

Public Early Childhood Education for the Urban Poor in India

A reflective study concerning the quality of public early childhood education in Juhapura, Ahmedabad

Follow your heart, use your head

Thesis by Elle de Jong



Universiteit Utrecht



Student name	Elle de Jong
Student number	3675823
Institution	Department of Human Geography, Utrecht University
Specialization	International Development Studies
University supervisor	Dr. P.H.C.M. van Lindert, Utrecht University
Field supervisor	Mrs. Chinmayi Desai, SAATH
Date and place	August 2012, Utrecht

I hereby declare that this thesis is wholly the work of Elle de Jong. Any other contributors or sources have either been referenced in the prescribed manner or are listed in the acknowledgements together with the nature and the scope of their contribution.

© 2012 E. de Jong

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the author.

“In this life we cannot do great things, We can only do small things with great love.”

Mother Teresa

Acknowledgement

Every country teaches us a different school of thought and every person shows you a different secret or value in life you did not discover before. The people I have encountered during the field research have unknowingly assisted in shaping me into a blissfully happy person who is rich in simple treasures. Prior to my departure for India I believed the heart of life to be good; my experience with Juhapura has confirmed this belief. The endless kindness of the local community overwhelmed me with welcoming, wholehearted and assuring feelings. This humanity gave me the motivation and courage to fully explore the research goal I had set for my thesis. Moreover, made the research period an extremely meaningful, challenging, and gratifying experience that would not have been possible without the support and contributions of many precious individuals to whom I would like to express my gratitude.

Thanks to the NGO SAATH which has given me an once in a lifetime opportunity, and my supervisor Chinmayi Desai who has greatly assisted and guided me throughout the research. I would also like to thank Keren Nazareth for making me feel at home and always having her door open for questions. Great appreciation for Chetasi Kane who put great effort forward for making me acquainted at SAATH and in Ahmedabad, and getting us settled in the beginning. You have become a great friend for me to cherish in heart and mind.

A great special thanks for my friend and beautiful hearted person Sanjida Sheikh, for introducing me to Juhapura and making me feel at home. Moreover, for taking the time to help me understand certain issues related to my thesis and her mothering kindness giving me the confidence to flourish.

Additionally the following people inspired me and provided me with knowledge on the subject for which I am grateful. Therefore, special appreciation towards the educators and parents who participated in my research and the locals who provided me with information for a greater understanding of the community. As well as my translators and friends Darshini Gokli and Shraddha Manoj Modi, without whom I would not have been able to complete the research in such an enjoyable manner.

I greatly appreciated the involvement and interest of my thesis supervisor Dr. P. van Lindert, and I like to thank him for his share of advice, visions and inspiration during the research as well as the thesis writing period.

Lastly, I want to show thanks for the unconditional support and confidence my parents had in me during the writing of my thesis and all previous matters for that. Of course the advice and laughs of my friends who have helped me keep going to finalize the thesis and relax from time to time. And lastly though not to be forgotten is the trust and love of Jan Goverde who reassured me to be confident and work hard; I have boundless appreciation for your patience and support.

It will all be fine.

It all is fine.

And it is all going to stay fine.

Elle de Jong
July, 2012, Utrecht

International Development Studies
Utrecht University

Preface

The thesis is concerning the theme *public early childhood education in Juhapura* and is written by Elle de Jong. The thesis is conducted in order of Utrecht University, in application of the Department of Human Geography. The complete research and writing phase was during the period of January 2012 till August 2012, and undertaken in both India and the Netherlands.

During the field research the first encounters with Indian society overwhelmed me with pondering thoughts and the primary impressions concerning the provision of early childhood education both public and private were fashioned. During the initial phase of observation and general information gathering I learned a great deal regarding the pre-schools and the local communities of Juhapura. It was later while undertaking the interviews when an enhanced understanding came about, and with that understanding less judgmental conclusions could be formulated. The subject of early childhood education was relatively new to me, and especially the events with the young children made the research an enchanting experience. The children gave me great motivation for continuing the sometimes seemingly endless research. It was for them that I loved to write on this topic, and it is for them that the conclusions in this thesis are formulated. The affinity that I hold for the development of children has been a part of me for a long time already, and has merely grown with every encounter of a child in a deprived or unjust situation. Knowing not everything can be changed instantly, I find it better to try and make even a minor contribution than to stand by and only observe.

The subject of early childhood education can on first sight be regarded as a fairly plain issue, though when uncovering the difficulties in the local context and the large bureaucratic system ruling the scheme other concerns arose. The highly complex environment in which a child in its simplicity is put central is difficult to understand. It is therefore that an extensive range of issues needed to be considered in order to truthfully and completely reflect on the quality of public early childhood education. There were however some difficulties which I encountered regarding the inaccessible and imprecise information regarding the governmental bodies and organization of the pre-school program. Moreover, the language barrier was experienced as a daily constraint on actively continuing with the field research due to dependence on translators. Overall, minimal predicaments which could not be overcome were encountered during the complete fieldwork process.

The thesis is based on the initial presented theoretical framework, followed by a discussion of the methodology used in the thesis. Subsequently the context of the research area is elaborately presented. The following chapters provide the empirical data on the quality of public early childhood education in Juhapura, and discuss the highlighted elements in need of improvement. Additional issues related to the stakeholders and societal predicaments are deliberated, followed by a discussion chapter in which theory and practice are connected. The thesis is finalized with a conclusion and recommendations chapter in which the primary research question is discussed.

I hope that the thesis provides a small contribution to a better insight on the matter, for an improvement of the lives of the children in Juhapura and raises a greater awareness of the issue of early childhood education. I gained experience, explored my own capabilities and developed my outlook with more founded reasons. Moreover, I wrote the thesis with great love.

Executive summary

The research conducted is regarding the quality of public Early Childhood Education (ECE) in Juhapura in Ahmedabad, India. The multifaceted context of Juhapura is difficult to capture in few words. The context can however be considered of great influence on the processes of the ECE services. The bureaucratic system; the image and treatment as an economic deprived and backward area; the limited provision of health, infrastructure and educational services; and the restraining interest as well as investment of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation are few of the dismal characteristics of Juhapura. Nevertheless, the community of Juhapura is driven and encompasses a positive outlook towards the future; presenting a blossoming area holding copious promises in the imminent time.

The ECE services are at the foundation of a child's educational career and by participating in the beginning of the education system pronounced results can be accomplished by various groups of society in later life. Investing in the early stages of a child's life is particularly important due to vital developments that occur during this time. The influences are regarding a more successful educational career, a healthy workforce, the capacity to thrive economically and as a society, and it limits social risk factors. The positive effects relating to ECE are inordinate for the future of India's society. It is therefore that the focus within this thesis is on the quality of public ECE in Juhapura and especially on how this quality can advance. The following primary research question is put central throughout the complete research process:

What are the opportunities for improving the quality of public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad and how can constructive interventions regarding quality improvement be implemented?

