

Integrating
gender
responsiveness
in early
childhood care
and
development



An Assessment of current project Supported by Plan
India in Rajasthan, Delhi and Uttrakhand

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Plan India

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This Effort would impossible without the support of:

URMUL Setu, Bikaner

CYSD, Odisha

Mobile creches Delhi

All the children, girls, boys, women and men who have been the part of process

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The biggest joy and inspiration of the study has been the opportunity to meet witness and connect with so many children- girls and boys and find energy and conviction for the potential and possibilities of gender responsive work. Similarly inspiring were the interactions with parents and community members, adolescent girls and boys in the different locations. We communicate our heartfelt gratitude to all of them.

Introduction & Context of the Study

Background

All of Plan International's work is underpinned by child rights and is articulated in its program approach defined as Child Centered Community Development (CCCD). Today, as one of the child-centered organisations in the country, Plan recognizes that critical building blocks in a child's overall development are made during the early years. Children learn from the moment they are born. In fact there is evidence to substantiate that a child's brain is developing even before birth and is affected by the mother's health as well as some external events. Early Childhood Care and Development (ECCD) is therefore one of the core program areas into which Plan makes major investments. Plan supports comprehensive interventions that holistically address the multifaceted needs of children aged 0-6 years and ensures that their basic rights are safeguarded.

Gender Focus in ECCD

Plan believes that gender equality is central to achieving our vision for change: a world in which all children, both girls and boys, realise their full potential in societies that respect people's rights and dignity. Girls and boys have the same rights, but they are not able to realise them to the same degree. Gender inequality varies in its expression from place to place, but in all communities where Plan works, we encounter some form of gender-based discrimination, gender stereotyping and an unequal distribution of power between women and men, girls and boys. This injustice especially affects the lives of girls and women from infancy to adulthood.

In 2004, Plan formally adopted gender equality and gender mainstreaming as corporate directives. This Policy on Gender Equality reinforces and builds on this commitment. It responds to Plan's rights-based Child Centered Community Development (CCCD) approach, and it reinforces Plan's policy platform for the global campaigns *Because I am a Girl*¹ and *Learn Without Fear*²

Gender mainstreaming is very crucial in ECCD programs as it is well documented that many children start developing their gender identities and start to build gender stereotypes from very early ages. In addition, restrictive gender stereotypes can lead and limit children to experiment and learn new things. More over these stereotypes and ideas can remain in one's identity for a lifetime and for generations to come. It is

Gender equity in early childhood:

All young boys and girls must be provided with the best start to life. Parents should be supported in encouraging children's own identities to flourish and avoiding traditional gender stereotypes. Young girls and boys need equal opportunities to learn and develop in enriching environments.

Integrated Quality Framework for
Early Child Development
in Emergencies, WHO

¹<http://plan-international.org/girls/>

² <http://plan-international.org/learnwithoutfear/learn-without-fear>

therefore of paramount importance that ECCD program designs have a clear strategy for incorporating knowledge of gender concepts. Early childhood care and development (ECCD) interventions can promote gender equality by compensating for gender biases in nutrition, health care, or stimulation that may occur in the home. ECCD can also serve as a platform for promoting dialogue and awareness of gender equality among parents and community members. ECCD programs may become powerful advocates for gender equality, or fathers may learn the value of men being more involved in care and development of young children, and in the process, may also become more active and engaged advocates of gender equality in their communities. In such a context, it is critical to ensure that a powerful entry point such as early childhood development (including programs, frameworks and practices) remains gender responsive.

Plan's ECCD project aims at realising the right to holistic development for the most vulnerable children through strengthening existing government and community systems and by implementing/supporting appropriate programs and policies. Specific objectives under the program are:

- **Objective 1 :** All children in the 0-6 age group have a safe and stimulating home and community environment that promotes age-appropriate development.
- **Objective 2:** Ensuring all children aged 3-6 have access to/participate in quality, developmentally appropriate ECE and transition to primary school activities
- **Objective :3** All children aged 0-6 in target communities have improved health and nutrition status.
- **Objective: 4** Evidence based advocacy at all levels for children upto six to ensure early childhood care and development as a right.

What does ECCD have to do with gender equality?

Gender discrimination begins at birth, and the inequalities that serve to constrain the opportunities of girls and women are largely entrenched by the time a girl reaches primary school. ECCD programs can work with mothers and fathers to combat

gender stereotypes, as well as demonstrating that girls are as capable of learning and succeeding as boys.

Through ECCD programs, girls develop greater resilience and a sense of competence that can help them succeed in later schooling. Health and nutrition activities within ECCD programs can help to combat the higher rates of malnutrition of girls. ECCD can also free up the time of women (and girls) from their full-time childcare responsibilities enabling them more time to engage in other important activities alongside childcare. This is particularly important for adolescent girls who are often forced to look after their younger siblings, thereby losing their opportunity to stay in school.

Q & A paper from Plan International Australia

The need for the assessment

The purpose of this assessment was to review the ECCD programme and suggest an operational framework for mainstreaming gender in the ECCD program in line with Plan's global gender policy. The assessment would deeply examine the perspective, approach, strategies and executive actions of each partner in the programme in their bearing of integrating gender responsiveness in ECCD. Emerging from this analysis, good practices, critical gaps and opportunity areas can be identified for developing an operational framework. It is hoped that the framework will be inclusive of not only programme related recommendations, but also strategies, methods and models for the coherent inclusion of gender in the various sectors implementing the integrated early childhood care and development programmes like health, nutrition, early childhood education etc.

While the initially identified objectives for this assignment were as follows:

- Critically analyse the existing program through a gender lens and provide specific and concrete suggestions for improvements including identifying models, good practices and entry points for influence.
- Develop operational framework for Plan India reflecting over suggestive strategies, steps and tools to mainstream gender in overall programme cycle (planning, implementation, monitoring etc)
- Develop a process documentation, capturing learning/suggestions/recommendations to future course of actions and submit to Plan India.

Post dialogue they were readjusted in light of available time and resources to primarily focus on assessment of current practices and suggestions for improvement and strengthening.

Scope and Geographical Coverage

The ECCD project is being currently implemented in partnership with 3 partner organisations working on different models in 3 different states.

State	Implementing agency	District and Block	Partnership since	Model	Total no of ECCD centres included in the project
Rajasthan	Urmul Setu	Lunkaransar		AWC(Aaganbadi centre under ICDS , run by the State supported by Urmul .	25

Odisha	CYSD	Thakurmunda and sharapada		SBK/AWC Shishu Bikas Kendra are the AWC but added support in terms of human resource and technical inputs both are provided by CYSD	46
Delhi	Mobile creches	Delhi city and construction sites		Balwadi means children from age group of 2 to 3 years /crèche Children from 0-2 years /NFE Children from 3to 6 years, All three setups run by MCs	47

In this context it was felt that the Assessment must visit all the 3 states and visit a reasonable number of ECCD centers to understand the ground level reality of implementation of the project. The assessment has taken a multistakeholder approach to understand current reality, practices, perceptions and interventions in the context of gender responsiveness in ECCD.

Profiling of implementing partners:

This was done initially through a desk review of Plan India's study on ECCD project practices- Raising the Bar, and consolidated during visits to the respective organisations.

URMUL SETU , BIKANER -ECCD program in rural areas of Rajasthan:

Urmul has been facilitating the ICDS programme's delivery for more than a decade in Lunkaransar. The facilitation model, is the principal method by which the voluntary sector has engaged with the ICDS, nation-wide. In the facilitation model, the ICDS is run directly by the state government, with all costs and accountabilities. NGOs, such as Urmul, support the programme through ancillary efforts, particularly capacity building of staff and encouraging community participation in the functioning and monitoring of the ICDS in many villages. In Rajasthan, the facilitation model, which has been dominant.

Urmul, too has been working with the ICDS, and has focused on building the capacities of the anganwadi workers, primarily in the area of early childhood education. Within the facilitation model, itself though the Urmul experience stands out for the organisation's attempts to constantly learn, and not be afraid to shift energies.

Initially, Urmul worked with a much larger number of AWCs, but then found that the kind of intensive support, they wanted to provide at each centre, was not possible. Unwilling to compromise on quality, the organization shifted focus, and began to work closely with 10 AWCs, the goal being to convert them into model centres, which could be benchmarks, and learning opportunities for the entire system.

The program was designed to create an ideal model of the ICDS program in Lunkaransar block of Bikaner district. The program provided inputs into 25 Anganwadi Centres (AWC) which would become models of excellence in the block, and serve to inspire other communities to undertake similar initiatives in their villages. The project took special precautions to avoid creating a parallel system of service delivery to the existing ICDS program. Instead, the project worked within the ICDS framework. It examined the reasons for the poor implementation of the ICDS program and set to address these in a systematic way. In addition, the project undertook a facilitation role at the block level. The project linked communities with the Panchayats to create local accountability of the Anganwadi Workers (AWW). The linkage with the Panchayat was also expected to raise awareness of the ICDS program, and create demand for good quality services within other communities.

CYSD, Bhubaneshwar- ECCD program in tribal areas of Odisha:

The program operates in Karanjia and Thakurmunda Blocks in the Mayurbhanja District. The ECCD component started 46 Shishu Bikash Kendra's (Child Development Centres) in those areas where there was no access to the Government of India's ICDS program. The Shishu Bikash Kendras (SBKs) are preschools organized for children 3-6 years of age. The high density of tribal communities presents two specific characteristics that have implications for the ECCD program, scattered population and presence of different ethnic groups means that a variety of languages spoken in the area.

Mobile Creches, Delhi- NCR - ECCD program in construction sites & urban settlement of Delhi:

The first "mobile crèche" was set up as an emotional reaction to a tragedy, when a young child died, in an easily preventable accident, at a construction site in New Delhi. That was in 1969.

At one level not much has changed. Mobile Creches, continues to provide crèche services, for children as young as four weeks old, at construction sites in the Delhi –National Capital Region area and to the now settled, migrant population, in urban slums in the city. At another, the entire scale of operations, and thinking about the young child, has changed, and changed dramatically. Today Mobile Creches, advocates effectively for stronger legislation and greater policy attention, to the young child, with the government, and works with civil society organizations and alliances, that have a sectoral focus, such as food security, or employment guarantee, to ensure that young children's entitlements are foregrounded in their advocacy platforms. What makes Mobile Creches, the organization, unusual, is in its perception of itself.

Providing services to children in need continues to be the principal activity of the organization. It is not just the foundation for advocacy, or the site for demonstration, it is their reason for existence.

Program is supporting children living in construction sites and urban settlements in Delhi. Constant and seasonal migration is prevalent to a high degree. The focus is on creating awareness among adults and families, contractors and Government to provide adequate care for young children. The strategies planned were to work as a network of NGO's to address the needs of

children relating to their particular area of work. The project supports 25 centres in the urban settlements and 22 centres in the construction sites.

In urban slums, the work of Mobile Creches, moved quite naturally. Some of the construction workers, who had little to go back to, would often put down stakes in Delhi, and chose urban slums, as their first and often permanent home, in the city. For children, the day care centre, at the construction site, and that within urban slums, did not differ, much. However in relation to the adults, in children's lives, MC adopted a different approach.

At the construction sites, given the nature of the migrant population, developing longer term relationships with the adults and children, is usually not possible. In urban slums, the same workers, become part of the stable population. Thus while there is no difference in the quality of care provided to children, in the day-care centres, at construction sites or within urban slums, there is significant difference, in the engagement with the community in urban slums.

At the construction sites, MC began by designing and managing centres, for developers, and in time, moved to a facilitative model, where ownership and day to day management, including financial responsibility was held by the builder. MC continues to provide facilitation support in the form of pre-service and in-service training, and ongoing technical inputs, while engaging with the parents in some community-based activities, such as health camps.

In urban slums, MC began as in the construction sites, by running its own centres. As in the construction sites, there was a crèche for children below the age of three years, and play-based educational stimulation for children, between the ages of 3 to 6 years. For children, above 6 years, the encouragement is for parents, to enroll all children in school. While there is no general provision, if select parents, want to leave their wards for a few hours, after school, that service is provided.

Methodology

Objectives

- To critically analyse the existing ECCD programme through a gender lens.
- To provide specific and concrete suggestions for strengthening gender responsiveness towards the creation of an operational framework for gender mainstreaming in overall programming cycle (planning, implementation, monitoring etc).

Approach

The assessment is located in the understanding that the 0-7 years phase is the most critical in the development of a child and they indeed learn almost every experience of life including observing surrounding situations, copying, formal and informal learning processes, mutual exchanges in play etc. Children are free from biases and acquire all their understanding of power relations through practices and modelling. Socialisation processes many times make children believe a practice or a belief to be the 'truth' and they imbibe them as a learning for life. Gender discrimination creates barrier in learning processes, possibilities and opportunities of an individual.

An ECCD intervention is strategically located to intervene into this reality. It has the potential to offer children alternative models, strengthen their sense of enquiry and validate their questions around gender relations. An ECCD intervention also needs to take full cognizance of the child's world and its key influencers and their own understanding and practice of gender discrimination. Plan India is committed to enrich a gender perspective and right based approach in the foundation of its all programmes. With this reference, the expectations from this assessment study were:

- Conducting Gender assessment of Plan's partner implementation in Rajasthan, Odisha and Delhi.
- The study would benefit from the experiences and gender situational assessment tools used by Plan Uganda and Plan International for similar exercises.
- This study would create an opportunity to understand the situations of diverse ECCD centres being supported including the state run Anganwadi centers or NGO run construction site creches.
- the study recognises that each partner organisation brings with it its own history and perspective and approaches to both ECCD and gender responsiveness and will try to differentiate the impact of their independent approaches where relevant.
- shall be observing gender in ECCD in three diverse states, we recognise that cultural differences dominate gender realities, such would be factored in and highlighted suitably.

- The understanding would be built on 'how much time the children give at these centres, how and where they spend the rest of their day, what are the belief of their key influences and what is the dialogue/communication happening between boys and girls'
- The ECCD centres are located within the village, slum or construction site and is continuously influenced by local culture, context and environment. Therefore, it would become important to understand the communities' Gender and Early child care perception in such situation.

