utilize the following estimating equation:

$$Y_{1iv} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 ML_v + \beta_2 CHAMP_v + \beta_3 MLCHAMP + \beta_4 Y_{0ihv} + \delta G_v + \varepsilon_{iv}$$

In this equation, Y_{ihv} is the outcome for individual i, in household h, in village v. ML, CHAMP, and MLCHAMP are dummies indicating the treatment status of the village. Y_{01} is the baseline value of the outcome of interest (when measured). G is a dummy for stratum, as described in Section 2 above. ε_{iv} is the individual error term, clustered by village, the level of randomization.

5.2 Program Takeup

Takeup of the mother literacy classes is analyzed in Table 2. Compared with the control group, approximately 32% more mothers in the ML treatment and 37% in the ML-CHAMP treatment reported ever having attended the classes.[5]Children attended the classes as well. Children were 21% more likely to ever attend in the ML treatment, and 27% more likely to ever attend in the ML-CHAMP treatment, compared with the control group.

We assume 100% takeup of the CHAMP activities. This was a door-to-door intervention where Pratham staff visited each mother in her household.

5.3 Test Scores

Turning to the results on mother learning, Table 3 presents the effect of the treatment groups on mothers' normalized test scores. All three programs had statistically significant impacts on literacy, math and combined test scores. The Mother Literacy program improved mother test

[5]It is important to note that 7 percent of mothers in the control group attended classes. This is due to a government program "Sakshar Bharat" that was conducted in the spring of 2012 in Bihar. Research staff monitored this program carefully. Where they were set up, classes were held for approximately one week, and were not differentially held in treatment or control villages.

scores by 0.09 standard deviations in Hindi and 0.12 standard deviations in math, and 0.11 standard deviations overall. The last column in the table presents instrumental variables estimates of the effects of takeup of the program on learning, instrumenting takeup with assignment to the ML treatment. To account for spillovers within households, "takeup" is defined as either the mother or the child attending a class at least once. Using this method, the effect of takeup is 0.33 standard deviations overall.[6]

The CHAMP program improved mother test scores as well. Test scores improved by 0.04 standard deviations in Hindi, 0.07 standard deviations in math, and 0.06 standard deviations overall.

The effect of the combined intervention on total test scores was 0.15 standard deviations. While this is slightly lower than the sum of the effects of the ML and CHAMP interventions, we cannot reject that the ML-CHAMP effect equals the sum of the effects of the two individual interventions (p-value = 0.338).

Appendix Tables 3 and 4 display the treatment effects on each question of the test for language and math, respectively. For comparability across questions, the maximum score for each question is re-scaled to 1. On the language portion of the test, ML and ML-CHAMP interventions had the largest effects on more basic skills such as reading letters, reading simple words, and writing the mother's name. For example, mothers in the ML group were 3.5 percentage points more likely to be able to read letters, while mothers in the ML-CHAMP group were 4.7 percentage points more likely to read letters, compared with the endline control group mean of 17.3%. The point estimates for CHAMP, on the other hand, were modest and positive (about 0.5 to 1.5 percentage points) on most questions, although most of the estimated effects are not statistically significant.

On the math portion of the test, all three interventions had the strongest effects on the number recognition questions, the most basic skills tested. For example, the mothers' ability to identify digits 1-9 was 7, 3 and 11 percentage points higher in ML, CHAMP, and ML-CHAMP, respectively, compared to the control group mean of 47%. Interestingly, all three interventions

[6]Note that the exclusion restriction in the IV estimation assumes that the mother literacy classes influenced learning *only* through attendance in the classes. This assumption would be violated, if, for example, mother learning was influenced by the attendance of other members in the community.

also had statistically significant effects on the mother's ability to complete the division word problem in addition to the more basic math skills. This sugests that either classes attracted some relatively more numerate mothers, or that the programs were particularly effective in "mental math" (i.e. solving word problems) in addition to the more basic skills.

5.4 Intermediate Outcomes

The programs could have affected mother learning through a variety of channels. In addition to the more direct effects that mother literacy and child participation could have had on mother learning, there are a number of indirect channels. Section 6 analyzes changes in the home environment, including education assets at home and mothers' involvement in child learning. We find that the programs did increase both assets and mothers' involvement in child learning, both of which could have had feedbacks to mother learning.

We also find evidence that the programs induced others in the households to help the mothers learn. Table 4 analyzes whether the mother reported learning various skills from family members. We find that significantly more mothers in the ML and ML-CHAMP treatments reported learning any of the skills from family members, from 21% in the control group to 26% in ML and ML-CHAMP. For the CHAMP interventions, we find smaller coefficients, and the coefficients are significant only for learning about counting and counting change.

5.5 Empowerment and Time Use

This subsection examines the effects of the programs on women's empowerment and time use. These indicators are both potential channels through which the program could have affected mother and child learning, as well as important outcomes in and of themselves.

We first turn to the effects of the programs on women's empowerment. We include 19 variables from the survey instrument reflecting a number of underlying aspects of empowerment. First, we include a set of variables reflecting the mother's ability to make decisions and carry out tasks on her own. Second, we include a set of variables indicating whether the mother is involved in certain household decisions. Third, we include a set of variables reflecting beliefs about own and daughters' education. Finally, we include a measure of happiness.

Using these variables, we construct an index of empowerment using the methodology pioneered by Kling et al (2007). Each variable is normalized by subtracting the control group mean and dividing the result by the control group standard deviations. The resulting normalized variables are then averaged to create the index. We construct separate indices for both the baseline and endline. The baseline index contains fewer elements than the endline index, as additional empowerment questions were added to the endline questionnaire.

Table 5 presents the program effects on the index and its components. Using our index, we find positive and statistically significant impacts of each of the three treatments on empowerment. The estimated effects of the ML and CHAMP programs were both 0.04 standard deviations, both significant at the 5% level. Turning to the components of the index, both the ML and CHAMP interventions had significant impacts on whether the mother counts change, beliefs about adult daughter's choices, and beliefs that the mother should be responsible for her children's education. The ML intervention also had impacts on several variables more directly related to mother literacy and math (the mother signing her name, considering herself literate, the value of goods she could buy), and beliefs about a wife's level of education relative to her husband. The CHAMP intervention had a significant impact on leaving the village without adult accompaniment and a small negative impact on self-help group membership.