Subsequently to an extensive literature study more questions than answers arose. The additional sub-research questions provide an elaborate picture of the current environment the public early childhood educational programs operate in and encompass the following questions:

- 1) *What is the quality level of public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad?*
- 2) *What are the strengths and weaknesses for public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad?*
- 3) *In what manner are public early childhood educational providers in Juhapura in Ahmedabad and SAATH currently cooperating and is there possibility for enhanced cooperation?*
- 4) *What are the government policies regarding public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad?*
- 5) *To what extent are the opportunities for public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad in line with the population demanding these programs?*
- 6) *What are the opportunities for SAATH to implement for an enhanced quality of public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad?*

Over the years abundant international attention regarding educational progress has presented itself and mostly the focus has been on primary education. However, ECE for the youngest in society has become more visible in the international context as well. May it be as a tool to obtain the UDHR or to reach the MDGs, the importance of ECE has widely been stressed. Though, it can be regarded as not having the greatest impact at present day, in the long run the impact of education and ECE is considered to be significant. Results of this international attention are the ACEI theory and the EFA framework, that can be observed as of pronounced use in every assessment of ECE and for encouraging added progress to the service. With the help of these theoretical instruments an all-encompassing approach is used and a larger context of ECE can structurally be understood. The ACEI theory encompasses the following elements 'accountability, supervision and management; curriculum content and pedagogy; early childhood educators and caregivers; educational resources; environment and physical space; health services, infrastructure and a system; partnership with families and communities; and children with special needs'. Regarding these eight components the public ECE services in Juhapura are evaluated based on the provider's and user's insights.

From the reflection regarding the quality of public ECE in Juhapura various remarkable interpretations came about. The infinite bureaucratic system of the public ICDS program is regarded to be a restraint on the potential of the pre-school element; as the extensive policies inflicted by the program restrict innovative processes of enhancement and adaptation to local circumstances. Moreover, the communications as well as the cooperation between the various levels within the program are inadequate and imbalanced due to detachment of stakeholders. Next to this difficulty the various means of monitoring and evaluation are deficient, and mostly an objective quality measurement mechanism is missing for assuring equal pre-school services enjoyed by all children.

The parents and other household members can add value by educating and caring for the children; it is however so that these viable stakeholders are scarcely used in the ICDS scheme as partners in educating the youngest in society. By including the families in the ECE process the continuation of schooling at home and the provision of a healthy environment is stimulated. It is furthermore important that the educators of the anganwadi's need to be valued accordingly to their work efforts, and not be rewarded with a high salary without considering teaching activity and efficiency. The quality of teaching additionally depends on the provided funds and resources in the anganwadi's; also including the nutritional services available to the pre-schools. These resources are presently critically lacking in quantity and quality. The foremost predicament regarding the physical space of the pre-schools of the ICDS scheme is the deficient of a private place; including the available space, the inability to create a school like atmosphere and in some cases the condition of the building.

The specific opportunities ascribed for improving the quality of public ECE services in Juhapura are not to be taken lightly or considered easy to implement; every necessary intervention holds its difficulties and desires great investments of both time and effort. Together the possibilities however make up for a multilayered approach.

The lesson learned from the history of ECE is once again demonstrated in the evaluation of public ECE in Juhapura; this as the infrastructure and a system of the overarching scheme are of vital importance for final results at the local level. The current ICDS scheme desires great modifications in communication and collaboration in its infrastructure and system; and moreover the scheme is the foremost actor that is needed for this to occur. Though when no initial steps are taken by this actor, advocacy impulses can be put forward by NGOs, the local community or private initiatives. These actors need to organize themselves into pressure groups and should seek support in powerful stakeholders for making a grander impact on the ICDS scheme. Therefore it is considered sustainable to implement interventions relating to collaboration modifications and new partnerships for the ICDS scheme. The options of a partner organization, founding of a community council and a parent committee are seen as viable initiatives for enhanced public ECE in Juhapura. The partner organization can close the gap between the local NGO supervisor and CDPO of the ICDS scheme, implement large-scale advocacy and various other possible actions.

The various indicated interventions are necessary to sustain the indispensable changes regarding the local resources in the anganwadi's. It is expected that direct investments of merely finances on these missing resources are ineffective and unconstructive for enhancing the quality of the public ECE services in Juhapura in the long term. Although the specifics of public ECE in Juhapura might not encourage one to believe in the workings of anganwadi's, one can remain confident in the potential of the area when recognizing what it already has accomplished. The upcoming trends of a dual education system, fluctuating prosperity and stakeholders, and socio-cultural changes are the facets which will determine the future of the ECE services. How the future will come about can however only be answered by experiencing it; until then interventions can steer the happenings concerning the ECE programs in the desired direction.

Table of contents

	<i>Page number</i>
Acknowledgment	iv
Preface	v
Executive summary	vi
Table of contents	iv
List of boxes	xiii
List of figures and maps	xiv
List of tables	xv
List of abbreviations	xvi
1. Introduction	
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Motivation for the research	1
1.3 Problem analysis	2
1.4 Problem definition	4
1.5 Research objective	4
1.6 The non-governmental organization SAATH	4
1.7 Structure of the thesis	5
1.8 Conclusion	5
2. Theoretical framework	
2.1 Introduction	6
2.2 Theories and themes related to education	6
2.2.1 Overarching approaches	6
<i>The basic needs, the millennium development goals and the rights based approach</i>	
2.2.2 The sustainable livelihood approach	8
<i>Robert Chambers and the British department for international development</i>	
2.2.3 The ecological model of human development	9
<i>Urie Bronfenbrenner</i>	
2.2.4 The human capital policy	10
<i>James J. Heckman and Peter J. Klenow</i>	
2.2.5 The capability approach to education and the human development index	12
<i>Amartya Sen</i>	
2.2.6 The stages of child development	13
<i>World Bank</i>	
2.2.7 The framework for understanding the quality of education	15
<i>Education for all UNESCO</i>	
2.2.8 The quality measurement mechanism of early childhood education	17
<i>Association childhood education international</i>	
2.2.9 Discussion on the relation between theory and research	21
2.3 History and practices	22
2.3.1 The history of early childhood education	22
2.3.2 The practices of early childhood education	23
2.3.3 Complementary approaches to programming of early childhood development	27
2.4 Research questions	29
2.5 Conceptual framework and operationalization	29
2.6 Conclusion	33

3.	Methodology	
3.1	Introduction	34
3.2	Secondary research	34
3.3	Primary research: triangulation	34
3.4	Translator	37
3.5	Definitions and concepts	37
3.5.1	Baksheesh	38
3.5.2	Early childhood development	39
3.5.3	Early childhood education	39
3.5.4	Mindset	40
3.6	Research limitations	41
3.7	Conclusion	43
4.	Context analysis of Juhapura	
4.1	Introduction	44
4.2	The context of India	44
4.2.1	The caste system	47
4.2.2	The Indian education system	48
4.2.3	The Integrated Child Development Services scheme	49
4.3	The context of Gujarat – Ahmedabad	53
4.4	Economical and institutional context of Juhapura	54
4.5	Geographical context of Juhapura	56
4.6	Social and demographical context of Juhapura	57
4.6.1	Demographics and multilingualism	57
4.6.2	Society and the Islam	58
4.6.3	Mindset and modernization	59
4.6.4	Health, malnutrition and special needs	60
4.6.5	The communal riots	61
4.7	Conclusion	62
5.	The quality of early childhood education in Juhapura	
5.1	Introduction	63
5.2	Accountability, supervision, and management	64
5.3	Curriculum content and pedagogy	67
5.4	Early childhood educators and caregivers	70
5.5	Educational resources	72
5.6	Environment and physical space	74
5.7	Health services, infrastructure and a system	75
5.8	Partnership with families and communities	78
5.9	Services for young children with special needs	79
5.10	Possibilities for improvement	80
5.11	Conclusion	83