For such an assessment to be meaningful, authentic and relevant, certain practice norms would be relevant to us:

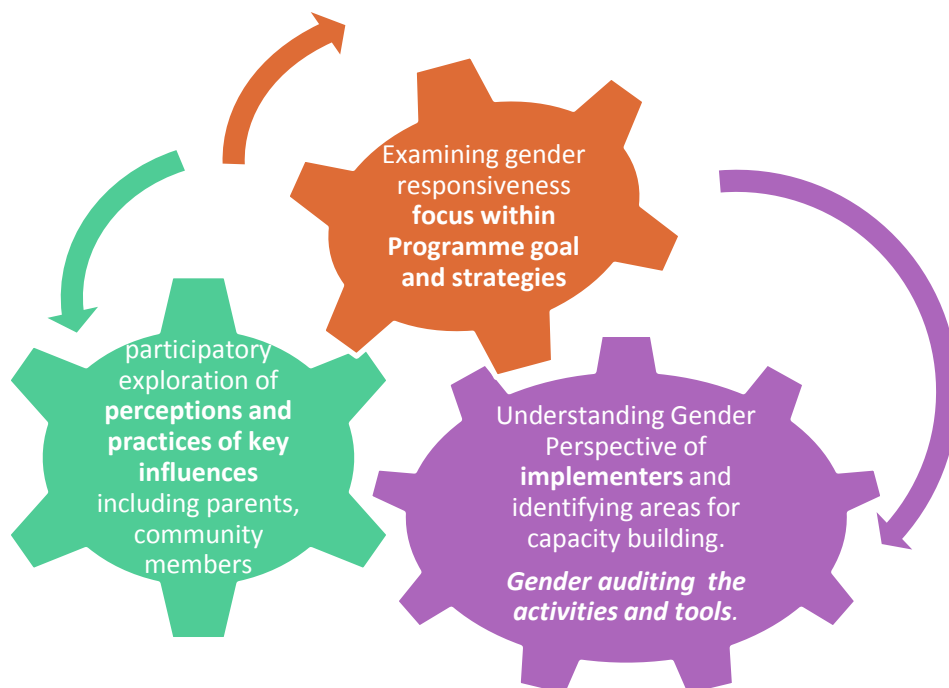
- Participatory exploration.
- Recognition of the child as an individual
- Seeing gender as a layered complex reality and that it is systemic and not individual
- Exploration of strategies for change from within- both for individuals and institutions.
- Making processes locally relevant and suitable
- Generating ownership at all levels

Methodology

No gender related work is on going as per the team and plan data available.

No data nad monitoring formats are designed

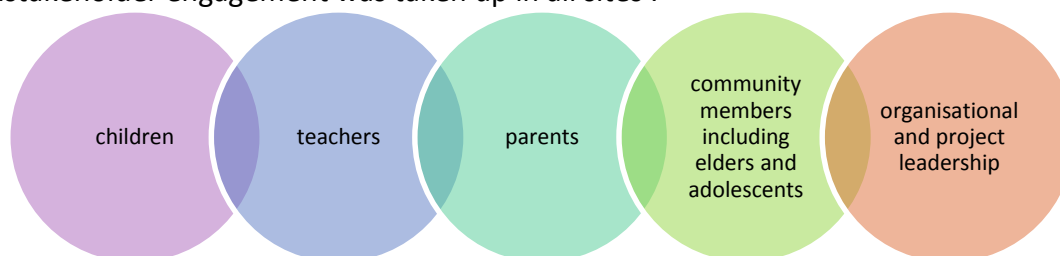
The study has taken a 3 pronged focus as below:



Sample:

Purposive sampling was used to identify an optimum representative number of ECCD centers in each location to study the way the eccd programme is implemented. 9% of the total centres being supported were selected with help of the implementing organisation. Sharing with them the purpose and scope of the study, we invited them to identify 6 centres in each location, 2/3 of which were working excellently and 2/3 of which were not functioning/ performing optimally. This was done to eliminate skewed understanding emerging from observation of very successful centres.

A multistakeholder engagement was taken up in all sites :



The sample included the following centres and at each centre an engagement with the above stakeholders was taken up:

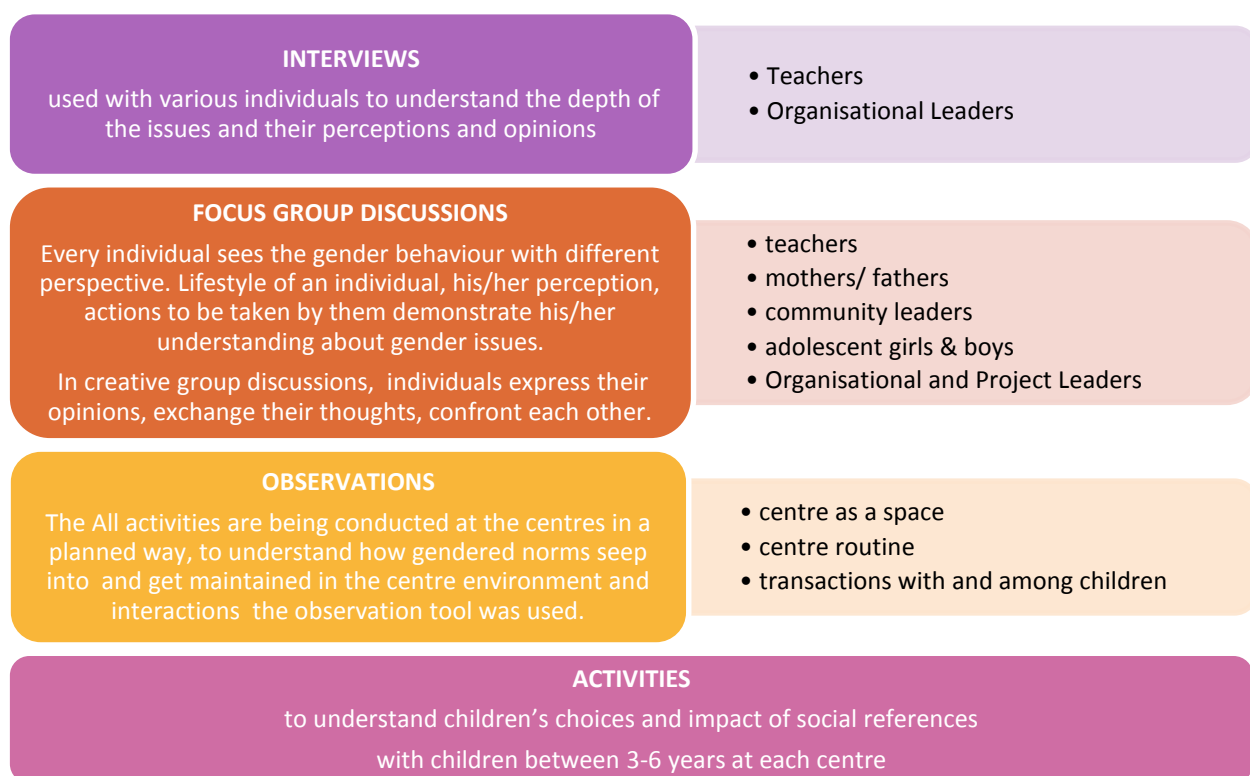
State	Partner	Location 1	2	3	4	5	6
Rajasthan	Urmul Setu	Rajpuriya Udan	Nathusar	Garbhdesar	Dulmera	Nathusar	Nakodesar and Kalu
Odisha	CYSD	Phool pahadi-AWC , Sharapada block	Badpasi village-thakurmunda block	Gholkund village-Mini AWC, Saharpada block	Village – Dumurdihha AWC, Thakurmunda block		
Delhi	Mobile creches	Rohani	Seemapuri	Noida	Trilokpuri		

Tools used:

The assessment was planned primarily with a set of qualitative tools. This was primarily because tools needed to be suitable for eliciting ingrained perceptions, visible and invisible learning pegs for children, interpret the experience of being at the ECCD centre, enquire into the intentions of the programme along with examining its subtext and explore in detail the perceptions and practices of key influencers. The life experiences of key people and their beliefs will have most significant impact on gendered understanding of the children at the ECCD center. Has the intervention been able to recognise and address this?

Some of the tools were adapted from the gender in ECCD study of Plan Uganda and Plan Pakistan. Some tools were created by the assessment team.

The following tools were used in the assessment:



Limitations:

The assessment was a time bound process in a multifaceted setting. There were many challenges and some limitations. We see the following as some of the limitations of the assessment:

- This study is about understanding life style, perceptions and work processes qualitatively. Understanding issues like gender in a community culture, gender in organisational cultures, in classroom transaction and understanding it also in curriculum demands a long duration work. Thus rapport building with all stakeholders is an essential and important process for this type of qualitative study. The study was planned for 3 months and time has been its firm limitation.
- Every state has different curriculum for ECCD project. In Odisha it was in udiya language. It took the time to obtain all three curriculums. And detailed analysis of them couldn't be done due to time constraints but there is necessity to work separately for it.
- Organisational perspectives have a serious bearing on gender responsiveness in the programme. With the focus on centre observation and FGDs with centre based groups there was limited time to connect with organisational leadership in all locations. While this window was well used, there is scope to deepen this engagement.
- In this study it was tried to capture the perspectives and processes. There can be different outlooks to capture the same process. This liberty of the study is also a limitation and also a strength.
- Due to unavailability of sufficient evidences and documents about assessment of gender perspectives at the point of beginning of the projects, the study did not have a baseline to refer to. Thus the assessment had to start at very initial level.
- Due to time limitation during the study the interviews with govt representative and their intervention couldn't be captured.
- Finally -translating various local languages, their phrases, statements and meaning in to English influenced their lyrical meaningfulness and the sharpness .



Findings

The field engagement has been a rich and insightful experience in understanding the parenting, familial and community perceptions and practices that envelope the life and upbringing of children and the location of the ECCD intervention in their midst. While there is a layered reality, the outstanding feature is that context is heavily gendered, the project at most places is a slim intervention and does not have a stated gender lens, implementing partner organisations are at different levels of understanding in gender work- where a perspective exists the practices need neater alignments. The project across locations, clearly does not demonstrate a gender transformatory strategy; it is significant to note that it has a huge potential and scope to do so, thereof impacting lives of children attending 118 ECCD centres as part of this project.

It emerged that ECCD is seen as a caregiving model where learning inputs are to make the experience interesting and relevant, it is also largely seen within the confines of the ECCD centre with limited engagement with other significant caregivers in the child's life. The programmatic approach has been able to definitely overcome the glaring gender discriminatory practices in food distribution through the centres nutrition focus; encouragement to equal access of girls and boys to enrollment at the centre is also evident, however incisive effort through content and pedagogy and engagement with ecosystem factors to consciously challenge gender discrimination is not in practice.

Some of the key areas examined include:

1. The ECCD center as an accessible, inclusive and caring space

In working with small children, the environment and arrangements at the ECCD center are a significant issue. What we consider a suitable space needs to reflect an openness and invitation to full access and use by children while catering to their needs and offering them safety. An inclusive space is one where all children boys and girls and children with any form of disability can feel comfortable, have access to the materials in the space, feel a sense of independence in using various facilities, can have the option of being indoors or outdoors, experience a vibrant feel of the space to receive and enhance their energies; the space can offer them facilities suitable to their needs and the decor of the space offers them equal respect and recognition. It is also important that the space includes a play area for running around, and as far as possible a connect with the ground, soil water etc. .

The ECCD centres in the project are varied in offering this suitable space. While the centres being supported in Lunkaransar in Rajasthan and in Karanjia in Odisha are those sponsored by the Government as Aanganwadi kendras, Mobile Creches in Delhi has worked at places with the local municipality or the construction site owners to set up Creches.

The building, its spatial organisation, facilities and distances:

The buildings in Odisha and Rajasthan are the state run Anganwadi centres. All these centres have a standard layout which includes one room with an open verandah and a store room. One of the centres visited in Odisha did not have a built up structure. The centres being run by Mobile creches have been constructed using a well thought design to create suitable spaces and these include 3 to 4 rooms, with a kitchen and toilet and bathing facility. Most centres also have access to an open space.

The state govt AWC buildings are not the most suitable from a child friendly or gender equitable perspective. The structure of the rooms, the height of the windows, and height of the board are not in accordance with the height of the children. None of the buildings have a toilet or a urinal. At most places the store room is used for stocking of food materials and even cooking; due to this most of the materials not in use are kept in the single room that further reduces the space for the children. In contrast the ECCD centers of Mobile Creches in Delhi have been constructed with child friendly designs- which includes a reach-able height of the board, a smaller and shorter gate for each room, durries for seating, arrangements for cooling including coolers and fans. While there are bathrooms in all centres with good storage/ supply of water, toilets are common for boys and girls. Separate urinals are a definite convenience for boys as their clothes are not most suitable for using a sitting toilet, they many times end up soiling their clothes or wetting their feet while using common toilets. The toilet seats can be further suitably sized to suit children's needs including girls.

The rural centres do not have a water tap and children have to use the water brought by the AWW for hand washing etc. In the Delhi centres while there is water supply, the taps can be at lower heights to offer access to children.

Drinking water

None of the centres in Lunkaransar or Karanjia have any facility for drinking water within the Centre. The AWW gets the water in a bucket or pot and gives all children water using a ghanti. In Rajpuria- Hudaan, water is accessed from the hand pump. In Nathusar, there was neither a glass nor a water spoon for serving water. In Odisha two centres have a handpump and 3 centres again have water in buckets. Although smaller children do not drink water directly, the older boys and girls enjoy to pull the handpump themselves. While mostly the AWW is also available to help them, the older children do have their way around the handpump. In the MC centres in Delhi the drinking water is kept inside. At most



places it's kept in a pot at a little height. There is diluted potassium permanganate for children to wash hands.

When girls used to go drinking water outside their are sked to keep the younger children by their faminky members , thus either they don't come back again at center or they come late whereas boys don't go to their home they used to play in between on the way and come back at center quite late

Location and accessibility

The rural centres are located suitably and can be easily reached by children; at places the centres are located inside the school premises or adjacent to the primary school. The Mobile creches centres in Delhi are located inside the slums and within the community. It is easy for families to reach most centres.

The Decor and feel of the space

In Lunkaransar and thakurmunda and saharapada, the AWC spaces are very modest, walls are done up with Flex posters created by Plan India- these include 'roller down posters' on health and hygiene, nutrition, breast feeding, pregnancy care, weight and growth monitoring charts. While most of these do not have a ready relevance for children, there are also some roller charts with stories in the local language. These are popular stories, eg: Stories of two friends and a bear, the story of the salt sacks on a donkey's back, story of the dog and the crow, the story of the elephant saving the tigers life.