We next turn to the effects of the programs on women's time use. Andrabi et al. (2012) find that women with more education spend more time with their children. In Table 6, we examine whether the ML, CHAMP and combined programs affect mother time use in this manner. Across all measures, we see little evidence that the programs impacted time use. The combined interventions increased weekly hours spent on paid work by 1 hour per week (significant at the 10% level), and livestock work by 0.5 hours per week (significant at the 5% level). While it is plausible that the programs increased labor supply either through productivity or through empowerment, more work is needed to explore the mechanisms through which the programs can have these effects.

6 Results - Children

6.1 Test Scores

Table 7 presents the effects of the treatment groups on child test scores. All children tested at the endline are included in this table, including the younger children not tested at baseline. The regressions include a dummy variable for missing values of the baseline test scores.

All three interventions had significant impacts on math skills: the effect size is 0.04 standard deviations for ML, 0.05 standard deviations for CHAMP, and 0.07 standard deviations for ML-CHAMP. The effects of ML and CHAMP on literacy and cumulative scores are not statistically different from zero. However, ML-CHAMP had statistically significant effects on literacy (0.05 standard deviations), and cumulative scores (0.06 standard deviations).

The last column of Table 7 follows the mother test score results in Table 3 by presenting instrumental variables estimates of the effect of a mother or child attending the ML classes on child learning. The IV estimate of the effect of attendance is 0.11 standard deviations for math and is significant at the 5% level. Because the reduced-form estimates are not significant for literacy or cumulative test scores, it is not surprising that the IV estimates are not significant at conventional levels.

Appendix Tables 5 and 6 disaggregate the test score effects by individual question. As with the mother results, we re-scale the questions so that the maximum possible score for each is 1. The results for language are displayed in Appendix Table 5. The ML intervention did not have a statistically significant impact on any competency, and the estimated magnitudes are very small and inconsistently signed. For the CHAMP intervention, the magnitudes of the coefficients on each question is positive, but none reaches statistical significance. The ML-CHAMP intervention had positive and statistically significant impacts on the child's ability to read letters, matra (more complex) words, and paragraphs.

Appendix Table 6 displays question-wise results for math. Across all three interventions, the largest effects are concentrated in the more basic number recognition questions. For example, child scores were 2.3, 4.0 and 3.9 percentage points higher on the question that asked the child to identify the digits 1 to 9, compared with the endline control group mean of 56.0

percent.

6.2 Intermediate Outcomes

This section analyses impacts of the treatment groups on intermediate outcomes. We start by discussing outcomes that relate to learning outside of the home. Table 8 presents the impacts of the programs on school participation. We find no evidence that the individual programs affected current enrollment, regular attendance or recent absences. We do find that the ML program resulted in small decrease in parents reporting that their children would be enrolled in the coming school year. However, the magnitude is almost identical to the positive (but statistically insignificant) estimated impact on current enrollment, suggesting that the ML program may have resulted in children enrolling at earlier ages. We also find a small positive impact on school attendance of the combined program. Finally, we find a statistically significant increase in monthly tuition expenditures for the ML group, but the effects are smaller and statistically insignificant in the ML and ML-CHAMP groups. On balance, this table shows limited, if any, impacts of the interventions on schooling outcomes.

We next turn to a set of indicators of the mother's participation in the child's schooling. We include 9 measures of mother involvement, including indicators of school visits, helping with homework, and talking to the child and others about the child's studies. We construct an index of mother involvement using the 9 measures, following the procedure outlined above. These survey questions were asked about the selected child, and hence the sample size is equal to the sample of mothers.

Table 9 presents the results on mother involvement We find positive and statistically significant impacts of all three programs on the index of indicators. The magnitudes are approximately 0.04 for ML, 0.07 for CHAMP and 0.05 for ML-CHAMP. While both ML and CHAMP had statistically significant impacts on the mother looking at the child's notebook, talking to the child about studies and talking to others about the child's studies, CHAMP had impacts on the mother knowing whether the child received homework and on helping her child with homework.

We next examine impacts on child time use. Table 10 presents the estimated impacts of

the program on the child's weekly time use. Overall, there were very few impacts. The combined ML-CHAMP intervention increased time spent on homework by 0.3 hours per week, statistically significant at the 5% level. While the effects of the individual interventions fail to reach statistical significance at the 5% level, the magnitude of the CHAMP effect is 0.2 hours per week, significant at the 10% level, suggesting that the ML-CHAMP effect could be driven primarily by CHAMP. The ML and ML-CHAMP interventions also have significant impacts on time spent in household business, mirroring the results for mothers. As with mother time use results, more work is needed to understand the impacts of the programs on work behavior.

Table 11 presents the treatment effects on the presence of education assets in the home. For the ML intervention, the only statistically significant effect is on the presence of schoolbooks, with an estimated magnitude of 0.018. The CHAMP intervention, on the other hand, had a statistically significant effect on the presence of pencils, school books, other books, and newspapers/magazines. The combined intervention increased the presence of school books, other books, and slates. (Note that pencils are present in 95% of comparison group households, so minimal of movement on this indicator is unsurprising.)

Finally, in Table 12 we turn to a set of indicators that reflect mother aspirations for their children and perceptions of child reading ability. We do not find statistically significant impacts of any of the interventions on the highest grade that the mother aspires her child to pass. We do find that the CHAMP and combined interventions increased mother perceptions of her child's reading and math ability. When compared to the child's actual ability, however, the CHAMP and combined programs caused mothers to be overly optimistic: the absolute difference between the mother's perception and measured child ability increased for the CHAMP and combined interventions.

7 Conclusion

Adult literacy and participation programs are increasing in popularity, frequency, funding and influence—particularly in developing countries. Proponents and policymakers draw an explicit link between the education of parents and child welfare outcomes when advocating for such

programs. The underpinning theorystarts with the observation that parent levels of education are strongly correlated with child outcomes, and draws on further evidence that the relationship is causal (rather than due to other factors such as inherent ability, or cultural preferences, which could lead to both outcomes independently). Educating parents in adulthood, the theory goes, will shift preferences toward demanding more quantity of education and of higher quality, household resources toward more educational assets at home, time allocation toward more time educating their children at home, and increased productivity of that time. However, there is very little rigorous evidence on whether these programs are actually effective in the developing country context.

We show that an adult literacy and a participation program targeting mothers in rural India were effective at "educating parents"—improving mothers' basic literacy and numeracy skills. These programs also had an impact on measures of women's empowerment, educational assets in the home, and the participation of mothers in child learning. Lastly, they improved learning levels of younger school-aged children. Literacy classes were more effective at educating the mothers than the participation program, while the participation program was most effective at improving child learning outcomes. The results on learning (for mothers and children) were highest when the two interventions were combined, suggesting that the two interventions are at least additive, and not substitutes.