6.	The user population	
6.1	Introduction	84
6.2	Household profiles and learner characteristics	84
6.3	The quality of early childhood education	87
6.3.1	Accountability, supervision, and management	87
6.3.2	Curriculum content and pedagogy	89
6.3.3	Early childhood educators and caregivers	90
6.3.4	Educational resources	91
6.3.5	Environment and physical space	92
6.3.6	Health services, infrastructure and a system	94
6.3.7	Partnership with families and communities	95
6.3.8	Services for young children with special needs	97
6.3.9	Excluded parents	97
6.3.10	Possibilities for improvement	98
6.4	Conclusion	100
7.	The stakeholders and societal predicaments	
7.1	Introduction	101
7.2	The stakeholders	101
7.2.1	Cooperation and communication	101
7.2.2	Finances and policies	104
7.3	Societal predicaments	105
7.3.1	Basic amenities	105
7.3.2	Backward area treatment	105
7.3.3	Mindset and gender inequality	106
7.3.4	Unemployment and child labor	106
7.4	Educational push and pull factors	107
7.5	Conclusions	109
8.	Discussion	
8.1	Introduction	110
8.2	Quality of early childhood education	110
8.3	SWOT analysis of early childhood education	112
8.3.1	Enhanced collaboration in the ICDS scheme	114
8.4	Contribution to development studies	116
8.5	Conclusion	117
9.	Conclusions and recommendations	
9.1	Introduction	118
9.2	The prospected situation of early childhood education services in Juhapura	118
9.3	Conclusions	119
9.4	Recommendations	122
	Bibliography	125

Appendices

Appendix one: Code of Conduct	130
Appendix two: List of Anganwadi's in Juhapura	131
Appendix three: List of NGOs in Juhapura	132
Appendix four: Newspaper articles kidnappings	133
Appendix five: Newspaper article strike of anganwadi workers	135
Appendix six: Field inventory Juhapura	136
Appendix seven: Quality Check-list ECE	138
Appendix eight: Questionnaires parents ECE	140
Appendix nine: Questionnaires excluded parents ECE	144
Appendix ten: Questionnaires teachers ECE	147
Appendix eleven: Structured interviews set-up	151

List of boxes

In the thesis both boxes and experiences boxes are used; in the boxes theoretical data is presented to provide background information on the subject at hand and in the experience boxes empirical data offers examples from the field research to support the information discussed.

Chapter 4

Box 4.1 Bureaucracy

Box 4.2 The objectives of the ICDS scheme

Box 4.3 The services of the ICDS scheme at the anganwadi level

Box 4.4 The responsibilities of the anganwadi employees

Box 4.5 The five pillars of the Islam

Box 4.6 The trickle-down effect

Experience Box 4.1 A pregnant woman was denied care; mother's story

Chapter 5

Box 5.1 Anganwadi workers on strike in Gujarat

Box 5.2 The NGO supervisor of anganwadi's in Juhapura

Box 5.3 The Montessori Method

Box 5.4 The employment wishes of the educators

Box 5.5 The ICDS food packages

Box 5.6 Health services in the ICDS scheme

Experience Box 5.1 The local supervisor of the balghars

Experience Box 5.2 The E ward anganwadi predicament

Experience Box 5.3 A teacher's personal story

Experience Box 5.4 A teacher's story: educational resources

Experience Box 5.5 A parent's story: a special needs child

Chapter 6

Box 6.1 Accountability strategy

Box 6.2 Community supervision

Box 6.3 Example of low teaching activity

Box 6.4 Community involvement

Experience Box 6.1 A parent's story: an excluded parent

Experience Box 6.2 A parent's story: attendance

Chapter 7

Experience Box 7.1 Teacher of anganwadi: the drainage system

Experience Box 7.2 A mother's story: educational attainment

List of figures and maps

Chapter 2

Figure 2.1 The sustainable livelihood approach

Figure 2.2 Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory

Figure 2.3 The Human Policy Theory of Heckman and Klenow

Figure 2.4 Components of the Human Development Index

Figure 2.5 A framework for understanding the quality of education.

Figure 2.6 Conceptual framework

Chapter 4

Map 4.1 India

Map 4.2 Juhapura located in Ahmedabad

Figure 4.1 The bottom structure of the ICDS scheme

Chapter 5

Figure 5.1 Primary teaching languages in anganwadi's

Figure 5.2 Second teaching language in anganwadi's

Chapter 6

Figure 6.1 Examples of environment and physical space in anganwadi's

Chapter 7

Figure 7.1 Stakeholder mapping of the anganwadi's in Juhapura

Chapter 8

Figure 8.1 The processes of monitoring and evaluation in the ICDS scheme

List of tables

Chapter 2

Table 2.1 The stages of child development

Table 2.2 The best practices of early childhood education

Table 2.3 The worst practices of early childhood education

Table 2.4 Complementary approaches to programming for early childhood development

Chapter 3

Table 3.1 Anganwadi's of the NGO Maktampura Seva Samaj

Table 3.2 Balghars of the NGO SAATH

Chapter 4

Table 4.1 Services by the ICDS scheme

Table 4.2 The organizational structure of the ICDS department

Table 4.3 Other related institutions

Table 4.4 The population of India in the age category zero to six years

Chapter 5

Table 5.1 Implemented day curriculum of the anganwadi's as indicated by the teachers

Table 5.2 The profile of teachers of anganwadi's in Juhapura

Table 5.3 The profile of teachers of balghars in Juhapura

Table 5.4 The major challenges in the anganwadi's

Table 5.5 The necessary improvements in the anganwadi's

Table 5.6 The major challenges in the balghars

Table 5.7 The necessary improvements in the balghars

Chapter 6

Table 6.1 The profiles of the households included in the research

Table 6.2 The possibilities of raising funds for the balghars according to the parents

Table 6.3 The major improvement in the anganwadi's

Chapter 8

Table 8.1 SWOT analysis of private early childhood education

Table 8.2 SWOT analysis of public early childhood education

List of abbreviations

ACEI	Association Childhood Education International
AED	Academy for Educational Development
AMC	Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation
CDPO	Child Development Project Officer
ECD	Early Childhood Development
ECE	Early childhood Education
EFA	Education For All
GoI	Government of India
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HNPP	Health, Nutrition and Population Paper
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Services
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ILO	International Labor Organization
INR	Indian Rupee
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MOWCD	Ministry of Women and Child Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIC	National Information Center
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Approach
SNP	Slum Networking Project
SWOT	Strengths-Weaknesses-Opportunities-Threats
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