In Nakodesar, there are stencil pictures of the commonly narrated story of the thirsty crow, the clever fox and the crow's meat on the walls. In Dulmera the 'moral stories' wall pictures continue and there are also charts on alphabet, wild and domestic animals, body parts etc.

In the cetres in Odisha, there are paper, toran (doorway decorations) and small flags across the rooms. At places pictures drawn by children are also displayed. Some drawings of parrots, ducks and fish are also on display. In Badpasi, there is very little space for the centre and with a range of display materials and stuff in all corners gave a crowded feeling and drastically reduced the children's space. At the Phool Pahadi centre, there was little stuff, when asked the centre teacher reported that they have only the material provided by ICDS and not from PAn.

In the Delhi centres the walls do have a lot of material on childcare; but the displays also include children's drawings, paintings, handmade posters with poems and stories and cartoons. The pictures being those of animal's birds and people. Attendance charts and growth monitoring charts are also on display in a separate space.

The space of the centre was clean and everything was freshly marked. The children's rooms have floor to ceiling wall painting and hand drawn pictures that we were told where painted by the older children. The pictures where not age specific but some did have stereotypical gender roles - like a male farmer working in the fields, a woman carrying a water jug on her head, a family portrait that only had the mother, father and son in it, boys playing outdoor games etc. The creche had spare clothes and cloth nappies for the children. All in all the centre was clean and vibrant.

Construction site centre, MObile creches, Delhi.

Seating

Seating is on the ground at all places. There are durries at all centers. Most groups sit in a circle and do their activities.

Seating arrangement changes many times but boys and girls used to sit together. Boys and girls sit separately when regular activity is not organized.



2. The children coming to the centers

Most of the children reaching the AWC in Lunkaransar and Thakurmunda and saharapada are between 2 to 6 years old, some being even older 7 or 8 years old. The children coming to the Mobile creches centres range between few months old upto 6 years. The Mobile creches services include creche, balwadi and non formal education cum day care. The Mobile crèches services are for a nominal user fee, where parents contribute Rs 150 monthly for half a day placement i.e., 9 am to 1 pm and Rs 200 monthly for 9 am to 4 pm full day placement of children.

Escorting patterns

There are different patterns of escorting and accompaniment of children based on their age, sex, sense of security and community cultures. Very apparently most children in all settings are escorted by women- elder girls of the family or mothers. Role of men or elder boys of the family was seen as minimal in this. In the rural areas, some children above 3 and a half four years were also coming to the centres on their own. In the rural areas- both Rajasthan and Odisha, most children come to the centres with their elder sisters or come alone; few children are escorted by mothers. In the urban slum settings, most children are dropped at the centres by mothers on their way to work. At least 15% kids are either dropped or picked up by fathers at the Delhi centres. In the ECCD centres running at the construction sites, the Sahayika of the centre also goes to drop the children home in the evening.



3. Growth Monitoring

How is growth monitoring being carried out? how is the growth monitoring data maintained- what indicators are kept as record? is there a gender gap emerging in childrens growth trends? How is this addressed at the ECCD centre or beyond- data being awaited from the 3 partners.

4. Teacher Perceptions

Gender norms are a part of our life. The roots of this go into both the conscious and the unconscious; many a time we try to express a certain correctness in our way of life and our thoughts when operating alertly, what is important is how we operate spontaneously and in routine realities. Spontaneous or adverse situations and recreational moments are able to elicit or bring out our gender understanding more clearly. Observations, group discussions and interviews were planned with teachers keeping this in mind.

Childhood experiences and emergent perceptions of Teachers

Teachers are the cornerstone of all activities at the ECCD centers. Teachers plan the time division, execution and discussions with the children. In Odisha and Rajasthan, PLAN India is supporting partners to offer technical and materials related support to the ICDS run AWC in select villages. All the teachers in these centres are women, the Government does not recruit men as early child carers at the AWC. Most AWWs have completed secondary education and some of them are graduates. In both the blocks in both states the teachers are from the same villages as the centre and represent rural cultural values. In the Mobile creches centres while most women are from the same slums, the slum communities themselves are a mixed group of diverse migrant communities from various regions of India namely UP, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Haryana, AP, West Bengal etc.

Alongside observing teachers in their transactions with children at the centre dedicated discussions to explore their own gender experiences and current perceptions were also taken up. A key exercise in this was to ask them to recall the most pleasant and unpleasant memories of their own childhood. Some examples

	Pleasant childhood memories as girls or boys	Unpleasant childhood memories as girls
Odisha	<ul style="list-style-type: none">stealing mangoesbathing in the lakeonce two of us were picking blackberries when I got onto the tree and suddenly someone alerted that a leopard was on the prowl, my friend rushed back to the village to get help.when we would go mushroom collecting in a girls group, I used to be smallest and have a small basket, when my basket would be full I would yell saying 'snake' just so that we don't need to wait anymore and all can come back!	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Once I climbed the mango tree and fell down and my father came to know through his friend and he scolded me hard, and warned me of a beating if I climbed again... I've never since climbed a tree.Once when my parents were going out I was assigned to collect the goats from grazing in the evening, which I forgot, my father was furious; he beat my mother and me- I resented it very much

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ didi and I had gone to pick berries did was on the tree when a bear came and shouted and shouted to ward him away. ▪ once while visiting a small hill near the village we mistook a big dog for a tiger and kept hiding for long. ▪ we used to roam around all day when we were tiny sometimes to pick fruit sometimes to play at the lake. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Once in a group of friends we decided to cross the lake- i did not know how to swim , but friends reassured that they will take care but in the deepest of the lake they just neglected to take care... I still remember that day.
Delhi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Playing ▪ Watching TV ▪ Dressing up 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Parents would lock us up in the room when they went to work. ▪ We were not allowed to go to school ▪ There was lot of housework ▪ My opinions were never listened to.

It is clear from the examples of teachers that they recall incidents of courage, excitement, overcoming restrictions, having fun, taking decisions as most pleasant. In contrast unpleasant memories include those when they were controlled, punished, put into a dangerous situation, not listened to. Almost all teachers narrated examples of not having an opportunity- which they resent the most.

All are having the feelings of pressure, fear, courage or enthusiasm. If anyone remember these feelings, the girls have the less feeling of happiness whereas they have more feeling, incidents of pressure and vulnerability. These feelings have long term impact and it negatively impacts to girls consequently their self esteem and confidence reduces.

We also discussed about learning experiences in their lives. Many teachers could not give a ready response to this, showing that they had never reflected on this matter. Many teachers, upon discussion did share gender stereotyping and gender norms as obstructive factors in their learning:

Supportive factors in their learning	Gender related obstructive factors in learning
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Being able to go to school ▪ Did not earn anything exciting except housework at home ▪ Learnt sewing from elder cousin ▪ Living at a hostel gave many learnings ▪ My favorite teacher used to be really facilitative- inspiring and thought provoking. ▪ One just has to have special qualities to be a good teacher ▪ 'we could not learn much in life' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Parents never focus on my learning. ▪ I was pulled out of school after father's death. ▪ I used to feel discriminated by my grandmother she would never allow me to take any new things- clothes, books, toys. i would incite her by saying why dont you ask brother and me the same question and lets see who will answer first. I used to feel when im studying hard, why this discrimination with me ? ▪ Boys definitely have an advantage- they can be in and out of their own accord.

It is apparent that teachers have felt hurt and impeded by gender roles and norms, do they offer this situation an acceptance or has their desire to question remained alive. Many teachers have experiences of having lived in situations of vulnerability and deficiency. Has at any point this given the teachers a desire to having been born male over female?

DID YOU EVER FEEL THAT YOU'D WANT TO BE A BOY INSTEAD OF A GIRL?

- Whenever the family would go out for the village fair or festivals adolescent girls would be left behind- I felt like being a boy then.
- Upon getting up in the morning brother would be told to brush his teeth and i would be told to wash the utensils.
- When I used to ride a bicycle many people would ridicule saying 'do you want to be a boy?'
- My grandfather would not allow me to ride the bicycle, I would wait for him to go to sleep in the afternoon.
- If I were a boy I could join the army; with my father in the forces I would fancy that.
- i wanted to be a doctor but who will help me study.
- i used to resent the ched chad- harassment as a little girl.
- boys were never restricted from going out. I would feel like being a boy when i would come tired from the field and desired to find the house work done.

It is apparent that lack of entertainment opportunities, care, opportunities, being unable to access key aspirations stand out as key deficits of the gender identity for women. Social restrictiveness, gender roles and gender based violence have also emerged in these experiences. Girls don't get the support for which they want to do, no one listen to them. However they have no compunction of it that they are not able to do anything in their live due to many barrier and constrains which they have to face. This is the beginning of gender discrimination.

Going back. Reconnecting to their roles as teachers they were asked to recall their favorite teachers and their qualities:

Qualities of a teacher you liked	Qualities of a teacher you disliked
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sir would hit, but didi did not. • Sir would normally drop me home on his cycle and would also share his tiffin with me as he knew i left home early to walk the distance and did not carry food. • Didi would lovingly support when i did not understand a concept. • I did not know Oriya, sir was quite strict which made me learn. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We were tribal and didi was from the general category- she practiced caste discrimination. • We had both sir and didi in our school, sir would lose his temper very soon.

This data shows that only those teachers are being remembered who have been caring, participatory, and helped to child in learning by coming up at their level. If as a teacher we would have these qualities they we would be able to speed up the younger children's pace according to them

Gender in operation among children- teacher's understanding

AWW, balwadi teachers and Mobile creche caretakers largely believe that boys and girls need the same inputs in early care and development. They believe that this would bring about equality. Exploring deeper we found that center facilitators don't see the girls and boys by connecting them with social context. They don't recognise the differences caused by the variance in opportunity, resources, love and respect in upbringing of girl or boy children in the community in general.

- “ why we should do similar activities and interventions with both girls and children?” responses to this question said that they both are equal , we see both of them with equal perspective thus we teach them in similar manner.
- “do girls ever behave like boys or boys like girls?”when asked this, in Bikaner and Odisha, almost all teachers denied from this thing , The teachers of mobile crèches shared that the two children are there in the centers who regularly pretend oppositely. eg: once a boy came to the center wearing frock , then teacher and children asked him why he wore the girl's dress.
- What characteristics the teachers see in girls and boys? Various responses came up on this question i.e. boys are more naughty, they can't hold down on one place for a long time; girls like to be at home most of the time. Boys learn more quickly; girls quarrel more; boys fight more, girls don't follow the instructions, they beat the boys and also make complaints. Girls come more regularly to school than boys.
- “Which activities do you think girls and boys prefer to do/ like most “?
- We found this perceived difference between the activities of boys and girls at all locations. Though Most of the teachers said that boys and girls do similar activities but the activity descriptions brought out the differences clearly. Teachers shared that we motivate both to involve in all kind of activities. Children play origami, with blocks, doll -house in free time. Boys hardly choose to play the doll house and when they do they perform the role of male characters i.e. role of father, brother, husband etc.

“ Boys shouldn't behave like girls, we don't say anything when they do this now but tell them that they shouldn't behave like this in future.”- a centre teacher in Odisha.

Girls	Boys
Colouring, drawing flowers, plays like cooking, house-house, singing songs, dance, painting , playing with rope ,make necklace of beads, listening story, role play, play with doll	Play with ball, blocks, puzzles, tractor, train, drawing, cricket , playing with cards

- " what is your notion of discipline and do you need to discipline girls and boys differently?" The teachers' perception about discipline was that they maintain discipline at the centers,

though every center varies from the other. According to one teacher “ girls generally come inside the center but boys continue to play outside the center even after arriving here, we have to get them in'.

- In terms of fights and quarrels,, they feel girls fight as much as boys do. "Girls ususally pinch elder boys, sometimes slap them too". Teachers forbid them from hitting the boys.. One teacher shared that “ i try to frighten them by saying I will maul you if you maul the boys! of course we would not hit them, but we somehow need to teach them that its not appropriate to hit the boys" . "... if the girls would behave like boys then they would become very ' free' and this can cause problems for them". Some teachres shared that as the children are too younger thus we don't need any discipline.
- We observed at many centers that many times teachers ignore incidents of children beating up each other. Sometimes they discourage them by nodding or saying. We could not carry a long enough discussion on this at any of the centres. While none of teachers were seen as giving punishment most teachers were unanimous about the need for discipline- primarily executed through sternness, small actions like shifting place of children etc.
- Teachers observe and encourage apparent preferences in handicraft and games activities among boys and girls :

Girls	Boys
Playing with dolls, house-house, needle-thread, Mehandi	Kite , ball , running, boxing
Boys go outside from home and girls are not allowed to go outside that's why girls play the game related to home and within the home.	
Boys don't dance ' ladka to ko na nache bhai '	

- At one of the centres, the boys were enjoying building blocks the most and inspite of the teacher encouraging them to work in different group they were staying only in those group.
- “do older boys also take care of younger siblings/ neighbours?” unlike elder girls who most often continuously care for younger children of acquaintance at the centre, teachers shared that the number of such boys are very less, they help the elder girls to escort them between center and home but they don't take care of them at center.
- In response to the question on ' percieved gender differences among boys and girls', most teachers felt that they are created differently and need to grow up to perform different roles.

- On the question- “key gender messages teacher giving to children ?” teachers responded that “ we don’t give any message to them , we says the similar things to both girls and boys”

Teachers regard the core of the centre function to include nutrition supplementation and preparatory activities for school. None of the teachers regard the ECCD space as a critical venue for socialisation of gender roles, development of a child’s sense of a social self-etc.

- On the question of " motivations for enrollment of girls and boys at the ECCD centre":
- Teachers in Rajasthan felt that more girls are coming to the centers due to facilities here primarily nutritious meal. Teachers observe that perbsta er worried to shift their boys as early as possible to the primary school as education s an aspiration and the AWC is seen as a preparatory space, in contrast girls can reain coming to the centre for longer.
- In Odisha teachers told that more girls are coming at center because the number of girls are high in the village in comparison to boys. The sex ratio of girl and boy child are almost equal
 - 'when girls ask, why do women have to practice the veil (ghunghat) we say that it is the custom to wear the veil. This is because girls have to live in their in - laws family.
 - ' key difference between boys and girls are - they urinate differently, girls cannot have bath outside in the open, once 8-9 years old girls need to keep their clothes appropriate.
 - do boys and girls watch separate TV programmes – लड़कियां न तो महे भुलावा भई
 - when asked about replacing tiger and rat with sherni- tigress and chuhiya- she mouse in the stories, one of the teachers fell silent for long and then said के बेरो भईके , बताऊँ well... what to say?'
 - In response to what will the children be doing when they become elder, a teacher said, “ they will do farming work in other’s farm, girls would veil when they would become elder.” If boys would not earn then they would not be seen as good men.