We find that the programs influenced a number of intermediate outcomes that could in turn have affected child learning. However, we cannot isolate the most important of these factors in the effectiveness of the programs. . Understanding the importance of the each mechanism is a key area for future research. Nonetheless, our evaluation shows that literacy and participation programs can impact both mother and child learning. This is encouraging evidence for policy-makers looking to improve adult and child learning, as well as the education environment in the home.

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Table 1: Randomization Check

	Mean	Relative to Control			
	Control	ML	CHAMP	ML-CHAMP	N
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Assets					
First Pincipal Component of Durables Ownership	-0.0328	0.00923	0.0924	0.0282	8888
	[2.261]	[0.0866]	[0.0952]	[0.0906]	
Main Income Source of Household					
Farming	0.431	0.0251	0.00974	0.0414*	8819
	[0.495]	[0.0230]	[0.0250]	[0.0226]	
Wages	0.431	-0.0121	-0.0149	-0.0370*	8819
	[0.495]	[0.0215]	[0.0226]	[0.0216]	
Other	0.447	-0.0129	0.00521	-0.00445	8819
	[0.497]	[0.0133]	[0.0143]	[0.0131]	
Number of Household Members					
Target-Aged Children (5 yrs to 8 yrs)	1.453	-0.0351*	-0.0293	-0.0158	8888
	[0.612]	[0.0184]	[0.0199]	[0.0179]	
Other Primary-Aged Chilred (4 yrs and 9 yrs)	1	0.0475	0.0217	0.0467*	8888
	[0.960]	[0.0298]	[0.0307]	[0.0275]	
Younger Children (Less than 4 yrs)	0.942	-0.0161	0.0115	0.0639**	8888
	[0.909]	[0.0299]	[0.0335]	[0.0303]	
Older Children (More than 9 yrs)	3.269	0.00905	0.114*	0.0932	8888
	[1.751]	[0.0632]	[0.0687]	[0.0634]	
Mother Test Scores					
Mother- Literacy	0.0227	0.0183	0.0555	0.0227	8857
	[1.025]	[0.0455]	[0.0542]	[0.0477]	
Mother- Numeracy	0.0392	0.0270	0.0448	0.0251	8857
	[1.032]	[0.0469]	[0.0552]	[0.0490]	
Mother- Composite	0.0335	0.0243	0.0515	0.0251	8857
	[1.030]	[0.0474]	[0.0564]	[0.0496]	
Children's Test Scores					
Children- Literacy	0.0000	0.0254	0.0308	0.0348	15502
	[1.000]	[0.0373]	[0.0383]	[0.0370]	
Children- Numeracy	0.000	0.0378	0.0431	0.0283	15502
	[1.000]	[0.0366]	[0.0387]	[0.0361]	
Children- Composite	0.000	0.0334	0.0389	0.0321	15502
	[1.000]	[0.0372]	[0.0389]	[0.0366]	
Other Members' Reading/Math					
Other Members- Can Read?	0.380	-0.00151	0.0274	0.0163	13891
	[0.485]	[0.0162]	[0.0178]	[0.0175]	
Other Members- Can Do Math?	0.249	0.00460	0.0249	0.0233	13891
	[0.433]	[0.0146]	[0.0170]	[0.0147]	
Parent Education					
Mother Education Level	17.10	-0.194	-0.420**	-0.229	8864
	[4.880]	[0.192]	[0.207]	[0.197]	
Father Education Level	12.78	0.125	-0.203	-0.184	8181
	[6.334]	[0.245]	[0.266]	[0.252]	
Mother Has Past Experience with Literacy Classes	0.117	-0.00839	-0.00825	-0.0209*	8635
	[0.321]	[0.0123]	[0.0130]	[0.0124]	
Child Gender					
Child Is Male	0.521	-0.0133	-0.00804	-0.0214**	15500
	[0.500]	[0.0108]	[0.0110]	[0.0106]	

Notes:
Columns 2, 3 and 4 display the differences in means between each treatment group and the control group.
Standard errors are clustered at the village level.
* denotes significance at 0.10; ** at 0.05; *** at 0.01

Table 2: Takeup of Mother Literacy Classes

	Mean	OLS: Impact of treatment in endline			
	Control	ML	CHAMP	ML-CHAMP	*N*
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Knew about ML classes	0.218	0.402***	-0.00558	0.451***	8581
	[0.413]	[0.0226]	[0.0199]	[0.0217]	
Mother attended ML classes	0.0710	0.321***	-0.00101	0.368***	8581
	[0.257]	[0.0184]	[0.0128]	[0.0177]	
Child attended with mother	0.0509	0.211***	-0.0105	0.271***	8581
	[0.220]	[0.0149]	[0.00961]	[0.0163]	
Child attended alone	0.0252	0.161***	0.0000870	0.218***	8581
	[0.157]	[0.0126]	[0.00727]	[0.0133]	

Notes:
Columns 2, 3 and 4 display estimated coefficients of a regression of the outcome in each row on treatment group dummies, controlling for stratification unit dummies. Standard errors are clustered at the village level.
* denotes significance at 0.10; ** at 0.05; *** at 0.01

Table 3: Mother Learning

	Baseline Mean	Endline Mean	OLS: Impact of treatment in endline					First stage	IV
	All Obs	Control	ML	CHAMP	ML-CHAMP	N	P-value: additive effects	Attend lit class	Impact of lit class
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Literacy	0.0430	0.115	0.0913***	0.0400**	0.126***	8552	0.848	0.341***	0.261***
	[1.055]	[1.329]	[0.0185]	[0.0193]	[0.0188]			[0.0189]	[0.0529]
Numeracy	0.0616	-0.0158	0.120***	0.0693***	0.159***	8552	0.226		0.353***
	[1.065]	[1.017]	[0.0167]	[0.0158]	[0.0173]				[0.0493]
Total	0.0560	0.0414	0.111***	0.0587***	0.150***	8552	0.385		0.325***
	[1.066]	[1.153]	[0.0151]	[0.0142]	[0.0158]				[0.0439]

Notes:

Columns 3, 4 and 5 display estimated coefficients of a regression of the outcome in each row on treatment group dummies, controlling for stratification unit dummies and baseline values.

Colunmn 7 displays the p-value of the test that the coefficients ML+CHAMP=ML-CHAMP.

Column 8 displays the impact of assignment to the mother literacy treatment group on literacy class attendance by mother or child.

Column 9 displays the impact of litteracy class attendance on the dependent variables, using assignment to the ML treatment group as an instrument for attendance.