Chapter 1 Introduction

"If we knew what it was we were doing, it would not be called research, would it?" Albert Einstein

1.1 Introduction

The economists all over the world have an unconditional faith in the rising power of India. Though some speak of thinkable difficulties which might arise or name it a long-term story, there are no true faults foreseen in the unmistakable growth of the country of extremes. India is experiencing pronounced wealth, disregarding that it goes accompanied by persisting poverty in major parts of the country. According to the recently formulated national hunger line, the population below this works out to 64.47% in rural areas and 66.70% in urban areas (The times of India, 2012). These confronting statistics are often disregarded when speaking of the promising economic development India is enjoying, and more importantly so are the people behind these statistics who are excluded from the consequential benefits of this economic development. The financial assets are merely one facet of many which are not equally shared by the Indian population. The housing facilities, public services and social amenities are other disparities holding India back from reaching its full potential of becoming a thriving nation. Without developing and making complete use of these supporting assets the current economic growth merely has a negligible effect on the well-being of the entire population. It is therefore that within this study the focus is on one of these public services, namely public education in a disadvantaged area. The importance of education cannot be stressed enough; including on the individual level, regional scale and even on the national status of a diverse country such as India. On the individual level one can accomplish great wealth to support his or her own family, on a regional scale the development of markets or a sector can greatly be influenced by education, and the national status of a country can flourish to a world economic power with an added educated labor force. Without investment in the educational attainment of its own population, the famous wealth of India remains highly concentrated and creates greater exclusion of certain social groups from the perceived benefits of India's national economic growth. The course of an educational career is greatly influenced by the decisions taken at a young age, for that reason can the early stages of the education system be regarded as of pronounced significance. Hence, the prominent importance of investing in the education system for the youngest of India. It is in this thesis that a specific case of public Early Childhood Education (ECE) in a backward area is discussed.

1.2 Motivation for the research

This research is completed in order of the Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) SAATH. The organization is based in Ahmedabad and works for the holistic development of the urban poor. SAATH is involved in various areas of the city, including the slum area Juhapura. The NGO envisions a different future for this area than the current course it is on, including the central element of education. SAATH is presently working in the field of ECE in Juhapura and the organization wants to continue in developing the ECE possibilities in the area. Next to the private provision of ECE by SAATH, there are the public pre-schools of the governmental scheme. The current situation of the ECE facilities and the various influences on the facilities lay out the experienced difficulties and the need for improvement regarding these services, which are subsequently discussed in the thesis.

The relevancy of this study is displayed by the demand of the organization, as well as the need for improvement in ECE in this specific area. The problem analysis provides a more elaborate discussion of the need for enhanced ECE in Juhapura.

1.3 Problem analysis

The difficulty of grasping the overwhelming variety India comprehends cannot be expressed in words. It is therefore that one can only assume that the generalizing image of economic growth representing the country and the accompanying image which is flowing over the globe is incorrect. Most definitely it is true that India is enjoying a period of prosperity and is becoming one of the major economic world powers. However, it is misunderstood that this is applicable to the entire country including its 1.2 billion inhabitants (Indian census, 2011). The foremost financial benefits remain highly concentrated within some elite circles, though there are some trickling down effects reaching a greater diversity within the Indian society. The non-financial sectors in which these effects can be found are sectors such as health, infrastructure and education. It is the latter sector that has been put central within this particular problem analysis; to explore the predicaments and the possibilities which are waiting in the future.

Next to the trickling down effects, the awareness and the possibility of change is of tremendous influence inflicted by this prosperity on the widespread population of India. A cloud of promise slides over the young minds of Indian men and women, which changes their mindsets and with that their future. It is so that a mindset results in an outlook on the world and the position given by the individual to him or herself, which the individual deserves as a person within the world (see paragraph 3.5.4 for mindset). The possibility of an enhanced life is presented, as now the economic growth India is experiencing confronts people with the opportunity of prosperity. There is a greater demand for high-quality public services as well as private services in various sectors. In addition to the increase in demand of educational and health services, the probability of being able to afford such services and the awareness of the endless possibilities that education can give to an individual lead to a necessary increase and expected enhancement of the educational services currently offered.

Education can play an important role in bringing some impartiality in India. "Education is one of the most powerful instruments for reducing poverty and inequality. Education is equally key to enhance India's competitiveness in the global economy. Therefore, ensuring access to quality education for all, in particular for the poor and rural population, is central to the economic and social development of India" (The World Bank, 2011). The pronounced opportunities education can bring for a country as India are clear and impressively promising. However, the needed changes to reach this greatness are vast and time demanding. Education is a multifaceted issue making the complexity of change even grander than when considered at first. The predicaments in the current education system in India encompass facets as insufficient delivery of educational resources and inadequate teacher qualifications (Target Informatics, 2012). Disregarding this long path of struggle, education is interlinked with every step of this nation's future.

The Indian education system originates from the colonial period and thus is based on the British model. A long preceding history does not withhold involvement in the education system, as in 2002 education became a part of the constitution as a fundamental right. Nonetheless, only on the first of April 2010 the right of children to free and compulsory education act came into force. The act is concerning free and compulsory education to all children in India between the ages of six to fourteen years. The genuine enforcement of this act is however debatable. Currently excluded from compulsory education are the services offered to the youngest of the country, entailing ECE. Article 45 concerning free and compulsory education for all children has however been rewritten and now includes the promise of the national government to “provide early childhood care and education for all children until they complete the age of six years” (Chauhan, 2009, p. 232). The first steps of awareness and commitment have been made, it is however so that the education system of India remains “facing serious challenges especially at the elementary education level. These include universal access to an infrastructure of comparable quality, ..” (Aggarwal, 2000).

Despite the efforts that are made by the national government through enforcing decentralization of management and greater community involvement in education, the outcomes are varied resulting from poor planning and lack of managerial and professional skills at all levels. Moreover, resulting from this inadequate governance of public education, a dual system arose within the primary schools and ECE programs. Entailing a range of (public) low-quality schools for the poor and a range of (private) high-quality schools for those who are able to pay higher user costs (Aggarwal, 2000). More and more parents choose to send their children to private schools, with a range of motivations such as an increase in demand for high-quality education, dissatisfaction with the performance of public schools and the possibility of families to bring up the costs of quality education.

Supporting this relatively new commitment to ECE are the international commitments to primary education which have manifested in several pledges, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and goal two of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). As there is stated in article 26 of the UDHR; “everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages” (UN, 1948). This can be interpreted that next to primary education, ECE is a part of the fundamental stages of education. Meaning that ECE is a human right, and greater attention and effort needs to be expressed towards the development of this human right. ECE is of significant and positive influence on the accomplishments in primary education, as is clearly illustrated in the academic world (Pattnaik, 1996) (The World Bank, 2011). It is for this reason that investments in ECE are a realistic and virtuous approach to accomplish the second MDG goal; “Achieve Universal Primary Education: ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling” (UN, 2010). One can only wonder why the deserved investments in and the true development of ECE are so momentarily lacking.