WHAT ARE THE THINGS BOYS OR GIRLS SHOULD LEARN?

- girls need to learn how to decorate the house, make rangoli, perform pooja, as these are necessary in the matrimonial home. they have to cook in the future so we encougare them to play 'kitchen'
- boys need to have skills for earning- farming, how to make bricks, how to make matches for match boxes, these are work boys do in our area since childhood.

in tribal belt hence the number of girls are high at the centers.

- In Delhi too substantial number of girls are coming to the centre. Teachers feel that this is primarily because in construction sites where mothers are working, they find the ECCD centre to be a ' safe' space for leaving girls through the day.
- It can be seen with this context that because of varied reasons more girls are reaching the AWCs and more boys are being connected with school system. This does throw up the question if ECCD venues are being seen as a secondary status system where more girls are being sent? While interaction with various stake holders we found that AWC is not a

primary concern for the village and the community , there is a concern about mid day meal but not about the learning of a child. It needed further exploration can be carried out on the same.

- The discussion was made on -“Who escorts the children from home to AWC and to whom AWW gives the feedback about the children” In the rural context of Rajasthan the children come to the center with their elder sister and peer group. Very young children come only with their mothers and grand mothers. In Odisha escorting is low and mothers do this mostly. In Delhi , mothers often come at the creches to drop their children , sometimes father and uncle also come to drop them. This interface is used by the teachers for basic familiarisation and chit chat with family ; Hence, generally the connections are happening more with mothers. The role of father or elder male is negligible.
- there is no formal feedback system for building engagement of parents in children's care and learning at the centre.



5. Transactions with Children

The ECCD center is seen in Lunkaransar and Thakurmunda and saharapada as a pre school 'learning' space where children also receive a nutritious meal everyday. The Mobile creches centres are seen as a 'caring and safe' space where children also receive informal learning.

To us, ECCD interventions are primarily to offer care to a child to support her or him in being able to undertake all actions and learning to grow to full potential. Emerging as independent individuals, children need to have a space to connect with their bodies, its needs and possibilities and being able to use it and take care of it. cleanliness, hygiene, toilet usage, eating, drinking, protecting oneself from injury, playing safely in a group are key learnings vis a vis body functionality that are emerging in this phase. Care of others along with care of self is a crucial learning that can be inculcated at this juncture.

This a crucial phase where children's language is developing and they are making and acquiring meanings from words and sentences. They are constructing their reality through stories they hear, they see and they live. This is an age where children learn from repetition, imitation, modelling, listening, playing, interacting and doing themselves. It is thus a very significant time for developing understanding of social and familial roles. This is also the time when children are building a connect with the larger world- understanding the meanings of 'mine' 'yours' and 'others'.

The ECCD intervention can be a key vehicle of physical, mental, emotional and social development of a child. The intervention has high potential of exposing children to alternate gender norms and roles. The transactions with children at the various centres were observed from this stand point.



Curriculum and Materials:

Curriculum is central to the facilitation of CCD centres. This is the first time children are coming to a formal space to learn. It is necessary to include mother tongue and local idiom based materials and activities with an intent to help children also see the world, environment and society without strong adult led notions. This will also help them see men and women and diverse sexual identities as human identities which are different and not unequal.

In the current intervention, it is significant to mention that both in Rajasthan and Odisha the ECCD centres are following the state curriculum which is part of the larger ICDS system. In this curriculum the focus is on preprimary learning alongside health care, nutrition and hygiene. The curriculum is not available at almost any of the centers. There is no designed intervention-activities materials on challenging gender relations in the curriculum. While Mobile crèches has its own curriculum, more carefully developed to capture children's interest and contextualised to their life includes topics like city, trees, rain, lifestyle, My India, Forests etc. there is no topic or content that directly connects to examining gender realities or offering strong alternatives.

Materials

Materials that are provided to children to assist them in learning and play activities have a profound affect on their socialization and development. We looked at the following -

Action Songs –Songs are taught to all young children to enhance their memory and language skills. The teachers were doing recitations of poems and songs with the children from all age groups. We sat through these sessions. All the poems were in Hindi and were about either animals or about children and family situations. At the Rohini and greater Noida centres the songs were about animals and how they do things, Bears and elephants but at the Seemapuri centre the teacher chose a song that was about children asking their fathers to get them Rasgulas on their way back home from work.

A lot of poetry that we have for children valorizes heroic attributes, roles and responsibilities, the triumph of good over bad etc. The heroic attributes invariably are about masculine strength, for example, the poem about a lion who was very strong and had a long moustache and how he would lie around all day. These songs not only allow children to strengthen their memory and language skills they also guide their dreams and aspirations of life and give them a vocabulary to express themselves. If they only ever hear songs about the strong lion, whose only claim to excess leisure time is that he has a big moustache then children will in many ways understand the leisure time of the men in their homes as deserved. Whereas we have no songs that valorize the work of brave mothers. Literature has many lacunas and many verses on women and their work need to still be composed. To know this and let the children sing songs that will allow them to grow up appreciating the power of words will be a big step towards raising sensitive children.

Action songs and poems used in diverse settings in the three states can clearly establish the gendered transmission therein:

सूरज गोल चंदा गोल पापा जी का पैसा गोल मम्मी जी की रोटी गोल दीदी कहती दुनिया गोल	Sun round, Moon Round Round papa's coin Mummy's bread (roti) round Sister tells the world go round	ट्रिन ट्रिन ट्रिन ट्रिन आया फ़ोन हेल्लो बोल रहा है कौन ये तो पापा जी का फ़ोन बच्चे बोले पापा घर जल्दी आना गोल गोल रसगुल्ले लाना	Triin Triin came Triin Triin phone Hello, who is speaking This father's phone Baby said Papa to come home early Bring round rasgulla
दादा दादी आये हैं खील बताशे लाये हैं दादीबांटे खील बताशे बच्चे खाते खूब मजे से	Grandparents have come Brought kheel-batashe Grangma share the kheel batshe Children eat with plenty of fun	मेरी गले में मदारी आया भालू आया बन्दर आया उठा मदारी डमरू बजा कर नाचा भालू ठुमका लगा कर बन्दर ने फिर खेल दिखाया रूठी बंदरिया मना के लाया	Megician came in to my lane, Bear came, Monkey came Bear took dance with thumka Mokey showed game again Brought to upset female monkey
दीदी चावल कर लो साफ़ भैया जल्दी लाओ दूध छोटी तुम चीनी ले लाओ अब अम्मा को तुरंत बुलाओ मिलजुलसारे शोर मचाओ खीर खाने की घंटी बजाओ अम्मा ने जब खीर बनाई खूब स्वाद से सबने खाई	Sister you clear the rice Brother you bring the milk Now immediately call to mother Shout all together now Blow the bell for eating kheer When mother made the kheer Every ate with plenty of flavour	डाकिया आया डाकिया आया चचा जी की चिट्ठी लाया चाचा जी जब आयेंगे खेल खिलौने लायेंगे हम सब मौज मनाएंगे	Postman came postman came Bring the letter for uncle When uncle will come We will bring the toys We all will have fun
मन करता है पापा बन कर मूँछ बनाऊ तितलीबन कर उड़ाती जाऊ चरखीबन कर पतंग उड़ायु	I wish I would make mustache like my dad, Go fly like a butterfly Make fly to kite by being like winch	मामा के घर जाना है भूख लगती है मामा मामी को डांट लगता है मामी दूध भात खिलाती है ।	Go to uncle's home Feels hunry, tells to uncle Uncle scoldes to Aunty She makes and feeds milk-rice
शेर जंगल का राजा है लम्बी लम्बी मूँछोवाला दिन भर करता खूब शिकार रात को सोता पाँव पसार	The lion is the king of jungle Having long mustache Hunts full day Sleeps in night spreading his feet	जितने पापा अच्छे लगते अपनी मोटर गाड़ी में , उनसे अच्छी मम्मी लगती खादी वाली साड़ी में चाचीजी अच्छी लगती है सादी पहनी साड़ी में मामीजी घूँघट में लगती जैसे चंदा बादल में	The father looks good in your motor vhiacle Mother looks very good in her khadi sari Auty looks good in wore plain saree Maamy in veil looks like a moon in the cloud

In all these poems the characters see each other in dominant gender stereotypes of the women in domestic roles and the men in public- formal and - earning- decision making roles. Children growing up with these psychosocial references will be inspired to execute them themes. A happy departure is a picture of a mother as a player- khiladi mummy in the Mobile Creches materials which establishes a new and exciting alternate role for an adult woman.

Posters

Most posters at the center were related to health and the various stages of a child's growth. Then there were many hand painted charts that had numbers, etc. on them. The Rohini centre had drawings by children and paintings on walls from the floor to the ceiling. The centre had pictorial depictions of scenes from a village which showed a male farmer working in the fields, looking at rain laden clouds and a woman carrying a water jug on her head. The centre in Noida had a wall painting with the story of the honest woodcutter. These stories depict for children living in urban slums or construction sites idyllic images of the rural life. Since most of these children are migrants from villages and remember their rural homes these images must play a very potent role for the children. Having said that these images again have strong gender messaging. The village scenes show the man working in the fields and therefore contributing to "outside" work that

In badpasi in a poster on hygiene a woman is shown filling water while a man is having a bath in the open and another woman is cooking at home, thus designating specific role to specific sexes. Pictures of national leaders like Gandhi Bhagatsigh appear in many centres- pictures of women leaders, local leaders can enhance the worldview and references of children. One of the only pictures of women include Jhansi Ki Rani Lakshmi Bai with captions like ' khub ladi mardani- she fought like a man' ascribing masculinity to courage and action. Almost all the centres in Rajasthan and Odisha had printed posters with moral stories- moth of them from the folk tales of the Panchtantra.



Stories

The children at the Greater Noida centre had a story telling session on the story of a goat and a tigress. The story was a fable on relationships and power equations couched in the fairytale of animals. The story talked about how a goat could outwit a tigress by pandering to her maternal instinct and reversing the sure outcome of death. The story at multiple layers interrogates and talks about the importance of outwitting old people and mothers to get what one wants. It is through these stories that we teach children many values about truth, honesty and respect. But the elements of gender sensitivity are absent from most.

In the Odisha centres the story of Tua and Tui- two sisters where they desire to eat kheer-sweet porridge and their brother arranges for the stuff and the girls cook the porridge.



We would recommend that stories that talk about and build healthy gender understanding be used and stories be deeply interrogated before being made available for use by the teachers. Also that teachers should be trained to read between the lines of stories that they read out to students so that they can be deconstructed in class and explained to children and make real life connects for the students.

Games and toys

The efforts made in terms of making available toys and offering room for play are positive. Centres stock popular and easily available toys including dolls, doctor kitchen sets, cars and trains and vehicles, balls and playing kits, activity materials like beads, blocks, puzzles, origami materials etc. teachers make an effort to include all children in the play and have some toy or the other.

All the centres have the kitchen set and the girls play with it. The kitchen set is one of the most gender loaded toys that the children have at the centre. Right now it is being used to replicate the home situation that the children see at home through role plays. The house game is generally played in the free play period and without supervision this becomes a space where unhealthy gender stereotypes are learnt. For example at the seemapuri centre the boys and girls were playing together and when I asked who wanted to take care of the doll a young boy said he was the mother and he would, the other children all between the age group of 3 to 5 said he couldn't be the mother as he was a boy and due to fear of ridicule and the unsaid rule of conformity with his peers he discarded the doll and became the father.

We observed that the kitchen set was being used to replicate dominant gender norms in all the centres.

We think the kitchen set is a great toy to bust gender stereotypes. If the facilitators are trained to open up pertinent questions around rest, workload, leisure time, care inside the home. These observations will be taken home and the children will learn to see and questions things that happen in traditional family-spaces.

There are toys that children can pull and play at Mobile creches centres. it was interesting to see that there were 4 vehicles and all the boys were playing with them as the girls waited to have their turn... but the boys would not give them away in spite of repeated asking similarly in Odisha in 2 centres a group of boys would not give up the block set at all, even the teachers kept validating them by saying boys like blocks and even if they were not in use girls do not pick them up.

| There are few games played which include running around and chaotic physical activity..

The other example of games and toys at the centre was the doctor set. Again at the seemapuricentre we say the children play with the set where the doctor was played by a girl and the patient was a boy. The Doctor wanted to administer an injection as part of the role-play and the teacher asked the boy if he was afraid of getting the injection. Such positive interjections by adults in charge can help build confidence of girls who are generally not allowed to even during play reverse power equations.

The ball is a favourite toy everywhere and is played equally by girls and boys.



Routine and Activities

The activities at most centres follow a routine of:



All centres operate by a set routine. All aspects of a child's development have been included in the same. Analyzing from a gender and social development perspective, a critical gap herein is activities for development of critical thinking. Some key observations in this context are:

- The food distribution is done by seating all children in a circle or parallel lines and serving food to them in plates. Most children are encouraged to eat themselves and while teachers supervise childrens eating, few teachers feed the children. In the Mobile creches centres food is served thrice a day and teachers sit closely with children, talking and encouraging them to eat or feeding them where needed. The small children are all personally fed by the teachers at the Balwadi. No discrimination was observed in food distribution among boys and girls in terms of quantity, priority or personal care. In MC children also sing a prayer before eating. At Dumuridiha centre in Odisha we saw that boys and girls stand in two separate lines to wash their plates. While its notable that the centre makes no distinction in the washing responsibility among boys or girls, the separation in lines reflects a segregation that is considered most natural owing to social practices.
- In odisha at one location there were two separate queues of boys and girls and they were doing PT.