Standard errors are clustered at the village level.

* denotes significance at 0.10; ** at 0.05; *** at 0.01

Table 4: Family Assistance in Mother Learning

	Endline Mean	OLS: Impact of treatment in endline			
	Control	ML	CHAMP	ML-CHAMP	*N*
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Family member taught mother: ANY	0.206	0.0507***	0.00683	0.0560***	8581
	[0.404]	[0.0146]	[0.0154]	[0.0146]	
Family member taught mother: to write her name	0.173	0.0414***	-0.00953	0.0502***	8581
	[0.378]	[0.0131]	[0.0135]	[0.0130]	
Family member taught mother: counting	0.0818	0.0509***	0.0200*	0.0577***	8581
	[0.274]	[0.0106]	[0.0107]	[0.0105]	
Family member taught mother: hh accounts	0.0537	0.0230***	0.0118	0.0285***	8581
	[0.226]	[0.00825]	[0.00826]	[0.00828]	
Family member taught mother: counting change	0.0514	0.0314***	0.0194**	0.0295***	8581
	[0.221]	[0.00820]	[0.00860]	[0.00956]	

Notes:
Columns 2, 3 and 4 display estimated coefficients of a regression of the outcome in each row on treatment group dummies, controlling for stratification unit dummies.
Standard errors are clustered at the village level.
* denotes significance at 0.10; ** at 0.05; *** at 0.01

Table 5: Empowerment

	Baseline Mean	Endline Mean	OLS: Impact of treatment in endline			
	All Obs	Control	ML	CHAMP	ML-CHAMP	*N*
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Empowerment Index	-0.00625	0.000225	0.0409***	0.0360**	0.0695***	8539
	[0.391]	[0.378]	[0.0143]	[0.0147]	[0.0148]	
Times left village in the past month	1.405	1.146	0.0338	0.0741	0.0977	8581
	[2.244]	[1.672]	[0.0607]	[0.0627]	[0.0661]	
Left without adult accompaniment (% of mothers)	0.127	0.114	0.00319	0.0286***	0.00449	8581
	[0.333]	[0.318]	[0.00998]	[0.0103]	[0.0103]	
Left village without permission (% of mothers)	0.0258	0.0168	-0.00426	0.000597	-0.00313	8581
	[0.159]	[0.129]	[0.00366]	[0.00390]	[0.00372]	
Signed name on official documents	0.538	0.562	0.0630***	0.0127	0.0829***	8581
	[0.499]	[0.496]	[0.0140]	[0.0134]	[0.0138]	
Counts change	0.876	0.869	0.0250**	0.0227**	0.0421***	8581
	[0.330]	[0.337]	[0.0117]	[0.0114]	[0.0112]	
Caught mistakes counting change	0.310	0.318	0.0151	-0.00742	0.0269	8581
	[0.463]	[0.466]	[0.0172]	[0.0169]	[0.0174]	
Considers self literate		0.235	0.0479***	0.0165	0.0730***	8581
		[0.424]	[0.0164]	[0.0176]	[0.0170]	
Value of goods can buy alone		2442.0	130.4	80.68	165.3*	8581
		[2259.3]	[83.58]	[91.02]	[91.72]	
Does not believe husband should be more educated	0.380	0.350	0.0441***	0.0169	0.0567***	8581
	[0.485]	[0.477]	[0.0163]	[0.0174]	[0.0170]	
Does not believe daughter should be at home or married when 18	0.0539	0.0439	-0.00217	0.00592	0.00308	8581
	[0.226]	[0.205]	[0.00631]	[0.00649]	[0.00648]	
Believes daughter should be doing further studies	0.161	0.383	0.0478***	0.0701***	0.0954***	8581
/ what they want / paid work outside home	[0.368]	[0.486]	[0.0169]	[0.0183]	[0.0186]	
Would have wanted to study up to: grade level		5.620	-0.432***	0.183	-0.261	8581
		[4.434]	[0.161]	[0.181]	[0.159]	
Member of self help group (SHG)	0.277	0.330	0.00665	-0.0303*	-0.00403	8581
	[0.447]	[0.470]	[0.0171]	[0.0169]	[0.0160]	
Happiness		3.101	0.0556	0.0784	0.0558	8581
		[1.439]	[0.0501]	[0.0511]	[0.0470]	
Involved in purchasing: utensils, cot or cycle		0.586	0.0271	0.0118	0.0247	8581
		[0.493]	[0.0181]	[0.0180]	[0.0194]	
Involved in purchasing: educational materials		0.479	0.0209	0.0188	0.0383**	8581
		[0.500]	[0.0183]	[0.0179]	[0.0183]	
Involved in deciding: girl or boy enrollment		0.519	0.0114	0.00638	0.0156	8581
		[0.500]	[0.0173]	[0.0173]	[0.0175]	
Involved in deciding: girl or boy school type		0.522	0.0115	0.00966	0.0287*	8539
		[0.500]	[0.0170]	[0.0174]	[0.0171]	
Mother/ both should be responsible for child's education		0.717	0.0409***	0.0322**	0.0424***	8581
		[0.451]	[0.0138]	[0.0138]	[0.0136]	

Notes:
Columns 3, 4 and 5 display estimated coefficients of a regression of the outcome in each row on treatment group dummies, controlling for stratification unit dummies and baseline values (where available).
The "empowerment index" is an average of z-scores of the other variables in the table, using the control group means and standard deviations.
The baseline empowerment index only includes indicators for which data were collected.
Standard errors are clustered at the village level.
* denotes significance at 0.10; ** at 0.05; *** at 0.01