India is experiencing tremendous growth and upholds an even more promising future, though for the entire country to enjoy this prosperity changes need to be made. With the help of education there is the possibility to multiply the aptitude of economic development and strengthen India as a whole. Though tremendous change is necessary in the complete education system, there is reasoning for starting at the roots of the system. As by doing so one can reach a large group of children, provide them with an excellent start of their future, and limit the chances of negative social externalities.

1.4 Problem definition

The promising future of India is not going to be put to full use when no changes within society are made. One of these necessary changes lies in the education sector. This however does not imply that by changing one aspect the problem is solved, a greater complexity holds the predicament in the education system together. Even though some improvement has been made in the field of awareness, involvement and commitment of various stakeholders, these fields desire a continuous attention for a superior education system. Nevertheless, it is in this thesis that the focus lies upon the quality of public ECE, as it is here that tremendous improvement is prominently desired. The current stream of changes within the country evolved the education system into a dual system; the disparity in quality between the two adversaries of private and public education is to be diminished for an enhanced future for the entire Indian population. Especially in backward areas where financial means are lacking, public ECE aspires great investments and thoughtful actions for improvement.

1.5 Research objective

Currently, both public as well as private ECE is provided in Juhapura. A remarkable opportunity however lies in the provision of public ECE, which is greatly desired by the disadvantaged population of the area Juhapura. The importance of supporting public ECE programs to reach a greater population and hold the government to its commitments has been recognized by NGOs and the local inhabitants. It is for this reason that the quality of public ECE (anganwadi's) needed to be uncovered and reviewed. Based on the analysis of the circumstances of ECE in Juhapura constructive interventions could be formulated and subsequently could be implemented. The eventual goal is the improvement of the public ECE services offered in Juhapura for the local population, and the objective of this research is as followed.

The research objective is to gain a better insight in constructive interventions which can be implemented to enhance the quality of the public early childhood educational programs currently available in Juhapura in Ahmedabad.

It is therefore necessary to create an accurate analysis of the current quality level of public ECE in Juhapura, in which an extensive range of related matters need to be included. Next to this, it is important to consider possible stakeholders who can invest in this and the context in which it need to operate in order to formulate realistic interventions in the future.

1.6 The non-governmental organization SAATH

The assembling organization of this research originates from 1989 and functions as a public charitable trust in the province Gujarat, though also operates in the province Rajasthan. SAATH is a NGO which stands for "together, co-operation, a collective or support" in Gujarati. SAATH strives to facilitate "participatory processes that improve the quality of life for the urban and rural poor". The overall target group of SAATH encompasses slum dwellers who largely encompass newly arrived migrants from rural areas lacking basic services and infrastructures.

The main projects SAATH facilitates are in the urban areas including the Urban Resource Centers, microfinance, Umeed job training, health services, education (including an ECE program), community media advocacy and infrastructure. Other interests are sustainable environment and child friendly spaces.

The mission of SAATH is as following: "SAATH utilizes market-based strategies to create inclusive societies by empowering India's urban and rural poor." The approach SAATH upholds to accomplish its mission encompasses: "SAATH pioneered the Integrated Slum Development Program in 1989, an approach that seeks to turn slums into vibrant neighborhoods. Since the poor often have many needs at once, SAATH has created one-stop centers where we are able to link them with our integrated programs in education, job training and placement, medical and legal services, and basic infrastructure. SAATH engages institutions, businesses and individuals throughout the world as partners and supporters of integrated development in India." (SAATH, 2008). This overarching approach is a signature characteristic of the NGO.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

The thesis starts off with an introduction including the problem analysis and the research objective of the study. In this chapter the motivation of the research is illustrated. Subsequently the second chapter is presented, including a theoretical foundation of theories and themes and various practices of ECE for the concluding analysis. It is in this chapter that various lessons are learned from the past and theories are presented which are used to support the empiric data found. The third chapter encompasses the methodology of the research, including how the research is conducted and which limitations presented itself during the process. Before coming to the empirical data, a combination of theory and practice is used in chapter four regarding the context analysis. In this chapter the environment in which the research took place is analyzed. The succeeding three chapters (five, six and seven) are regarding the quality of ECE, the user population, and the stakeholders and societal predicaments. These chapters present the firsthand data found and the analysis to answer the allocating research questions. In the discussion chapter a connection between the theoretical findings and empirical data is made, to come to the final conclusions and recommendations in the ninth chapter.

1.8 Conclusion

A country can be impressively promising and shoot for the moon, though when it does not deal with its internal predicaments there is no use in believing in the potential it portrays. Education is a feature which can greatly assist in realizing the possible future of a thriving India including its entire population. By starting at the beginning of the educational system pronounced results can be accomplished on various levels and in all areas of the country. It is therefore that the focus within this thesis is on the quality of public ECE in Juhapura.

Chapter 2 Theoretical framework

“He who loves practice without theory is like the sailor who boards ship without a rudder and compass and never knows where he may cast.” Leonardo da Vinci

2.1 Introduction

Education in itself is a multifaceted issue and an even greater complexity holds the predicaments in an education system together. It are not merely the schools themselves which are involved in the processes of education, though a greater network of international, national and local stakeholders are linked to the small-scale educational services. Education is a matter which has been researched for a long period of time, resulting in a great variety of influences which are ascribed to be of impact on the outcomes of a young child’s educational career. This all needs to be applied to the research in the context of Juhapura in Ahmedabad. The elaborate range of influences on education are illustrated by various theories and themes in this chapter on which the conducted research is based, and helped to organize the empirical data gathered during the research period. The question within this theoretical framework however is; to what extent are the elements of influence related to the specific case of public Early Childhood Education (ECE) in Juhapura?

The chapter has been a tool for direction and guidance throughout the complete process of research, and illustrates the foundation of this thoughtfully conducted research. The theoretical framework initiates with the theories and themes which are incorporated in the thesis, and continues with a short history and practices of ECE. From these lessons can be learned for an enhanced future of the public ECE services in Juhapura. The conceptual framework provides a more visual overview of the structure of the research, together with the operationalization in which the conceptual framework is elaborated. The closing component of the theoretical framework is the chapter’s conclusion.

2.2 Theories and themes related to education

The field of development is continuously evolving and has been doing so for over 50 years, resulting in an extensive range of theories and paradigms. Because of the reason that education is such a multifaceted issue and is considered vital in a prosperous life, many theories relate to the matter and are therefore shortly discussed in the subsequent section.

2.2.1 Overarching approaches

The basic needs, the millennium development goals and the rights based approach

The children of today are the future of tomorrow on which the world depends to function in a healthy manner. For this reason children are a significant element in the development context and this goes accompanied with extensive discussions on the necessities for child development. Next to emotional and physical health, other development features are of great importance to sustain excellent child development. It can be said that the basic needs required are defined in terms of food, clothing, housing, education and public transport as is done by the International Labor Organization (ILO) in 1976.

Over time these basic needs have been elaborately debated on and additions have been made. However, the recognition of education being a basic need is a foremost supporting statement for the necessity of excellent provision of education at all levels in the education system.