- The activities like poem recitation, action songs and story telling are undertaken with zest, however as described above many materials are gendered and carry forth notions of masculinity and femininity and dominant gender roles. The stories of the clever fox and the crow, story of the honest woodcutter and how he returns the golden axes to retrieve his own wooden one are common stories. they run the risk of establishing a female character as scheming and a male character as chivalrous. Some homegrown stories narrated are prescriptive in what must good girls do and what must good boys do as already shared in the previous section eg: tau tui story, story of the goat and her children etc.
- None of the centres include story discussions or general discussions in their daily activities. In fact In brief responses to story telling sometimes teachers ask children to act out a role eg: how does mother work at home? and children depict mother sweeping the house; how does father scold? etc.
- Thus overall there is little scope for a child to narrate her/ his own stories. A child's innate sense of enquiry can also be enriched through open discussions on diverse issues. This brings out children's experience thoughts and imaginations and herein there is great scope for deconstructing gendered stereotypes or help children question what they find weird or uncomfortable.
- Songs and poems are repeated by children, few questions are asked about their content by the teacher and hence the activity becomes a memorizing and recitation activity only.
- In Lunkaransar and in Thakurmunda and saharapada, children are divided into 4 groups and given activities to enrich their fine and gross motor skills. Here they undertake ' motipirona' threading beads,puzzles, origamy and playing with blocks in rotation. In successive observations we found that the girls had a natural preference for the fine motor activities like threading beads and origamy and boys navigated into puzzles and blocks. While their preferences were appreciated, we saw little effort from teachers in any of the centres to persuade, move, attract boys or girls to the other activity. This also generates an auto clustering of boys and girls many times which again is not intervened upon.
- A critical missing element is team games in the curriculum of any of the centres. This can bring out the talents of each child and offer them a platform to work with each other, talk to each other, plan and play. This also breaks their comfort of acquaintances and brings them into interaction with each other. supervised play of this nature will also help them learn to resolve conflicts better.
- A similar activity that can help discuss and question social roles and relationships is drama. Children have an innate excitement to imitate and can bring out powerfully both what they see and what they imagine. It is very important to point out that teachers themselves need training in perspectives in social exclusion and gender to facilitate such activities.

एक आगनबाड़ी कार्यकर्ता द्वारा "के करसी के बणसी, लडकोतरफ पूछते ही के.. नौकरी लगस्यो के गाड़ी ल्यासी के ,बणसी"

In rajsthan one teacher was asking to boys What would you do or become in future, - would you do a job? What would you bring? Vehicle

Centre Environment and Teacher Relations

In all the AWC there is one teacher per 25 children, in the mobile creches balwadi this ratio is 1 teacher per 12-13 children as the kids are very small. WE feel that this ratio is high and would be better to have 1 teacher per 15-18 children.

All teachers and support staff at all the centres visited are women. Their age ranging between 25- 45 years. There was a senior Balwadi teacher at Mobile creches who had cared for the father of one of her current children.

In the rural settings Teachers are from the same cultural context and many times would be sustaining strong gender norms. eg:

A teacher In Bikaner shared that they have initiated meetings with fathers since April 2014, ' we do practice the veil- ghunghat when men from the community come '

we observed that some children do not like somethings and might resist or resent persuasion eg: when a little girls was resisting blindfolding for a game the teacher cajoled her saying ' mini is so beautiful' and blindfoded her, the girl promptly started to cry.

In Bikaner two teachers were engaging with children with their ghunghat on, there was no eye contact between the children and the teachers . children both miss out on the personal touch and create gender associations in such cases.

- There is a lot of variation in teacher connectedness. While most teachers have familiarity with children in terms of their name, whether they have come or not, eaten or not, where they live or about parents or escorts but familiarity in terms of nature of the child, her/ his likes and dislikes, their challenges etc seemed low. Such familiarity helps to support nurture the unique nature of each child. Thoughtful references and encouragement to uniqueness of children helps them see themselves as individuals and has immense potential in breaking a socialisation of ' becoming someone'. This has great possibilities of challenging gendered socialisation in the long term.
- In Lunkaransar and Thakurmunda and saharapada, we observed minimal touch by teachers with children. Touch and personal conversation has high significance in early childhood stimulation. In feudal rural societies touch is the primary symbol of caste, class and gender discrimination. Touching, holding and cuddling children or allowing them to touch her easily breaks hierarchies and enhances children's comfort and sense of security. It automatically leads to enhanced verbal and non verbal expressiveness of a child and creates opportunities for children to share their concerns and feelings. Many times children share issues like violence at home, their fears, abuse by someone or any unpleasant experiences with teachers. This can be a key venue for offering support to children witnessing, sensing or experiencing gender violence.
- An observation at most centres is that children freely hit each other. Mostly teachers either ignore such incidents or quiten a child that starts to cry. Few teachers intervene in children

hitting each other. While hitting among children is a spontaneous expression of irritation or anger, it can be a point for helping the child understand that it hurts and that there are also other ways of expressing disagreement or anger. It was also noticed that elder children hit younger children. This builds a child's understanding of power associated with age. The intersectional associations of power be it age or ability also start off from here.

6. Children's perceptions

The assessment methodology did not include lot of direct contact activities with children, yet to explore some of their perceptions first hand, we designed an age appropriate photo based activity which was administered by their teachers as we observed.

In this process, the set of 20-25 pre-created pictures was displayed in front of the children. Every child was asked to select one picture according to his/her choice. All selected pictures were analyzed based on preferences by boys or girls.

Both the groups maintained gender roles as it is as they expressed their experiences via selection of pictures. At all locations, boys chosen the kite, vehicle, whereas girls chosen the frock and roti maker (chakla and rolling pin). In Odisha only one girl had selected bicycle for her otherwise boys continued to select motorbike, car but in addition to that, none of the girls selected the bicycle. The girls only selected the ring ball and badminton from the games. It is remarkable that diversity of culture and region also did not reflect in preferences made by boys and girls across states.



7. Family and Parent perceptions

Parent and Family perceptions are central to the values, gender norms and beliefs that children are likely to be socialised into. This is a key influencing factor in children's early care and development. ECCD interventions need to operate in awareness of this reality of children and ideally work with parents on both care issues and social perceptions and beliefs to partner with parents in ECCD.

Kaushalya and Kalu ram live in village with their 4 children. They are a poor farming family and work together on their land. As their 4 beegha unirrigated land can grow only one crop throughout the year, they decide to migrate to the city close by for work. the four children start going to school in the city this includes: Two elder daughters aged 15 and 13 followed by an 11 year old son and a 6 year old daughter. One day suddenly kalu ram expires due to severe illness. Kaushalya is heartbroken and also faced with the many responsibilities of life alone. She is in a dilemma about many things life:

- Should she continue the farming work on her own or sell the land?
- should she send all the children to school, if not then to whom?
- What does she want for her daughters and son?
- how would the current situation impact her various children?
- she has so much work alone, who should she share this with? From whom she should seek the support in domestic work?
- who can help her in taking household decisions
- is there a special role for her son in this situation?
- Who would take care of younger daughter?

The assessment took up focused group discussions with parents at all centres to understand their perceptions, thoughts and practices vis a vis gender. This mostly included mothers, in one place a father's group could also come together. Supported by Plan India Parenting development programme- PDP has been recently introduced as a supplementary partnership project with the current ECCD implementing partners. The intervention has high potential but is new and its impact could not be highlighted in this assessment.

To explore Perceptions of parents in a non-intrusive way we used a case study for discussion (see box). Dominant responses to the case study were as follows:

Odisha	Rajasthan	Delhi
She should do farming but she would need a male for "ploughing as women are not allowed to plough"	She should sell her land	She should farming work and tilling can be done using a tractor
She should do farming at own or she can take help from others	She should give her land in partnership	Kaushlya should earn for family by doing any type of work
	Without man who will do farming work	
	She should wait for her boy to be adult.	She should keep herself strong and should send all her children to

		school if she has to make a choice, she will need to priorities the younger ones.
		Community members should come forward for her help
		Had the son been elder he could have taken up farming
Boy needs to be educated. She can even think of marrying elder daughter.	Elder daughters will be needed at home younger boy and girl can study.	Girls do go away and get married, they are unable to use their education.
Elder daughter can go to night school	Elder daughters can do housework and give school exams privately.	

The responses showed how women carry dominant gendered norms and feel constrained to talk beyond them inspite of their concern and empathy for the characters.

It is clear that priority of education is for boys. The second basis for prioritisation was age indicating that younger children should be sent to school and it would not be matter of concern if elder children don't go to school. Third criteria was come up that it would be better if girls take the both responsibilities of work and education as they have to play dual roles.

It is believed that the quality of education is better in private school in comparison to Govt School. With this reference, it is suggested that investment of that sort be made for boys of the family as their education converts directly to earning and betterment of his life. But in terms of girls education is seen as crisis support in undesirable exigencies of life.



The further discussion was done on “How absence of the male head of the household would impact on their boys and girls”

	Girls	Boys
Rajasthan	The daughter would help out her mother , would do domestic work and would support in earning money	Boys have to go to school by any ways.
Odisha		Boy would do farming work
Delhi	Daughter would do domestic work in days' time and would go to school in night	Boys would go in private or govt school. He can left the study and can do the farming work

In this discussion it was clearly seen that how gender roles control the daily behaviour despite being invisible.

In a further discussion it was proposed what if the boy is not wanting to pursue education of his own accord - various responses came up, and actually these responses help better to understand the gender connectivity.

If boy doesn't want to study

- Will make understand him – Bikaner
- if needed even beat or scold him to understand-Bikaner
- will try our best to make him see the value, if he resists we might thrash him- Odisha
- Doesn't matter, his elder sister will teach him at home for sometime and probably he would start to go to school- Delhi

Dominant gender notions of masculinity and femininity emerged in all further discussions with regard to the roles and expectations from girls and boys. For Exmaple the reponses came from the participants : We have to ask from the son as the reposibility would be only his shoulder after his father's death, Son will have to work otherwise who will lookafter the family, as daughter will have go matrimonial home. It is essential for boy to study, no matter if girls don't study. Without study it would be difficult to boy as he has to earn and live the life.

Most mothers carry a strong sense of what is appropriate and not appropriate and desire to have their children grow up to perform gendered roles. Some also see it as the ' way the world is and see little value in deviating from the norm'

When asked about their expectations from the AWC/Balwadi/SSK when they send their children to these centres . Some of the prominent answers were:

Odisha	Rajasthan	Delhi
To Study, Mid-day meal, Being Happy, have fun, to learn respect for elders	Study, respect for elders, playing games , Practice to sit and read and write, To learn being silent in order to go to school as a disciplined child	Preparation for school, mid-day meal, protection, can nurture discipline and respect for elders

Apparently, key motivation for parents is to induct children into early education and prepare to go to school- be socialised into community norms and behaviours eg, be disciplined, and respect elders. In Delhi, the protection of children is a major concern, therefore all mothers highlighted this issue and shared about it and they emphasized more on safety of girls. They see the ECCD center as a safe space so that girls wouldn't go through the any eve teasing/molestation or abuse.

Speaking Vis a vis the kind of learning that they emphasized and organise for little children back at home a Pandora box of discussions opened up:

- what do girls do?
Fetching water, sweeping, serving food, helping in peeling the vegetables etc and taking care of the younger siblings.
- why do children cry?
girls cry on little things.. it is not good for boys to cry - either he has been hurt badly or needs to be told not to cry for little things.
- which school do children go to Govt or private and why?
girls go to both kind of schools, but if we can pay fees of just one rupee will be sent to private school.
- do women in the community go to the panchayat office?
Hardly, it's 8 kilometers far. few women take part in the Gram sabha.
- Do you anticipate any change in roles of women and men in the next 5-7 years?
children are moving towards marriage by their own choice ; this is problematic for girls as they have no security. prices are rising heavily, parents have no savings marrying girls the traditional way is also difficult as there is less money for dowry and expectations are high.
- if there were an exclusive school for girls what should it teach besides language and math?
how to maintain good relations, home management, domestic skills, respect of elders etc.
- what should we do about boys who are not coming to the ECCD centre their families should be reached out and asked to send the boys.

The discussions with fathers /men group gave a small glimpse of the kind of perceptions men hold, while these are in small volume, yet significant and get corroborated by the many

expressions of community members and women of their families; reproducing here key points of the discussion:

Discussion with a group of Men /Father, Location: Gholkund Village

Participants: 6

When asked about the centre they shared that the centre had been working since 1998 and children come to learn here and enjoy here. they do many activities including dance song and games.

- Steering to a discussion on gender situations the group responds to a query about property rights in their community - they feel property is normally transferred and held between fathers and sons. women use it. one of them said that if property were in women's name and her husband died, she would go ahead and marry another man and give him all the property leaving the children behind. another felt that property is conveniently held with men because it needs formal paper work etc and men can easily go out to do this. men are more likely to nurture a property and invest it wisely, women will not do because it has come easily to them; moreover they don't know how to invest property properly.
- Talking about women and their daily routines next, the conversation steered to what do women do when they come together as a group- they share what's happening in life, and it is desirable for them to meet.
- what do they desire for girls and boys- almost all men felt that they would want their children to do very well- study till very far, take up a job, but probed further they said, it is important that the daughter's matrimonial family approve of her job, otherwise she might need to quit. Few men seemed comfortable with the idea of a working daughter in law.



Conducting the study in diverse settings including feudal region of Mewar In rajasthan, the mostly Tribal and poor Mayur bhanj and a mixed migrant community in Delhi, one had hoped to find a reflection of changing gender perceptions from the family. While the assessment team can place on record the enrollment and attendance data of centres depicting parents interest to send both girls and boys to an ECCD centre- which definitely is a departure from perhaps 8 years back, yet the notions of gender behaviours and roles retain the most compulsive norms of gendered identification of male and female within straightjacketed expectations and opportunities. It sustains the inequitous power relations and limits the opportunities and development of girls. It also imposes on boys the demand to measure up to dominant notions of masculinity.

Well meaningLy, parents do desire a safe, comfortable and happy life for their children, but suataining the family honour, responding to family needs and maintaining the community cultures is a stron expectation and part of the nurturance they offer children in the domestic space. Can an ECCD intervention find a doorway to dialogue with this situation towards enhancing gender responsiveness?



8. Perceptions and Roles of Community Members

The role of the community in terms of ECCD is identified in two ways. First is to facilitate and nurture the access of the children to ECCD center and second it can play a crucial role in monitoring and continuity. While both these roles are significant a third element is what kind of expectations the community sets in terms of early social learning from a centre. If the Community norms are very aggressive in the context of gender, can the ECCD intervention open a process of enquiry, reflection and action. Is it within the purview of such an intervention or possible for an organisation to do so?

It is important in both situations that what are community, leader and ECCD project members thinking on gender issues. The role of community or an engagement with also depends on the program structure. For example: the participation of community on in the Govt run AWC at Bikaner is quite low by programme design- Their role is planned as beneficiary. However Mobile creches has tried to strengthen their role as partners.