Table 6: Mother Time Use

	Baseline Mean	Endline Mean	OLS: Impact of treatment in endline			
	All Obs	Control	ML	CHAMP	ML-CHAMP	*N*
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Help w/ homework (weekly hrs)	1.686	2.313	0.114	0.126	0.0602	8519
	[2.903]	[2.704]	[0.0919]	[0.0973]	[0.0918]	
Read (weekly hrs)	0.201	0.324	-0.0116	-0.0217	0.00582	8399
	[1.056]	[1.332]	[0.0397]	[0.0365]	[0.0422]	
Play with child (weekly hrs)	0.255	1.322	0.0720	0.0544	-0.0272	8472
	[1.309]	[3.172]	[0.110]	[0.116]	[0.108]	
Share stories (weekly hrs)	0.383	0.515	0.0196	-0.00556	0.0358	8514
	[1.201]	[1.401]	[0.0464]	[0.0438]	[0.0507]	
Paid work (weekly hrs)	26.81	31.27	1.022*	0.487	0.975	8547
	[18.53]	[20.93]	[0.604]	[0.587]	[0.610]	
Livestock work (weekly hrs)	9.242	9.528	0.171	-0.253	0.505**	8573
	[7.020]	[6.745]	[0.246]	[0.231]	[0.241]	
Collect animal feed (weekly hrs)		6.828	0.209	-0.161	0.178	8577
		[6.601]	[0.261]	[0.266]	[0.274]	
Collect wood (weekly hrs)		3.302	0.0804	-0.125	0.00144	8570
		[4.962]	[0.179]	[0.193]	[0.189]	
Housework (weekly hrs)	22.20	18.86	0.365	0.252	0.316	8581
	[8.844]	[7.918]	[0.304]	[0.301]	[0.286]	
Buy supplies (weekly hrs)	4.832	1.231	-0.0582	-0.0654	-0.0182	8567
	[6.188]	[2.656]	[0.0901]	[0.0905]	[0.0877]	
Look after children (weekly hrs)	5.751	4.640	-0.209**	-0.143	0.0737	8581
	[4.035]	[3.695]	[0.106]	[0.109]	[0.104]	

Notes:
Columns 3, 4 and 5 display estimated coefficients of a regression of the outcome in each row on treatment group dummies, controlling for stratification unit dummies and baseline values (where possible).
Standard errors are clustered at the village level.
* denotes significance at 0.10; ** at 0.05; *** at 0.01

Table 7: Child Learning

	Baseline Mean	Endline Mean	OLS: Impact of treatment in endline					First stage	IV
	All Obs	Control	ML	CHAMP	ML-CHAMP	*N*	P-value: ML-CHAMP = ML + CHAMP	Attend lit class	Impact of lit class
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Literacy	0.0253	0.134	-0.00229	0.0288	0.0537***	18282	0.331	0.352***	0.000552
	[1.008]	[1.130]	[0.0192]	[0.0197]	[0.0186]			[0.0199]	[0.0548]
Numeracy	0.0306	0.127	0.0374**	0.0469**	0.0685***	18282	0.552		0.114**
	[1.014]	[1.058]	[0.0185]	[0.0189]	[0.0182]				[0.0523]
Total	0.0292	0.134	0.0194	0.0387**	0.0632***	18282	0.841		0.0635
	[1.012]	[1.085]	[0.0176]	[0.0183]	[0.0171]				[0.0499]

Notes:
Columns 3, 4 and 5 display estimated coefficients of a regression of the outcome in each row on treatment group dummies, controlling for stratification unit dummies and baseline values. Missing value dummies are included for children not tested at baseline.
Colunmn 7 displays the p-value of the test that the coefficients ML+CHAMP=ML-CHAMP.
Column 8 displays the impact of assignment to the mother literacy treatment group on literacy class attendance by mother or child.
Column 9 displays the impact of litteracy class attendance on the dependent variables, using assignment to the ML treatment group as an instrument for attendance.
Standard errors are clustered at the village level.
* denotes significance at 0.10; ** at 0.05; *** at 0.01

Table 8: Child Schooling

	Baseline Mean	Endline Mean	OLS: Impact of treatment in endline			
	All Obs	Control	ML	CHAMP	ML-CHAMP	*N*
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Monthly tuition fees	14.25	20.92	3.564*	2.114	1.299	8438
	[36.68]	[53.28]	[1.926]	[1.962]	[1.839]	
Child is enrolled		0.775	0.0122	0.0136	0.0144	25053
		[0.418]	[0.0118]	[0.0116]	[0.0118]	
Child will be enrolled		0.905	-0.00203	0.00483	0.00964	25053
		[0.293]	[0.00741]	[0.00724]	[0.00722]	
Child attends school	0.833	0.845	-0.00486	0.00349	0.0193*	25053
	[0.373]	[0.362]	[0.0109]	[0.0108]	[0.0106]	
Child attends private school	0.114	0.0805	0.00565	-0.000640	0.00427	25053
	[0.318]	[0.272]	[0.00847]	[0.00859]	[0.00883]	
Hours spent in school	3.642	4.063	0.0554	0.0827	0.0885	8475
	[1.971]	[1.599]	[0.0554]	[0.0537]	[0.0558]	
Days missed per month		2.152	-0.0820	-0.0206	-0.133	7383
		[4.753]	[0.175]	[0.183]	[0.164]	
Days missed in last week	2.825	1.379	0.0275	-0.0572	-0.0361	6980
	[2.469]	[1.946]	[0.0710]	[0.0760]	[0.0683]	

Notes:
Columns 3, 4 and 5 display estimated coefficients of a regression of the outcome in each row on treatment group dummies, controlling for stratification unit dummies and baseline values (where available).
Standard errors are clustered at the village level.
* denotes significance at 0.10; ** at 0.05; *** at 0.01

Table 9: Mother-Child Participation

	Baseline Mean	Endline Mean	OLS: Impact of treatment in endline			
	All Obs	Control	ML	CHAMP	ML-CHAMP	*N*
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Mother-Child Participation Index	0.0231	0.0123	0.0371**	0.0634***	0.0507**	8231
	[0.643]	[0.512]	[0.0184]	[0.0196]	[0.0198]	
Take child to school (# times/week)	0.255	0.336	-0.0385	0.0370	-0.00939	8451
	[1.095]	[1.130]	[0.0380]	[0.0420]	[0.0357]	
Visit school (% of mothers)	0.128	0.155	0.00511	0.0136	0.0132	8451
	[0.335]	[0.362]	[0.0119]	[0.0129]	[0.0123]	
Visit school: (% of mothers)	0.0969	0.0763	0.00894	0.0157*	0.00824	8451
	[0.296]	[0.266]	[0.00951]	[0.00903]	[0.00895]	
Know whether child received homework (% of mothers)		0.762	0.0158	0.0321**	0.0189	8479
		[0.426]	[0.0151]	[0.0150]	[0.0162]	
Help child with homework (% of mothers)	0.325	0.708	0.0158	0.0419***	0.0258*	8479
	[0.469]	[0.455]	[0.0153]	[0.0146]	[0.0154]	
Time spent helping per week (weekly hrs)	1.686	2.313	0.114	0.126	0.0602	8519
	[2.903]	[2.704]	[0.0919]	[0.0973]	[0.0918]	
Looked at notebook (% of mothers)	0.126	0.216	0.0300**	0.0651***	0.0495***	8572
	[0.332]	[0.412]	[0.0149]	[0.0157]	[0.0152]	
Talk to child about school: number of times per week		3.090	0.222**	0.194*	0.247**	8438
		[3.018]	[0.101]	[0.105]	[0.105]	
Talk to others about child's studies: number of times per week	0.551	1.609	0.235***	0.181**	0.251***	8521
	[0.497]	[2.222]	[0.0778]	[0.0773]	[0.0797]	

Notes:

Columns 3, 4 and 5 display estimated coefficients of a regression of the outcome in each row on treatment group dummies, controlling for stratification unit dummies and baseline values (where available).