The basic elements which are needed for general human development are also included in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and stress the importance regarding the protection and development of all children. The MDGs were officially established by all the United Nations (UN) member states and some leading development institutions during the Millennium Summit in 2000 and encompass eight overarching goals which ought to be reached by 2015. The goals concerning children are regarding maternal health, child health, poverty and hunger (in an indirect manner) and universal primary education (The United Nations, 2010). The remaining goals obviously are also of influence on the possibilities children have, though stay untouched within this discussion. The most relevant aspect of the MDGs to the current research is concerning universal primary education. Though this does not include ECE, primary education is closely interlinked with the fundamental stage of the education system. The positive impact of ECE on the enrollment in primary education is merely one indicator of the significance of ECE services. However, the difficulty of accomplishing this specific MDG illustrates that even greater attention and especially actions are required for impacting the predicaments in primary education and ECE services.

The aspect of primary education has also been adapted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948. Together with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) these agreements should enforce compulsory and free primary education. Despite the fact that the UDHR might be an outcome of a specific time and a clash of philosophies it has been much more than this; "its impact has been to open up decision making nationally and internationally in order to scrutinize the quality of governance within a state, to hold it and other actors accountable" (Desai and Potter, 2008, p. 571). It is to these agreements the Government of India (GoI) has committed itself and needs to be held accountable for providing quality basic needs the population has a right to. Disregarding the area people live in, there are rights and basic needs every individual deserves to uphold. As it has been clearly stated in international treaties and elaborately discusses in theory, education is such a right and a basic need. The following article (26) was adapted in the UDHR in 1948.

"(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms." (UN, 1948)

As displayed above, article 26 of the UDHR concerns universal education rights emphasizing the elementary and fundamental stages of education, which indicates the importance of ECE. The capacity of the duty bearers ought to be strengthened for enforcing these human rights, and the right holders need to be empowered for demanding the rights which are duly justified. The right based approach can help a population to prevail the difficulty of devious promises of institutions and governments, which are common happenings in India and in the allocating education services.

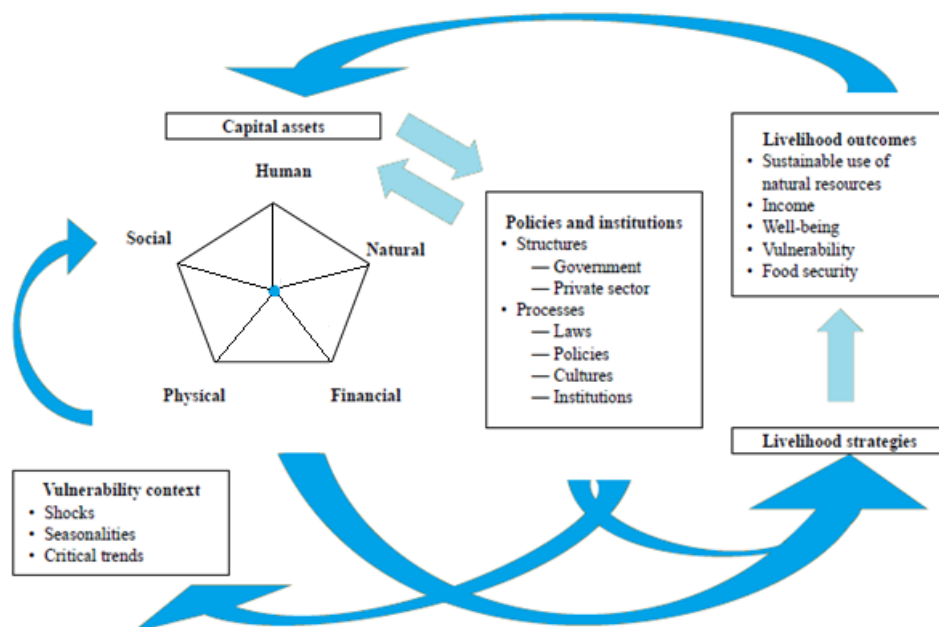
Within this research education is considered an essential basic need for a child to productively develop into a healthy individual in society. Despite the pronounced attention towards the MDGs, the goal regarding primary education is unlikely to be reached by 2015. Indicating that a different approach towards enhancement in education is wanted; perhaps this can be done by developing the ECE services. Moreover, the GoI is given copious freedom in implementing the international treaties which are signed. Because of it being international treaties the GoI cannot only be hold accountable by the largely defenseless population, however also by the international community who are obligated to fulfill this task and else are also guilty of denying human rights. The construction of a productive human life in which these rights are of force, can clearly be made visible by exploring the sustainable livelihood approach.

2.2.2 The sustainable livelihood approach

Robert Chambers and the British department for international development

The overarching goal of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) entails a greater understanding of the livelihoods of a specific population, mostly of a disadvantaged socio-economic background. A livelihood can be defined as: “the capabilities, assets, and activities required for a means of living” (Serrat, 2008). The sustainability feature is incorporated when a person is able to overcome stresses and shocks, and to sustain his or her livelihood in the future without compromising the natural resources he or she builds on. This has been incorporated in the SLA by considering the vulnerability context of the household. Moreover, the overall policies and institutions are also of influence on the various capital assets of the household. It helps to systematically display the various factors that are of influence on the opportunities of a person and the interaction between them (see figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 The sustainable livelihood approach



(Serrat, 2008)

The essential elements of the approach are visualized in the above given figure. The central feature of the approach are the various assets a household can uphold, including human capital (e.g. health, nutrition, education, knowledge, capacity to work), social capital (e.g. networks and connections, trust and support, formal and informal groups), natural capital (e.g. land, water, wildlife), physical capital (e.g. infrastructure, tools and technology) and financial capital (e.g. savings, credit and debt, wages) (Serrat, 2008). From this can be determined that the human capital is considered the most important within this research as it encompasses education, however the other capitals are linked and of significant influence on human capital. Therefore, all capitals need to be taken into consideration and are included in the analysis of the research. When starting from the central point of this research, education, the various influences on the processes of this human capital are visualized in the SLA and help to formulate a complete overview of the context in which the ECE services are provided. The characteristics of the households with its various capitals, the danger of externalities and the policies together with institutions are all of significant influence on the ECE outcomes in Juhapura.

The approach is not to be used as a replacement of other strategies, though it brings a different perspective. For this reason it is a perfect addition to the several other theories used within this thesis for structuring the data gathered and assembling a complete outline of the operational environment of the research. There are certain features of greater influence on a young child than others, and therefore desire more attention. One of these features is the local context a child lives in, which is elaborately discussed subsequently in the ecological theory.

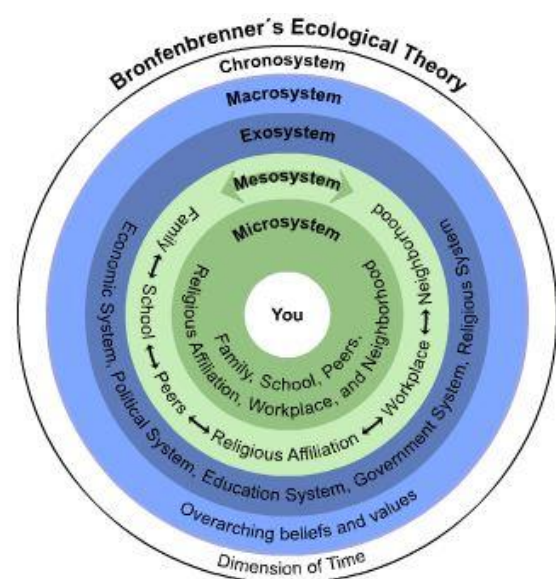
2.2.3 [The ecological model of human development](#)

Urie Bronfenbrenner

The ecological model of human development illustrates the necessity of considering the entire ecological system in which a human grows up to understand the overall human development. The overarching system is comprised out of five subsystems; microsystems, mesosystems, ecosystems, macrosystems and chronosystems.