We could speak to community members in Bikaner, Odisha and Delhi is very extensive. In Bihar and Rajasthan it included community leaders and active persons many of whom also have children or grandchildren at the centre. Mostly these were women as the centres engagement with men has been minimal till the starting of the PDP programme. In Delhi CBOs have been facilitated to merge in monitoring of the Creches, we met some such groups

- Nakodesar in Rajasthan- girls here are engaged for marriage by the time they are 12 to 14 years old or even earlier. so we prefer to send girls to segregated schools that way problems can be avoided and boys resorting to mischief is also prevented.
- a male leader of the village said- children can be seated together at the centre- finally they are kids and have nothing on their minds, but from 5th std children should be seated separately.
- A male community leader in a group discussion in Odisha- whatever we do women Sarpanchs are just for namesake, they are not going to be holding power and taking decisions.
- A woman member responded loudly about how girls should behave once they grow up- they should know that they are not expected to socialise with boys.

The PDP group of Odisha and CBO members from Mobile crèches have a reasonably good level of information about the activities and timetable of the ECCD center. The community members from Odisha and Bikaner don't have the information about ECCD center's timetable. Most people associate the space with learning, care and safety.

Whenever the discussion was made with community members around the younger girls and boys, every time they responded that they don't see any type of difference between them. Few members see the context of girls and boys growing up as different in terms of opportunity. While

most community members believe in gender equality and feel there is not discrimination in food, access to the ECCD centre and opportunity to learn, their examples in terms of roles, responsibilities and expectation from boys and girls have quite a difference like most other stakeholders.

The views of community members on thought development by coming to the centre- included boys and girls would become cultured. Along with this they would be able to do prepare themselves for school, having mid-day meal and playing games. Here the meaning of being cultured is respecting elders and learning to sit silently.

Upon being asked why mostly girls are coming on at ECCD Community members shared that there are more girls in comparison to boys in our villages/sites. This situation may exist in some tribal majority villages of Odisha, but it can't be possible in all villages. In Delhi, the reason behind presence of more girls at ECCD was seen as primarily to assure safety while parents are away. Currently ECCD centers are run by female workers.

We asked all community groups about the possibility of recruiting male teachers in ECCD centres and they expressed reservation. The range of responses are captured below:-

- Men can't take care of the children; they would not be comfortable helping children with eating or going to the toilet.
- Men won't be able to give children love.
- women whether they have their own kids or not are prepared to take care of children and so are suitable.
- men will also not accept such a job as there is low salary.

If salary would be increased to work at ECCD then Male can opt to work here, but they might refuse to do children's cleaning and can insist on hiring additional staff for it.

Above examples clearly show that community sees men and women in association with specific qualities and attributes almost as if they were natural. During this discussion all members admitted that if a male teacher joins the ECCD centre parents trust would drastically reduce and some might not send their children while others might protest.

Similarly when queried about the resources available at the ECCD centre most community members were satisfied and some intend to the need for some more playing materials and writing materials. Given an opportunity of spending some dedicated resources to get additional toys for the centre, the community members were asked what would they buy for girls and what for boys: many members said, they would get the same things for both but as the discussion

moved ahead then it emerged that they would bring badminton, ring ball for girls and would bring the cricket game material and football for boys. Cricket was one game, which was discussed mostly at all locations. In both rural and urban setting community members (mostly women) were seeing the boys connecting with cricket. Examples of kitchen set, dolls for girls also abounded.

It is clear that community members largely uphold gendered values and expect the educational and care system to nurture and maintain them.

The opportunity areas that the ECCD Intervention is throwing up are the collectivisation and periodic interface with community members. In Mobile Creches this is happening through the CBO interface where the local women's organisation is being strengthened and empowered to understand and address the local developmental and rights issues and manage the key community programmes including the Creche centre.

In case of Odisha and Rajasthan and Delhi too, the introduction of PDP as an aligned supplementary programme is generating structured space to work with select and interested parents through each centre. This includes both mothers and fathers of at least one enrolled child at the centre.



Annexure 2

Meeting with Watch group members

Date:- 22/5/2014

Palace:- Panchayat office Kendujani

Present members -18 Male

1Female

1 Female (Sarpanch)

From plan : Ms Lilly, Ms. Ruchi and Ms. Vijaylaxmi

From Vishakha –Bharat, Shabnam and Rupesh (Patang)

From CYSD : Mr. Subhash, Ms. Sasmita

शुरुआत में सभी का परिचय हुआ। चर्चा भरतजी द्वारा चलाई गई व अनुवाद कार्य श्री सुभाष व रुपेश द्वारा किया गया।

Q. आप लोग जो काम कर रहे हो उससे सम्बन्धित आपके अनुभव क्या हैं कैसे काम करते

a. गांव स्तर पर महीने में दो बार बैठते हैं बच्चों व ई सी सी डी से सम्बन्धित जो भी issues होते हैं उनको address करते हैं और जिस गांव की समस्या है वही के व्यक्ति को जिम्मेदारी सौंपी जाती है ताकि समस्या का समाधान हो पाए। इस समूह ने मिलकर समुदाय व पंचायत स्तर पर कई सारे भी किये हैं।

माह में 4-5 बार Eccd पर जाते हैं।

Q. महिलाएं क्यों नहीं हैं इस कमेटी में !

कुल 3 महिला सदस्य हैं। आज धूप ज्यादा होने के कारण व मनरेगा के काम के कारण नहीं आईं।

Q. Eccd द्वारा लड़कियों के सोचने समझने में फर्क आता है क्या?

सबसे मिलने का मौका मिलता। एक दूसरे से शेयर करते हैं। किशोरियां यदि आगनवॉडी पर आएंगी तो स्वास्थ्य की जानकारी मिलेगी। यदि लड़कियां आती हैं और आगनवॉडी केन्द्र पर Aww,anm है तो health सीधी बात हो सकती है।

चित्र,गीत नाच विभिन्न प्रकार से पढ़ना सीखते हैं मानसिक, शारीरिक व सामाजिक विकास होता है व आगे सीखने के लिए नींव तैयार होती है।

Q. Eccd पर लड़के ज्यादा हैं या लड़कियां ?

सभी समान हैं, लड़कियां ज्यादा आती हैं जितने बच्चे हैं सभी जा रहे हैं। जहाँ ज्यादा लड़कियां वहाँ लड़कियां जिस गाँव में लड़के ज्यादा हैं वहाँ ज्यादा लड़के आ रहे हैं।

Q. Eccd पर पढ़ाने वाली सभी महिलाएं हैं यदि पढ़ाने वाले आदमी होंगे तो क्या फर्क आएगा ?

छोटे बच्चे हैं पेशाब कर सकते हैं, नाक बह रहा है, ये सारा काम पुरुष नहीं कर सकते हैं।

Q. यदि Eccd पर बच्चे नहा कर साफ सुथरे हो कर आए क्या तब पुरुष काम कर पाएंगे ?

सम्भव नहीं है।

Q. यदि Eccd पर 10,000 रु तनखाह हो जाए तो क्या पुरुष काम करेंगे ?

सभी ने जोर से कहा हाँ करेंगे फिर एक व्यक्ति ने कहा कि दुसरे एरिया के लोग कर सकते हैं हमारे एरिया के नहीं करेंगे क्योंकि वे Care नहीं कर पाएंगे।

Q. तो स्कूल में तो ज्यादातर मेल टीचर ही होते हैं ?

स्कूल तक आते आते बच्चे समझदार हो जाते हैं।

Q. लड़के ज्यादा समझदार होते हैं या लड़की

a. जवाब आया कि लड़की। ज्यादा सहनशीलता का गुण female के पास है male के पास नहीं। पहले महिलाओं को इतना अधिकार नहीं था पर अब परिवर्तन हुआ है लड़की ही ज्यादा समझदार हैं।

Q. कोई ऐसा आर्डर निकल जाए कि जितनी भी समझदारी के काम हैं वो लड़कियों / महिलाओं को मिल जाए क्या आप खुश होंगे ?

पहले ज्यादातर ने ना कहा, 10 ने कहा हाँ (पर उनमें से कुछ असमंजस की स्थिति में थीं) 15 ने कहा ना

लड़कियां समझदार होती हैं Female द्वारा लिया गया निर्णय तभी continue होगा जब male की भी उस पर समझ बन जाये अन्यथा नहीं

तो फिर समझदारी का फायदा था।

Q. कितनी लड़कियां पढ़ने जा रही हैं।

सारे बच्चे जा रहे हैं जो फेल हो जाते हैं वो पढ़ाई छोड़ देते हैं।

Q. फेल कौन होता है

लड़के

Q. क्यों

- लड़के लोगों के पास फोन हैं। बात करते हैं भाग जाते हैं

लड़के माँ बाप का कहना नहीं मानते। क्रिकेट खेलते हैं।

- लड़कियां माँ बाप का कहना मानती हैं।

सुझाव:-

Eccd में और ऐसा क्या होना चाहिए जो अभी नहीं हो रहा है ?

1 alphabets सीखने की जरूरत

2. जिस आगनवॉडी में मंजूर नहीं है वहाँ हो

3. खिलौने की कमी है जो माता पिता समर्थ हैं और एक एक खिलौना का भी आगनवाडी पर support करें तो स्थिति ठीक हो

4. आगनवाडी सौन्दर्यकरण होना चाहिए आसपास के वातावरण को बेहतर बनाने की कोशिश की जाए।

5. आगनवॉडी में खिलौनों को display mode में रखेंगे तो बच्चों की रुचि बढ़ेगी।

Q. आगनवॉडी में लड़के लड़की दोनों आते हैं क्या खिलौने हैं जो लड़कों के लिए और क्या है व जो लड़कियों के लिए सबके लिए समान ही होने चाहिए छोटे बच्चों में कोई फर्क नहीं है फुटबाल रस्सी लुडो

रस्सी कुद लड़के नहीं खेलेंगे

Q. छोटे बच्चों में खेलने का कोई फर्क नहीं है ये फर्क कब आता है

10 – 12 वर्ष में

Q. गांव में पुरुष /महिला के लिए अलग अलग फायदे हैं समान हैं।

Male member हल चला रहा है महिला चाहेगी तो वो भी कर पाएंगी

a Culture ऐसा क्यों है कि लड़की हल नहीं चलाती

ऐसा क्या करें कि दोनों बराबर आ जाए

Permission मिले तो करेंगी।

एक पुरुष ने share किया कि मैं पूरा एक साल बीमार था तो मेरी पत्नी ने ही मुझे संभाला घर के साथ साथ बाहर का काम बखुबी किया

महिलाएं सब कुछ कर सकती हैं पर हमारी परम्परा नहीं।

9. Perception of adolescents and youth

The purpose of engaging with adolescent and/ or young boys and girls in this assessment was to examine the current experiences and aspirations of young people in the communities and their experience of supportive and obstructive factors to overcome gender compulsions. This would give a contextual and current strategic insight into some of the possibilities to have the gender responsiveness in the community. Moreover young people can be key supporters in reaching the community with alternate gender models and ideas.

The current ECCD intervention does not have a formal linkage with youth however in all the 3 sites adolescents and youth centric interventions were taking place with the community and the centre was the venue for the same and hence it became extremely easy to bring young people in for the discussions.

The exercises with the young people focused on examining their gender experience, perceptions and their ideas. The discussion with adolescent boys and girls was started with a line drawing chart. These picture and shapes are gender neutral and boys and girls had to identify through their actions if they were male or female. Responses across states emerged as similar. All groups identified domestic work (cooking, cleaning utensils etc.) for girls and the work like driving, working on computer and giving presentations on mike were identified with boys.

They youth were then asked to share their daily routines which emerged like this:

Daily routine work	
Girls	Boys
Bringing water from outside, making tea, cleaning utensils, sweeping , bringing wood for fuel, cooking , support in kitchen work, watching TV	Going to school, Watching TV, playing games, sometimes bringing required things form market, cutting fuel wood, and sleeping
'Children whose parents are either irresponsible or very poor have to leave studies and work, otherwise children are encouraged to study. '	

Here it is pretty clear that girls see themselves as a service providers, domestic keepers. Boys see themselves as decision makers, responsible for outside work, study& employment oriented.

In Rajasthan, adolescent girls group was less talkative. In Odisha some girls who live in residential school had come back home for the vacation. In Delhi continuous work is being done among youth so girls and boys keep connectivity with the centre.

Besides examining their daily routine to further understand their context they were asked what was most pleasant and likeable in their current lives. The responses were as:

	Presently, what are the girls liking?	Presently, what are the boys liking?
Rajasthan and Odisha	Eating mango, playing carom board , visiting friends places, support in household work along with study, working according to family member's wish, living at home	The exam has been finished , now its free time and visiting within the villages, feeling good Watching film, listening songs on mobile, calling friends
Delhi	Going to vocational training center, attending dance class	

In this interaction the enthusiasm and frustration of adolescent girls was apparent, whereas the boys were quite excited. Most of the boys were feeling that they are living their life according to their own way. Whatever they want to do, they can do it in front of other members and if not possible they do it discreetly.

I wish to study in good college but my family situation doesn't allow me for this.

We can't speak, if we will speak out then others will make fun of me.

We want to play, study together with boys but couldn't do due to family/social pressure

The Delhi group had an interesting mix of experiences girls who were able to attain their family's trust and attending a vocational programme, and boys attending a dance course at the same time one girl and one boy who had to drop out of these opportunities to respond to family exigencies.

Out of all, two group discussions were conducted with both girls and boys together but rest of FGDs were conducted with boys and girls separately. When it was asked in both groups that what are things they can do according to their wish, and which are the things they wanted to do but couldn't do. The below responses were came up:-

	Adolescent girls	Adolescent boys
Rajasthan	Going outside of the village, to go in fair, talking on phone, wearing dress by own choice, continuing study	We can do everything
Odisha	Talking on phone, talking with boys, going outside, going to bheemkund fair, we have to work against our will, studying in college, can't speak anything, learning and playing with boys	The employment option should be available within village and should be provided to adolescent male.
Delhi	Wearing cloths by own choice, going to college by own choice, going outside from home, going to such place where we can move around alone without any vigilance, going outside in night	Our family member tell us to come back home by 12 o clock but we don't

The responses from girls groups in Odisha and Rajasthan were pretty similar but responses from Delhi tells that the girls experience is been quite different. Here girls shared about their aspiration

as going outside alone, wearing cloths according to their choices and pursuing study in good colleges while in Bikaner it was quite difficult thought for girls. Here it would be important to highlight that in this area teachers are female and girls also attended the residential camps organized by URMUL but they couldn't connect their aspirations with getting opportunity of study in schools and colleges.