The "Mother-Child Participation Index" is an average of z-scores of the other variables in the table, using the control group means and standard deviations. The baseline participation index only includes indicators for which data were collected.

Standard errors are clustered at the village level.

* denotes significance at 0.10; ** at 0.05; *** at 0.01

Table 10: Child Time Use

	Baseline Mean	Endline Mean	OLS: Impact of treatment in endline			
	All Obs	Control	ML	CHAMP	ML-CHAMP	*N*
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Homework (weekly hrs)	2.992	3.760	-0.00138	0.241*	0.302**	8331
	[4.103]	[4.243]	[0.149]	[0.141]	[0.138]	
Reading (weekly hrs)	0.258	0.460	-0.0451	-0.00993	0.0549	7942
	[1.253]	[1.571]	[0.0485]	[0.0526]	[0.0531]	
Drawing/ painting (weekly hrs)	0.465	0.698	0.00414	0.0743	0.0901*	7902
	[1.339]	[1.543]	[0.0531]	[0.0520]	[0.0527]	
Playing w/ adult (weekly hrs)	0.448	0.547	0.000218	-0.0281	-0.0997	8337
	[2.001]	[1.953]	[0.0653]	[0.0654]	[0.0622]	
Tuition (weekly hrs)	1.848	2.263	0.194	0.151	0.0103	8416
	[4.428]	[4.861]	[0.180]	[0.194]	[0.174]	
Television	3.832	3.673	-0.112	0.144	0.0408	8339
	[5.644]	[4.934]	[0.169]	[0.175]	[0.164]	
Housework (weekly hrs)	3.182	3.552	0.0547	0.115	0.129	8408
	[4.211]	[3.987]	[0.132]	[0.129]	[0.130]	
Household business (weekly hrs)	1.175	1.786	0.229*	0.0882	0.328**	8407
	[3.550]	[3.705]	[0.128]	[0.134]	[0.128]	

Notes:
Columns 3, 4 and 5 display estimated coefficients of a regression of the outcome in each row on treatment group dummies, controlling for stratification unit dummies and baseline values (where available).
Standard errors are clustered at the village level.
* denotes significance at 0.10; ** at 0.05; *** at 0.01

Table 11: Education Assets

	Baseline Mean	Endline Mean	OLS: Impact of treatment in endline			
	All Obs	Control	ML	CHAMP	ML-CHAMP	*N*
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Education assets in home: pencil (% of hh)	0.930	0.945	-0.0000251	0.0148**	0.0123	8581
	[0.256]	[0.227]	[0.00850]	[0.00727]	[0.00795]	
Education assets in home: school books		0.906	0.0179*	0.0168*	0.0264***	8581
		[0.292]	[0.00978]	[0.00935]	[0.00990]	
Education assets in home: other books/ comics	0.229	0.245	0.0164	0.0364**	0.0410**	8581
	[0.420]	[0.430]	[0.0155]	[0.0169]	[0.0159]	
Education assets in home: newspaper/ magazine	0.122	0.0533	0.0105	0.0301***	0.00867	8581
	[0.328]	[0.225]	[0.00789]	[0.00881]	[0.00789]	
Education assets in home: slate		0.891	0.0125	-0.00444	0.0259***	8581
		[0.312]	[0.0103]	[0.0104]	[0.00974]	
Education assets in home: none		0.0154	-0.00161	-0.00581	-0.00197	8581
		[0.123]	[0.00398]	[0.00357]	[0.00375]	

Notes:
Columns 3, 4 and 5 display estimated coefficients of a regression of the outcome in each row on treatment group dummies, controlling for stratification unit dummies and baseline values (where available).
Standard errors are clustered at the village level.
* denotes significance at 0.10; ** at 0.05; *** at 0.01

Table 12: Mother Perceptions

	Baseline Mean	Endline Mean	OLS: Impact of treatment in endline			
	All Obs	Control	ML	CHAMP	ML-CHAMP	*N*
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Number of things for which parents are responsible	0.730	1.345	0.0559	0.0434	0.0668*	8888
			[0.0426]	[0.0433]	[0.0392]	
Number of things mother can do to help child	1.246	1.856	0.0454	0.00462	0.0816*	8888
			[0.0436]	[0.0486]	[0.0441]	
Mother thinks child will likely pass 8th standard	0.798	0.818	-0.000437	0.0121	0.0134	8490
			[0.0138]	[0.0134]	[0.0134]	
Mother thinks child will likely pass 12th standard	0.579	0.608	0.00665	0.0168	0.0124	8482
			[0.0177]	[0.0175]	[0.0174]	
Highest standard to which mother aspires for child to study	9.881	10.13	-0.0180	0.0929	0.222	3200
			[0.125]	[0.130]	[0.139]	
Mother's perception of child's reading ability	1.645	2.452	-0.0421	0.132***	0.105**	7595
			[0.0513]	[0.0508]	[0.0512]	
Mother's perception of child's math ability	1.954	2.558	0.00103	0.237***	0.160***	7711
			[0.0544]	[0.0551]	[0.0577]	
Reading: Abs. value of diff. between mother's guess and child score	1.085	1.601	-0.0256	0.103**	0.0315	7235
			[0.0429]	[0.0445]	[0.0426]	
Math: Abs. value of diff. between mother's guess and child score	1.265	1.476	-0.0403	0.161***	0.0997**	7350
			[0.0444]	[0.0486]	[0.0458]	

Notes:
Columns 3, 4 and 5 display estimated coefficients of a regression of the outcome in each row on treatment group dummies, controlling for stratification unit dummies and baseline values (where available).
Standard errors are clustered at the village level.
* denotes significance at 0.10; ** at 0.05; *** at 0.01