Figure 2.2 Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory

The microsystem can be defined as; “a pattern of activities, social roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given face-to-face setting with particular features that influence engagement in interaction with, and activity in, the immediate environment” (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 39). The mesosystem is a system of microsystems and the exosystems additionally includes indirect influencing processes. The macrosystem signifies an overarching pattern of the prior three named systems, or it can also be explained as a “societal blueprint for a particular culture or subculture” (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 40). The chronosystem is the largest of all and encompasses the changes or similarities over time and the environment of an individual (see figure 2.2).



(Wordpress, 2011)

In relation to education the microsystem is the most significant for analyses, despite the fact that the remaining systems are also of influence on an individual and also his or her educational career. Within the microsystem the immediate interaction between an individual and the environment is absorbed. This is especially in the early years of a person's life limited to a specific range of environments, of which the main environments are family, peers, school, religious affiliations and the neighborhood (Bronfenbrenner, 1986 and 1994). The ecological theory helps to specify the foremost features of the local context of a child's life and can be interwoven in the larger overview of the processes relating to ECE. Deducting these five aspects of the microsystem and researching these in the specific context of Juhapura, one can assume to formulate an accurate and complete outline of the local context.

With the help of Bronfenbrenner's model the importance of education is demonstrated, as it is one of the primary influences on a child's life. Moreover, the model helps to order the various stimuli for a child according to significance in the various systems and create an all-encompassing local context which needs to be considered to correctly view the significance of ECE on a child's development. In the SLA it already was demonstrated that one capital in specific was of significance in this research and also in the ecological theory is human capital considered of great importance in the direct living environment. The specific relation of this capital with education is demonstrated in the following human capital policy.

2.2.4 [The human capital policy](#)

James J. Heckman and Peter J. Klenow

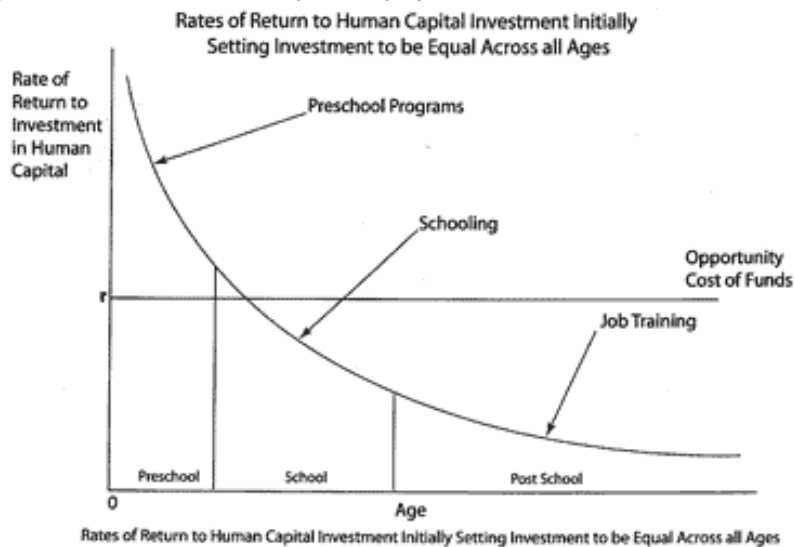
Many theories and approaches advocate the importance of education; within this theory the huge positive externalities to education are argued. The human capital policy displays the rates of return on human capital investments; meaning the impact of educational investments on the life course of an individual. For example, according to various studies from diverse countries an additional year of schooling is accompanied by about 30% higher gross domestic product per capita or associated with roughly 10% higher wages (Heckman and Klenow, 1997). As India is a country that experienced major economic growth including a massive labor force and desiring to expand even more, investing in education brings most definitely a promising future.

Along with the growing emphasize on primary and secondary education in the international context, there is an increase in expenditure on these types of education. It is shown that even marginal spending on primary or secondary education appears to have some modest effects on the future earnings of the students (Heckman and Klenow, 1997). However, there is also evidence that the effectiveness of an educational policy is less drastic in developing countries where levels of quality are considerably lower. Hence, the importance of high quality education for all to reach greater rates of return on human capital. Currently there are private and public ECE services offered in Juhapura, though the quality and thus the effectiveness of these services are debatable as it is located in a developing country (see chapter 4 for elaborate information on the ECE services in Juhapura).

More recently, there was also a deserved recognition regarding the influences of ECE. Moreover, there has been established that the influence on disadvantaged people in society benefit even more from the early investments, considering the impact on social externalities relating to these groups (Nath, 2007).

For example, by raising the income of the unskilled youth, the crime rates and teenage pregnancies are likely to reduce which else are burdens on society. “Studies of intensive pre-school programs for disadvantaged children combined with parenting skills training for their parents have shown promising results. These studies of early intervention have found improvements in student achievement and pro-social attitudes, while reducing criminal propensities during adolescence and adulthood” (Heckman and Klenow, 1997, p. 8). Within this study it is demonstrated that not merely the quality of ECE services need to be considered, though also the parenting skills are of viable influence on the future of a child’s life.

Figure 2.3 The Human Policy Theory of Heckman and Klenow



(The World Bank, 2011)

The rates of return to human capital investment are considered of great influence on the ongoing course of a human’s life, especially regarding disadvantaged children within society. The enhancement of quality (such as class size and expenditure per pupil) has however little if any direct effect on the future earnings of the children. Nevertheless, this does not indicate that the quality of education is irrelevant (Heckman and Klenow, 1997). The indirect effects of an enriched quality level in education on the future well-being are on the contrary clearly demonstrated in the human policy theory. Specifically regarding ECE, “early childhood interventions of high quality appear to have lasting effects” on lower levels of criminal behavior and greater school achievements (Heckman and Klenow, 1997, p. 38).

“Earlier interventions are more effective than later ones” (Heckman and Klenow, 1997, p. 42), as can be seen in figure 2.3 the rates of returns are the highest during the time of ECE. Overall it demonstrates the impact of educational investments in a particular education phase on the life course of an individual. There is a difference in the rates of return of human capital when investing in pre-school or in job training; pre-school provides greater returns (see figure 2.3). In the early years of an individual’s life the positive impact of educational investments is regarded to be the most significant on the rates of return. However, for this to be realized a change in the current approach to implementing and enforcing education in India is necessary. At this moment not all children in India are attending the obligatory years of schooling (6 to 14 years). As ECE is not included in these compulsory years, the provision of these services is scarcer and with that the attendance poorer.