Talking with boys, chit chat on mobile with them has the significant importance for girls. Most community members in their discussions had said that girls get spoilt by the mobile phone, form relationships and elope from home. Girls see the technology as the liberation from the restriction of stepping out. But technology also finds its own forms of gendered control. In odhisa, the boys group shared that a boy who like a girl, gives her mobile so that he can be in communication with he and keep track of her.

Which type of work, girls and boys do according to their choice, the consolidation of the responses came up on this question is as:

The work decided by own choices		
	Girls	Boys
Rajasthan	We can do only domestic work by own choice We can pursue education by our own wish	We can do everything which we want.
Odisha	We have to take permission from father and brother We would be able to do things by our own choice when we would become elder Stitching and making muffler	Generally we go outside by taking the permission of our parents. But we go for playing cricket secretly. Most of the work we do without informing them
Delhi	Continuing education with own choice, choosing the subject for study	We don't ask for going outside. Can dance We have the liberty to take subject.

It was a touching experience to arrive at the stark vulnerabilities that girls experience and their aspirations for greater control over their own lives. Girls shared that such questions have never been asked of them and none are bothered about their choice or desires. It is notable that the discussions in Delhi were a little different as the girls did express gendered vulnerabilities but also felt that they were being able to negotiate their way through challenges and obstructions with the perspective and life skills they were acquiring through the intervention of



various NGOs. Being able to pursue college education, following some hobbies of choice were giving them a confidence and joy.

In spite of their own aspirations, both girls and boys find themselves caught in the gender socket. eg: in the boys group only one boy said that ' he would be open to marrying a girl who does not know how to cook, while most others refused. 'Girls felt that they do want their husbands to earn more than them.

When asked about what could be some of the strategies to challenge and change the overpowering gender norms- young people felt that this should be inculcated when very small, pointing to the ECCD centre they said- what toys we place in the girls hand and what in the boys hand lead to this.

But it will not stop just through working with children, a lot of work needs to be done with parents and community members. Girls need to keep getting special opportunities and support through their growing years for them to gain confidence to challenge things, take decisions. Boys also need to feel responsible.



10. Organisations perspective preparedness and inputs provided

CYSD, MC and Urmul Setu have been working for a long time in development sector. Urmul (1983) has a focus on integrated development which is working on the issues of drought situation, crisis management, livelihood, women empowerment, early childcare.

CYSD (1982) has been working towards increasing the quality of life of vulnerable women, men, and children and assuring the accountable, transparent, democratic, and gender sensitive governance.

MC (1969)'s vision is "Just and caring world for young children of marginalized and mobile population to enable them to develop in to competent and confident individuals.

Hence, all these three organizations give the priority to child focused, gender sensitive and right based processes. We had a discussion with Mr. Rameshwar from Urmul setu, Mr. Subhash and Ms. Sasmita from CYSD and with Ms. Harshita and training team from MC.

Primarily all of three representatives have been providing support in terms of qualitative input, program implementation and building further framework and future strategy in ECCD program. While discussion, none of them hadn't bring the Gender perspective in the development of young child at their own level.

NO example was emerged that how the gender is impacting on girls' upbringing and their access through the discussion with them.

The thing "Gender has no more importance in the context of young child, nothing is to do with gender while working with them" was came in the discussion with all of them. Urmul representative showed his concern about female foeticide, CYSD acknowledge the issue of mother tongue as a serious issue whereas representative from MC had given priority to SOP for running the crèches.

The situation of rural areas was quite different from the construction site in the purview of social dimension. According to MC, because of existence of different communities in basti, they have less social pressure or don't affect easily by others.

These all organisations have been working of profounding of developing skills and making understand the child. Under this initiative the parents are also included. Under PDP the parents are involved in the process of developing learning material and understanding education's philosophy. The special efforts can be seen in Koranjia Block in this regards. The monthly meetings, being organized with the parents is the one of important step in this. The discussion around gender issues is negligible in these meetings. While discussion with Urmul representative it was emerged that it would be slow process to talk about the gender issues in rural community. Currently the issues related to female foeticide, girl child birth are being discussed but the sensitive issues like friendship, aspirations, girl's marriage , boys-girls interaction are not being discussed.

Ms. Samita says on gender issues "Here, is to do with gender. We don't discriminate in young and elder children. No gender is here in our PDP group because in this group all are women. In

this area the tribal community is female dominated. We don't have the gender issue in our curriculum also".

Mr. Subhash says "We need to build the capacity on gender issues as well as gender concepts. I also don't have the clarity that exactly what is gender. I think that the gender is biological difference between man and woman. In our area gender discrimination is quite less. The situation of young children is completely fine. Number of girls is high".

Staff of MC shared about the discussion around gender issues taken place in their trainings. Ms. Hansika told that they keep in mind the gender issues while we found the lack of gender perspective in their poem, songs, play and stories being used with children. As MC organization has been doing the work of of advocacy on gender related issues, in such situation their understanding is quite critical. The understanding around justice about in their system and ways of discussion with children but there is need to open up the discussion around gender issues.

The stand of all three organization for making special efforts for creating employment opportunity was not so much clear. Unrmul gives the exemption in study to women so that they can mainstreamed in work whereas in CSYD is it compulsory for women to be at least postgraduate. In CYSD there are 20% women in management related roles (7 out of 35). All of three organisations have been working since a long time with Plan India. Child protection is an important issue for all of them. Bothe the organisations (CYSD and Urmul) gives first priority to child protection issues and keep the ECCD in secondary level. All organizations have the exclusively devoted worker for ECCD project implementation.

Urmul shared to work about engaging men on ECCD issue. They created some men's group (but we couldn't met with these group members).

They are working with the men of 10 villages on experiment basis. There are no special efforts are being made to work with men in MC but they have the openness to talk with them.

The discussion with all there organisation's representatives clearly shows that all are having gender related information (less or much) but they have not been using in changing the gender situations. The information level of the gender situation is also varying. URMUL is able to see the sex ratio issues but don't move this ahead with gender perspective. CYSD is able to see the gender situation in the context of elder children but don't see it within younger children.

Despite of having understanding of Gender issues, MC is not creating the reference material with gender perspective/ gender lens. Sometimes it is being realized that they have the less impression/ or knowledge about that how gender situations impact our perception or there is need to seek appropriate opportunity to bring this in our practical aspect.

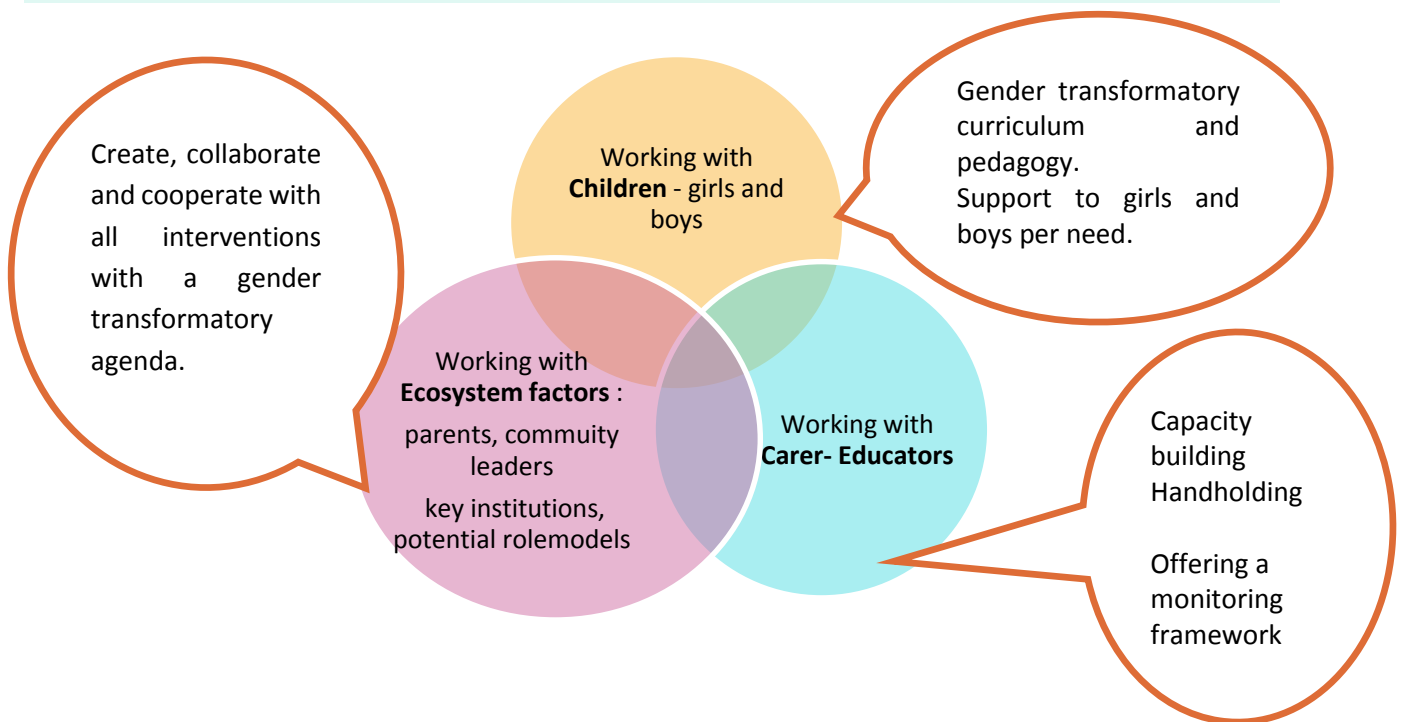
Recommendations

The big picture of the findings

- **Gender realities across sites and stakeholders were overwhelmingly similar:** In spite of the diversity of regions, communities and local cultures, it has stood out strongly that gendered perceptions and expectations are dauntingly similar. While there are glimpses of subtle changes in specific families and specific individuals, overarching perceptions across teachers, parents, community members, young people and even project leaders depicted a resonance with or a burdened acknowledgement of dominant gender norms. This brings out the enveloping force of patriarchy and the thereof the most pressing need to address the situation in interest of an equitable life for girls and boys. Girls are going to learn computer, learn English, and in personality development classes. In Seemapuri, fathers or men are ready to listen about girls in AWC. AWW are speaking about the concerning issues in front of men or father while they have veil in front of them.
- **Gendered understanding and expectations operate at a systemic level and effect the early care and development of children in a multipronged way:** Children are living and growing up in this gendered reality. In the context of the ECCD intervention, the intervention designers, and executors live in the same gendered reality and get impacted consciously and subconsciously by it. It gets reflected in the curriculum, pedagogy, routine practices and informal engagements through and at the ECCD centre. A further layer to this ecosystem are the people in the child's life outside the ECCD centre. Parents, siblings, extended family, community and their perceptions and norms as they play out in the everyday reality of the child. This ecosystem is significant as it is a web of interrelationships and cannot operate in exclusivity. This is the basis that points to the need for gender transformative strategy as each component needs a progressively transformative intervention to impact change.
- **The current ECCD programme is not gender transformative in its approach and focus:** The current ECCD intervention is designed with a focus on care and learning and packs in child-centric and child protective. While strengthening gender equality is an aspiration but it isn't a strategic focus. It is hoped that the centres are not gender discriminatory and do not encourage gender violations however both intent or content of the programme can be sharpened to integrate gender responsiveness. This calls for gender auditing of strategies, curriculum and pedagogy along with capacity review of key actors, towards strengthening.
- **There are multiple opportunity areas for building in strategies for gender responsiveness:** The ECCD centres reach and connect with children on scale, in their most formative stage. They are well placed to dialogue with parents and community members, being located within communities. The current ECCD interventions enjoy the support and

trust of the communities and are well placed to initiate a structural change initiative. The opportunity areas include curriculum, capacity building, synergies with supplementary programmes like PDP . The ECCD programme being a larger portfolio with multiple partners also offers an opportunity in itself as there is scope for crosslearning and exchanges among implementing partners.

An agenda for integrating gender responsiveness into early childhood care



What can the programme do

- Perspective building to create a buy in of interveners and capacity building for implementation
- Gender responsive intent and content to the ECCD centre based work
- Strategise to impact ecosystem factors
- Measure and monitor implementation and impact rigorously
- Learn and highlight successes and failures and work towards synergies

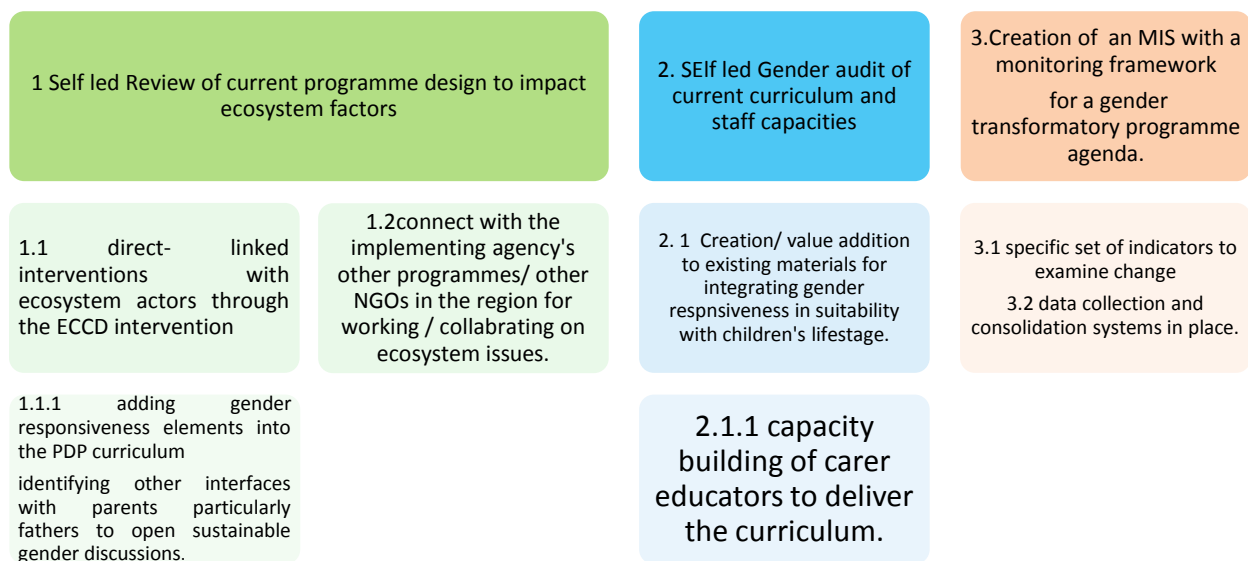
A road map and specific suggestions

Towards integrating gender responsiveness into the ECCD programme, the ECCD portfolio housed in PPlan India can plan some focused initiatives at the portfolio management level. These include :

- Creating a simple do- able framework for gender responsiveness in ECCD
- Dedicated investment in ECCD partnerships towards ensuring gender responsiveness
- As the partners have a buy in to the agenda, the potfolio can support further by :
- Organising common capacity building processes for integrating gender responsiveness in ECCD
- Support partners in developing and monitoring ECCD inclusive of gender responsiveness indicators.