Appendix Table 1: Baseline Means of Variables in Rajasthan and Bihar Samples

	Rajasthan	Bihar
	(1)	(2)
Does household have electricity	1.250	-1.202
	(2.281)	(1.397)
Roof has cement, stone, metal, beams, or plastic	0.808	0.154
	(0.394)	(0.361)
Family's largest source of income was self-employed agriculture or rent agriculture	0.981	0.626
	(0.136)	(0.484)
Family's largest source of income was agricultural wages, regular wages, or irregular wages	0.517	0.385
	(0.500)	(0.487)
Number of children (14 and younger) in household	0.311	0.543
	(0.463)	(0.498)
Number of adults (15 and older) in household	3.277	3.565
	(1.418)	(1.263)
Mother's weighted baseline literacy score	3.682	2.980
	(2.099)	(1.395)
Mother's weighted baseline numeracy score	3.220	2.871
	(2.535)	(2.548)
Mother education level	3.612	2.601
	(3.504)	(3.391)
Father education level	0.741	0.922
	(2.173)	(2.480)
Member has attended any adult literacy classes	4.819	3.124
	(4.436)	(4.296)
Baseline Empowerment Index	0.143	0.0743
	(0.350)	(0.262)
Baseline Mother-Child Participation Index	-0.0295	0.0161
	(0.353)	(0.423)
Hours weekly spent on housework	-0.0456	0.0893
	(0.589)	(0.685)
Hours weekly spent on agricultural, paid, and livestock work	21.27	23.10
	(8.374)	(9.185)
Hours weekly spent looking after, telling stories to, or playing with kids	46.11	26.38
	(17.78)	(19.03)
Hours weekly spent helping with homework or reading with kids	5.300	7.456
	(3.945)	(4.886)
Family member has worked under the NREGA in the last month	1.378	2.385
	(2.458)	(3.876)
Mother is member of a self help group	0.557	0.303
	(0.497)	(0.460)
Child attends private school	0.155	0.0240
	(0.362)	(0.153)
Child attends school	0.840	0.827
	(0.366)	(0.378)
Child's weighted baseline literacy score	3.144	2.626
	(2.546)	(2.224)
Child's weighted baseline numeracy score	3.022	2.730
	(3.018)	(3.116)
Child's weighted baseline composite score (total of literacy and numeracy)	6.166	5.356
	(5.397)	(5.179)
Other household member can read	0.415	0.358
	(0.493)	(0.480)
Other household member can do math	0.268	0.259
	(0.443)	(0.438)

Appendix Table 2: Question-wise Baseline Means

	Baseline Weight	Endline Weight	Baseline Weighted Score	
			Mothers	Children
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Identify Pictures	2	2	1.495	1.458
			(0.388)	(0.566)
Read Letters	2	2	0.392	0.690
			(0.712)	(0.838)
Read simple words	1	1	0.146	0.251
			(0.341)	(0.416)
Read complex words	1	1	0.131	0.214
			(0.327)	(0.393)
Read paragraph	2	2	0.197	0.250
			(0.596)	(0.662)
Read Story *	--	2		
Write own name *	1	1	0.565	
			(0.496)	
Write child's name *	1	1	0.117	
			(0.321)	
Write village name *	--	2		
Subtraction word problem *	1	1	0.402	
			(0.490)	
Division word problem *	1	1	0.228	
			(0.420)	
Read digits 1-9	1	1	0.593	0.626
			(0.471)	(0.466)
Identify digits 1-9	1	1	0.448	0.529
			(0.459)	(0.474)
Read digits 11-20	1	1	0.299	0.449
			(0.443)	(0.492)
Identify digits 11-20	1	1	0.192	0.349
			(0.371)	(0.457)
Identify numbers 21-99	1	1	0.103	0.163
			(0.286)	(0.339)
Single digit addition	1	1	0.127	0.266
			(0.333)	(0.442)
Double digit addition	1	1	0.101	0.207
			(0.302)	(0.405)
Single digit subtraction	1	1	0.0781	0.151
			(0.268)	(0.358)
Double digit subtraction	2	2	0.0865	0.124
			(0.407)	(0.483)
Tell time: 10:30 *	0.5	0.5	0.117	
			(0.212)	
Tell time: 1:40 *	0.5	0.5	0.0826	
			(0.186)	
Dial a number read out loud *	1	1	0.238	
			(0.426)	

Notes:
Columns 1 and 2 display the weights used in aggregating the test questions.
* Denotes that the question appeared only on the mother test.

Appendix Table 3: Mother Question-wise Treatment Effects--Language

	Baseline Mean	Endline Mean	OLS: Impact of treatment in endline			
	All Obs	Control	ML	CHAMP	ML-CHAMP	*N*
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Identify Pictures	0.747	0.775	0.00275	0.00759	0.0116**	8552
	[0.194]	[0.186]	[0.00477]	[0.00471]	[0.00450]	
Read Letters	0.196	0.173	0.0351***	0.00927	0.0474***	8552
	[0.356]	[0.338]	[0.00593]	[0.00580]	[0.00609]	
Read simple words	0.146	0.115	0.0165***	0.0117**	0.0244***	8552
	[0.341]	[0.308]	[0.00472]	[0.00486]	[0.00499]	
Read complex words	0.131	0.0922	0.00540	0.00973**	0.0108**	8552
	[0.327]	[0.278]	[0.00436]	[0.00460]	[0.00432]	
Read paragraph	0.0985	0.0776	0.00243	0.00714	0.00334	8552
	[0.298]	[0.268]	[0.00421]	[0.00507]	[0.00443]	
Read story		0.0627	0.00303	0.0141	0.00571	8580
		[0.242]	[0.00968]	[0.0112]	[0.00986]	
Write own name	0.565	0.556	0.0794***	0.00835	0.0907***	8552
	[0.496]	[0.497]	[0.0145]	[0.0134]	[0.0143]	
Write child's name	0.117	0.105	0.0212***	0.00537	0.00571	8551
	[0.321]	[0.306]	[0.00668]	[0.00615]	[0.00986]	
Write name of village		0.0856	0.00843	0.0136	0.0159	8580
		[0.280]	[0.0113]	[0.0133]	[0.0116]	

Notes:
Columns 3, 4 and 5 display estimated coefficients of a regression of the outcome in each row on treatment group dummies, controlling for stratification unit dummies and baseline values (where available).
Standard errors are clustered at the village level.
* denotes significance at 0.10; ** at 0.05; *** at 0.01

Appendix Table 4: Mother Question-wise Treatment Effects--Math

	Baseline Mean	Endline Mean	OLS: Impact of treatment in endline			
	All Obs	Control	ML	CHAMP	ML-CHAMP	*N*
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Read digits 1-9	0.593	0.627	0.0967***	0.0457***	0.140***	8552
	[0.471]	[0.460]	[0.0134]	[0.0129]	[0.0128]	
Identify digits 1-9	0.448	0.469	0.0661***	0.0304***	0.109***	8552
	[0.459]	[0.460]	[0.0103]	[0.0100]	[0.0108]	
Read digits 11-20	0.299	0.298	0.0677***	0.0204**	0.0779***	8552
	[0.443]	[0.442]	[0.00997]	[0.00965]	[0.0101]	
Identify digits 11-20	0.192	0.182	0.0228***	0.0130*	0.0399***	8552
	[0.371]	[0.361]	[0.00677]	[0.00737]	[0.00752]	
Identify numbers 21-99	0.103	0.0964	0.0140***	0.00636	0.0147***	8552
	[0.286]	[0.276]	[0.00435]	[0.00441]	[0.00439]	
Single digit addition	0.127	0.129	0.0124	0.0134*	0.0321***	8552
	[0.333]	[0.335]	[0.00752]	[0.00727]	[0.00762]	
Double digit addition	0.101	0.0781	0.00200	0.00555	0.0137**	8552
	[0.302]	[0.268]	[0.00550]	[0.00592]	[0.00565]	
Single digit subtraction	0.0781	0.0692	0.00651	0.00445	0.00592	8551
	[0.268]	[0.254]	[0.00574]	[0.00580]	[0.00570]	
Double digit subtraction	0.0432	0.0580	0.0127*	0.0134*	0.00608	8552
	[0.203]	[0.234]	[0.00674]	[0.00689]	[0.00615]	
Double digit subtraction with carryover		0.0355	0.00662	0.0147*	0.00253	8580
		[0.185]	[0.00735]	[0.00882]	[0.00728]	
Subtraction word problem	0.402	0.240	0.0239	0.0238	0.0381***	8552
	[0.490]	[0.427]	[0.0149]	[0.0160]	[0.0145]	
Division word problem	0.228	0.134	0.0264**	0.0271**	0.0238**	8552
	[0.420]	[0.340]	[0.0110]	[0.0115]	[0.0115]	
Tell time at 10:30	0.233	0.252	0.00952	0.00460	-0.00427	8552
	[0.423]	[0.434]	[0.0111]	[0.0129]	[0.0124]	
Tell time at 1:40	0.165	0.0767	0.0107	0.00830	-0.00331	8552
	[0.371]	[0.266]	[0.00771]	[0.00773]	[0.00765]	
Dial a number that is read out to her	0.238	0.261	0.0287**	0.00522	0.0283**	8552
	[0.426]	[0.440]	[0.0111]	[0.0119]	[0.0112]	

Notes:
Columns 3, 4 and 5 display estimated coefficients of a regression of the outcome in each row on treatment group dummies, controlling for stratification unit dummies and baseline values (where available).
Standard errors are clustered at the village level.
* denotes significance at 0.10; ** at 0.05; *** at 0.01

Appendix Table 5: Child Question-wise Treatment Effects--Language

	Baseline Mean	Endline Mean	OLS: Impact of treatment in endline			
	All Obs	Control	ML	CHAMP	ML-CHAMP	*N*
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Identify Pictures	0.729	0.758	-0.00171	0.00541	0.00343	14575
	[0.283]	[0.285]	[0.00510]	[0.00468]	[0.00467]	
Read Letters	0.345	0.387	-0.00239	0.0129	0.0279***	14574
	[0.419]	[0.430]	[0.00998]	[0.00999]	[0.00992]	
Read simple words	0.251	0.271	-0.00736	0.0123	0.0130	14574
	[0.416]	[0.421]	[0.00966]	[0.00983]	[0.00975]	
Read complex words	0.214	0.175	0.000719	0.00931	0.0154**	14574
	[0.393]	[0.352]	[0.00748]	[0.00726]	[0.00741]	
Read paragraph	0.125	0.117	-0.00274	0.000310	0.0189***	14573
	[0.331]	[0.321]	[0.00741]	[0.00720]	[0.00728]	
Read story		0.0757	0.00713	0.00749	0.0101	18282
		[0.265]	[0.00875]	[0.00838]	[0.00823]	

Notes:

Columns 3, 4 and 5 display estimated coefficients of a regression of the outcome in each row on treatment group dummies, controlling for stratification unit dummies and baseline values (where available).

Standard errors are clustered at the village level.

* denotes significance at 0.10; ** at 0.05; *** at 0.01

Appendix Table 6: Child Question-wise Treatment Effects--Math

	Baseline Mean	Endline Mean	OLS: Impact of treatment in endline			
	All Obs	Control	ML	CHAMP	ML-CHAMP	*N*
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Read digits 1-9	0.626	0.652	0.0258***	0.0211**	0.0375***	14575
	[0.466]	[0.459]	[0.00946]	[0.00905]	[0.00873]	
Identify digits 1-9	0.529	0.560	0.0231**	0.0398***	0.0385***	14575
	[0.474]	[0.474]	[0.00899]	[0.00893]	[0.00912]	
Read digits 11-20	0.449	0.487	0.0216*	0.0303***	0.0523***	14575
	[0.492]	[0.496]	[0.0114]	[0.0113]	[0.0109]	
Identify digits 11-20	0.349	0.387	0.000580	0.0174	0.0363***	14575
	[0.457]	[0.470]	[0.0108]	[0.0111]	[0.00999]	
Identify numbers 21-99	0.163	0.200	-0.000733	-0.000341	0.00896	14574
	[0.339]	[0.367]	[0.00854]	[0.00827]	[0.00821]	
Single digit addition	0.266	0.311	0.0129	0.0271**	0.0213*	14574
	[0.442]	[0.463]	[0.0122]	[0.0121]	[0.0119]	
Double digit addition	0.207	0.196	0.0270**	0.00742	0.00862	14575
	[0.405]	[0.397]	[0.0112]	[0.0108]	[0.0103]	
Single digit subtraction	0.151	0.171	0.00834	0.0217**	0.0157	14575
	[0.358]	[0.377]	[0.00999]	[0.0105]	[0.00997]	
Double digit subtraction	0.0622	0.133	0.0155	0.0170	0.0164	14575
	[0.241]	[0.339]	[0.0110]	[0.0110]	[0.0110]	
Double digit subtraction with carryover		0.0579	0.0150*	0.00115	0.00637	18282
		[0.234]	[0.00779]	[0.00742]	[0.00693]	

Notes:
Columns 3, 4 and 5 display estimated coefficients of a regression of the outcome in each row on treatment group dummies, controlling for stratification unit dummies and baseline values (where available).
Standard errors are clustered at the village level.
* denotes significance at 0.10; ** at 0.05; *** at 0.01