This can be done through a process like this:

1. A common perspective building exercise on gender for all ECCD partner Implementing agencies



This would set off the need for multidimensional and multilevel capacity building to fulfill above mentioned aspiration:

Implementing agency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A strategic understanding of Gender in ECCD , • An opportunity to create / review the gender policy of the organisation.
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identify lateral linkages between diverse programmes being implemented in the same setting to create gender responsiveness as a cross cutting agenda. This would maximise resources.
Program implementing team	<p>Integrating gender responsiveness into the project design -planning, implementation and monitoring & review.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender audit and value addition to the curriculum and materials and activities used in the ECCD intervention. Capacity building and mentoring plan for key actors. Development of a Gender inclusive MIS for the ECCD intervention. Converged strategies to impact community gender perceptions advocacy.
Teachers/AWW/Balwadi- creche carers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> perspective building on gender. facilitated participation in gender audit of current curriculum, pedagogy and practices. enhancing perspective and preparedness to offer personal support to individual children/ families for better care and development of children with a gender focus.
Community members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> perspective building of key influencers in the community on gender collaborating/ creating empowering experiences for women and girls to enhance their voice and call for equality. strengthening participation of men and or fathers in gender responsive ECCD. identification and collation of effective local efforts and strategies bringing out gender transformatory impact.

This capacity building needs to be designed and executed keeping in mind the local context, environment and potential for local level acceptance. BY doing this sometimes the overall curriculum at all locations would be similar keeping room for customisation of activities.

What will the process change?

The whole effort should be geared to enhancing the current ECCD intervention with relevant and pertinent additions and consciously chosen supplementary activities that help to develop each child's individuality, assure her/ him an equitable opportunity, encouragement, respect and love to grow to their full potential.

1. Working with children :

Enriching the current ECCD pedagogy and curriculum such that a child has an opportunity to see, listen to and imagine women and men in their individuality rather than in closeted gender roles.

- This would be possible through a conscious and careful revision of all stereotyped representations be it through stories, action songs, activities and games.
- The space needs to create an environment where a child is able to access her/ his imagination beyond the socialised limits of gender roles and finds validation and

encouragement for the same eg: in pictures that children draw, stories that they tell or aspirations that they nurture.

- The ECCD engagement needs to enhance a child's critical thinking abilities and her/his opportunity to build relationships with diverse people. This would be best done through activities which have problem solving challenges done both individually and as a group eg: simulation of crossing a river, making a big building block structure together. It would also have open discussions among children about real life situations and potential solutions eg: Mother is ill and house needs to be managed. Such discussions generate spontaneous questions around practiced norms and bring out both children's experiences and formative beliefs- children can listen to each other's experience and also freely challenge each other.
- This platform needs to offer to children a safe space to share their dilemmas and or traumatic experiences which become sometimes the bases for concretising gender norms for life eg. children's dilemma about why an elder sister is not allowed to go to school or children's experience of witnessing domestic violence particularly faced by their mothers.
- A facilitative presence to support children to go beyond the prescribed gender roles, if they so desire in group play, creative activities etc. Converting highly stereotyped games like the kitchen set toy to generate imagination around alternate gender roles.
- Creating opportunity for outdoor experiences of children together to see their social relations in operation and strengthen them through activities like sports, small walks. Theatre or drama can also be a powerful medium herein.
- being available to and regarding each child individually- this can be done when teachers/ carers have interest and inclination to connect with each child specifically in terms of understanding her nature and her life experiences. While all children need this, girl children could benefit hugely from this intimate stimulation for the long term.
- It is important that this work with children be undertaken consciously and judiciously but not separately, it needs integration into the very many routine activities of the ECCD intervention to make a composite and authentic experience for the children. It also needs to be a continuous and sustained effort such that integrating gender responsiveness is not an add on but a layering of the intervention.

2. Working with carer- educators:

As shared above it is most significant to understand and acknowledge that carer educators not only come from the larger patriarchal society, they in fact conduct most of their life there. A gender transformatory intervention cannot create an insulated gender sensitive space in exclusivity, rather it has to and will generate a turbulence in the perspectives, life's and situations of all people and institutions who become part of it. Perspective building on gender with teacher educators is most necessary for them to review their own and collective life experiences, uncover and understand the gender story, ask relevant questions and see the patriarchal design of sustaining gender norms to create differential power relations among women and men. Care educators shall be able to intervene and offer children an alternate gender experience only if they pass through and embrace this turbulence.

- Thus a one off gender sensitisation training exercise would not suffice to bring about a gender transformatory impact. Work with teacher educators needs to be planned based on their specific needs, built in as a process of unlearning and learning along with a self led audit of the way gender plays out in the ECCD current work. Where participatory gender audit is not possible a good perspective building exercise on gender needs to be followed with periodic meetings to elicit and support reflections and insights about gender responsiveness in personal life and the ECCD intervention.
- As most of the carer educators are women, the perspective building on gender is likely to generate an internal churning which needs to be supported and valued. There might be cases where individuals seek support or redress and the institution needs to ready itself for this. Gender transformatory processes would not be successful unless they are empowering for each individual within.
- In the technical realm of being carer educators the process of socialisation and the development of social beliefs and understandings in the early childhood phase need to be brought out more clearly- eg: how do children learn? how does the human mind construct when it witnesses persistent references to a certain reality as the 'truth'. This shall enable teacher educators to be able to innovate on their feet to convert any emergent situation into a gender transformatory one.
- Carer educators need a set of creative materials to carry the process of alternate gender modelling. They would need opportunity to brainstorm on ideas to work with children and parents and expert inputs periodically. New stories, new poems, new activities would need practice time. Carer educators also need capacity building for carrying out open conversations and supporting children in distress. These are roles that do not get played in the current intervention.
- The monitoring system needs to create space for sharing, reporting of qualitative experiences of carer educators in this domain.

3. Working with the ecosystem factors

It is absolutely clear that the gender realities of children exist as part of a larger ecosystem that nourishes and sustains the Dominant gender norms. Within its limitations of being a focused intervention on early childhood care the ECCD projects have to find opportunity areas to work with and impact ecosystem factor to enhance gender responsiveness in the early care and development of the children.

Primary work herein will be with parents and community Leaders. Local youth can be an additional asset where possible to connect meaningfully with them.

- the parenting development programme is a key opportunity in this direction. Although nascent and still developing, the programme definitely needs integration of outlook and inputs on gender. the PDP makes an effort to connect with fathers as carers and therefore by design breaks the gender box of roles, however it needs strengthening in terms of curriculum to convert this opportunity to strike meaningful dialogue with parents and fathers about what is gender how it operates and support them in examining gender norms and behaviours in their own context. This would be a turbulent process again and calls for preparedness and intention at the end of the programme.
- including methods like six monthly or quarterly home visit based counselling can be creative methods to strengthen the ECCD family interface and be supportive for the child. It falls completely in line with Plan's focus on child protection. It can also be a key connecting point for supporting safe and suitable transitions of children from the ECCD system to the next eg- school.
- undertaking periodic community activities like a children's fair or performances etc can be the primary connect with community for generating discussions on and generating pride in breaking the gender norms in interest of the development of children. Such events can showcase success stories of children and individuals overcoming gender and other marginalising factors. Role models living and demonstrating alternate gender roles can be made part of this.
- the CBO forum or the community leaders forum in some of the ECCD interventions can be facilitated powerfully to undergo a perspective building on gender.
- the ECCD projects need to consistently and proactively partner with other interventions working on gender transformation in the same or adjacent communities. the outcomes of such partnerships are incremental and can generate powerful transformative impact.

4. Working with the Implementing partners:

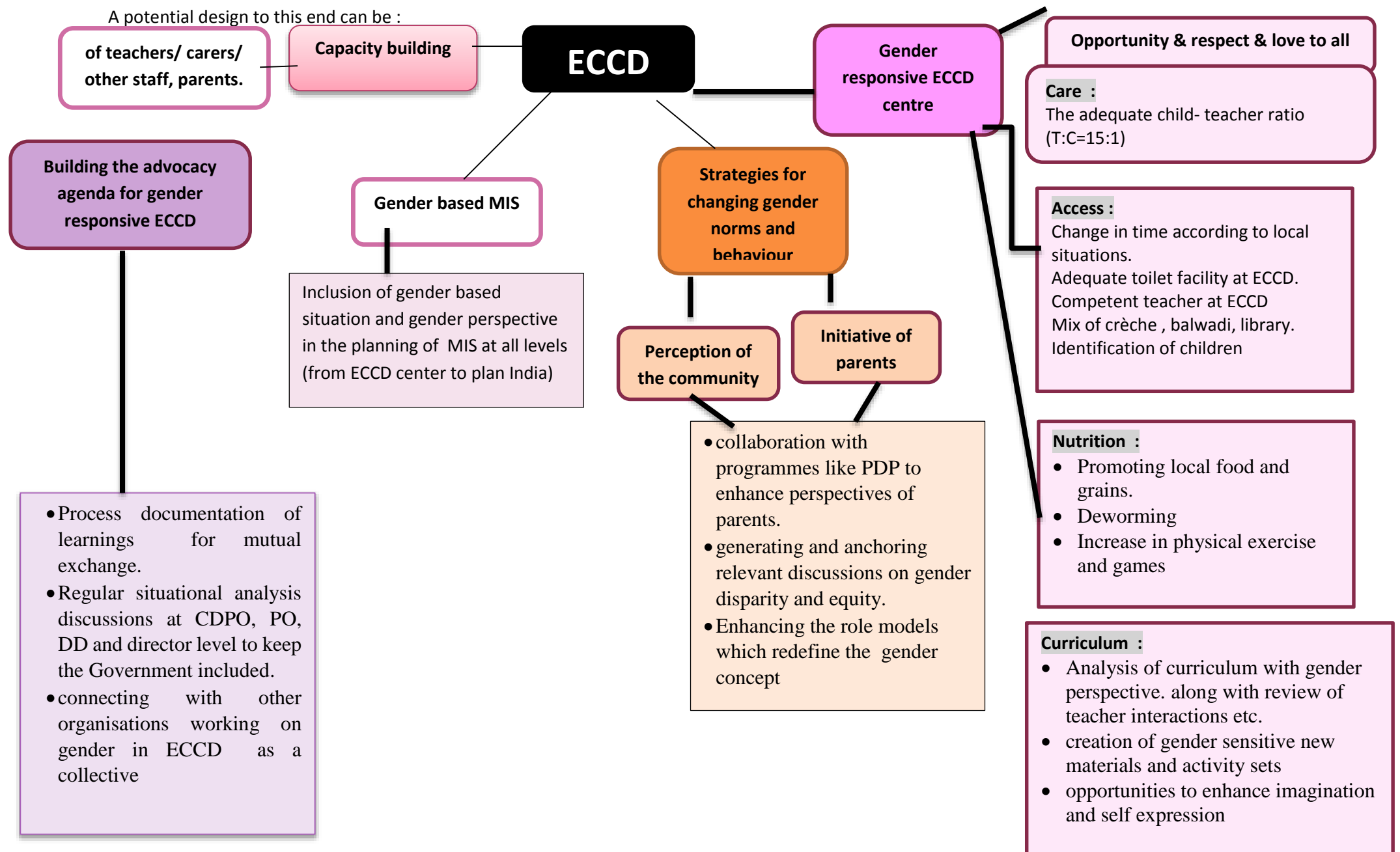
The gender transformatory agenda needs to be authentically understood and embraced in fullness. Vis a vis the ECCD programme the implementing organisation needs to be supported to value the investment in perspective and capacity building. Implementing partners need to be supported through exercises to develop relevant and pertinent indicators that depict outcomes of a gender transformatory strategy.

Good practices, earlier experiments and current strategic efforts in other programmes need to be considered to enhance the potential of integrating what the organisation is already doing into making a meaningful strategic plan.

MIS and monitoring systems and supervisory and mentoring support needs to be suitably redesigned.

Recognition and rewarding of qualitative work, innovations to support integrated gender responsiveness in ECCD can be very effective.





Annexure 1

	Centre	Centre observ ation	Intera ction with teach ers	FGD with parents	FGD with communit y leaders	FGD with Adolescen t girls	FGD with adolescent boys	Discussion with Organisatio nal representati ves	Other
State: Rajasthan									
District: Bikaner									
Partner Organisation:									
Dates : 23-26 April 2014									
Research Team: Bharat, Shabnam, Meenakshi Sharma, Chotu ram									
1	Rajpuria Hudan	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	Workshop with teachers
2	Nakodesar	✓	✓						
3	Nathusar	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
4	Dulmera	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
5	Garabdesar	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
State: Odisha									
Block: Thakurmunda and saharapada Blcok									
Partner Organisation: CYSD									
Dates : 19 -23 May 2014									
Research Team: Bharat, Shabnam, Rupesh									
1	Phool pahadi- AWC , Sharapada block	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	Discussion with watch group
2	Badpasi village- thakurmunda block	✓	✓	✓		✓			Discussion with men group
3	Gholkund village- Mini AWC, Saharpada block	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		Small interview with female sarpanch
4	Village – Dumurdihha AWC, Thakurmunda block	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		Workshop with Teachers
									Discussion with PDP group
Location: Delhi NCR - Rohini(Prahaladpur), Greater Noida, Seema Puri, Trilokpuri									
Partner Organisation: Mobile Creches									

Dates : 12 -18th June									
Research Team: Bharat, Rashee Mehra, Rama Vedula									
Construction Sites:									
1	Rohini Creche	✓	✓						
2	Greater Noida- Creche	✓	✓						
Urban Centres:									
1	Seemapuri	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ ✓		✓	
2									