Amplified attention, investments and enforcement is desired to steer all the fundamental stages of education into an enhanced phase of prosperity. In this way can the interventions during the young lives of children be a cost-effective strategy for overall human and of societal well-being. This theory supports the importance of greater investment in ECE, as well as quality improvement of the current provision of this type of education. Moreover, underlines the importance and greater effect of education especially among backward groups and in the early years of a child. Another approach to human well-being is the capability approach of Amartya Sen.

2.2.5 [The capability approach to education and the human development index](#)

Amartya Sen

The capability approach by Sen is a method concerning human well-being, which is considered the overall end goal of every child's life. The notion of capability within this approach relates to freedom; "the range of options a person has in deciding what kind of life to lead" (Drèze and Sen, 1995, p. 10). A capability is the overall ability to achieve something; inclining the ability to do or be something. Sen moreover emphasizes the focus not on commodities and utilization, though on people (Saito, 2003). As has been illustrated in earlier theories, education can assist an individual to obtain human well-being making it an important capability. In this theory empowerment is a prerequisite feature unleashing the capabilities of an individual and to put education to its full use for the individual and society. The promise of education starts already in the early stages of an individual's life, making ECE a capability of great influence on the course of a person's future.

When linking the overall approach specifically to the development of children some considerations need to be made. A child remains in the care of others regarding what to learn and to facilitate the interest of the child. Sen emphasizes the significance not of the freedom a child has now, though the freedom a child will obtain in the future. This illustrates the importance of upholding a lifelong perspective in the interest of the child (Saito, 2003). Children depend on the support from parents, society or others regarding the use and development of their capabilities. The microsystem of Bronfenbrenner can be considered here, though is determined according to a different perspective. Nevertheless, an additional influence, namely freedom, is observed in the capability approach which needs to be considered in the overall analyses of the ECE services. It is therefore of great importance to include the parents as main decision makers in the children's lives in the research.

A major point of criticism is the fact that it is difficult to make the capabilities approach operational, though some argue that with the creation of the Human Development Index (HDI) it has been done to some extent. Though the limiting functions that are used, merely three, does not provide a complete view of the capabilities and functioning of an individual's life (Saito, 2003). The HDI comprises of educational attainment, life expectancy at birth and real gross domestic product per capita (see figure 2.4) (UNDP, 2011). There can be concluded from these three components that it emphasizes the importance of education. India obtains a HDI of 0.547 (of 1 being high human development and 0 low human development) and is ranked 134 of 187 countries (HDR, 2011). India obtains a relatively low development level, entailing that also education in the country demands improvements for grander human well-being.

Figure 2.4 Components of the Human Development Index

The HDI—three dimensions and four indicators



(UNDP, 2011)

Saito considers that there is a “strong and mutually enhancing relationship” (2003, p. 17) between the capability approach and education, indicating a strong influence of one’s mindset on his or her further educational attainment. The promotion of education received little attention in India in the post-independence period according to Sen. The reason for this is a communal attitude of major stakeholders in the development of education with a lack of concrete action. “Therefore, in eradicating educational deprivation in this country, a strong commitment to the widespread and equitable provision of basic education is the first requirement to achieve rapid progress” (Drèze and Sen, 1995, pp. 110-111). It is believed that the HDI (because of its global appeal and image) is an instrument which can play a vital role in appealing to the government for altering educational policies.

The first role education can play is regarding the expansion of capabilities; “a child’s capacity or ability” and “opportunities that the child has” (Saito, 2003, p. 27). The second role of education is regarding teaching values and judgment in exercising capabilities. As Sen considers “freedom per se is always good, although it can be badly used”. The future of a child is regarded to be influenced positively by attending ECE. By starting to steer a child in a progressive direction in the early years, the child can make good decisions and using his or her freedom to the fullest later on in his or her life. With that the negative externalities on society can be limited. It is important to consider the common path of development in the primary years of a child’s life when exploring the possibilities of the capabilities approach as discussed in the subsequent paragraph.

2.2.6 The stages of child development

World Bank

The prior theories have mostly considered the context in which the ECE processes take place and are of influence on the children and the ECE services. The stages of child development are concerning the undertakings within the ECE programs. The central concern within the development stages of the World Bank is early child development which takes place during the first years of a child’s life (see table 2.1). There is some debate till which age early childhood development should range, the World Bank has taken the process until the age of 8 years into account.

The programs used in early childhood development are mostly addressed as ECE, which entails “a term that refers to educational programs and strategies geared toward children from birth to the age of eight. This time period is widely considered the most vulnerable and crucial stage of a person's life” (About, 2012). Within the context of India this can be considered likewise, however ECE emphasizes a range until the age of 6 years. The reason for this is that at that time formal, obligatory education starts in India. During these early years children develop in a rapid manner and even though each child is unique and develops at a different pace, all children follow a similar path of physical, cognitive, and emotional growth and change. “The early child development approach is based on the proven fact that young children respond best when caregivers use specific techniques designed to encourage and stimulate progress to the next level of development” (The World Bank, 2011), which demonstrates the importance of structured ECE.

The desired goal of early childhood development is to enhance children’s capacity to develop and learn. The programs can have positive effects on the development course of a child, starting the moment a child enters the school and lasting a lifetime. By increasing school readiness, decreasing the chances of repeating a grade and the need for special education or drop-out. The possible programs or interventions vary greatly; for example providing education and support for parents, service provision for children and educating teachers. Moreover, some diversification can also be found in the type of program; for example centered or home-based, formal or non-formal.

Table 2.1 displays the various development stages in a child’s life from age 2 till the age of 8 years. Up till the age of two years a child mostly desires protection and support in various essential manners, such as nutrition and health care. During the time of one to two years some initial developments concerning among others language, motor and exploring skills need to be initiated. In the two stages of a child being two years to five years old it is granted to be of greater importance that a child obtains the possibilities to develop various, basic skills. These two stages are ought to occur in ECE programs. The specific characteristics of these two stages are considered in the research as guidelines for what a child desires in ECE and help to reflect on the quality of the services in Juhapura. By considering the following stage a development objective can be set in ECE.

Table 2.1 The stages of child development

Age Range	What they do	What they need
2 to 3 1/2 years	“At this age, children enjoy learning new skills, learn language rapidly, are always on the go, gain control of hands and fingers, are easily frustrated, act more independent, but still dependent, act out familiar scenes.	In addition to needs from previous years, children at this age require opportunities to do the following: make choices, engage in dramatic play, read increasingly complex books, sing favorite songs, work simple puzzles.
3 1/2 to 5 years	At this age, children have a longer attention span, act silly & boisterous, may use shocking language, talk a lot, ask many questions, want real adult things, keep art projects, test physical skills and courage with caution, reveal feeling in dramatic play, like to play with friends, share and take turns.	In addition to needs from previous years, children at this age require opportunities to do the following: develop fine motor skills, continue expanding language skills by talking, reading, and singing, learn cooperation by helping and sharing, experiment with pre-writing and pre-reading skills.
5 to 8 years	At this age, children grow curious about people and how the world works, show an increasing interest in numbers, letters, reading and writing, become more interested in final products, gain more confidence in physical skills, use words to express feeling and to cope, become more outgoing, play cooperatively.	In addition to previous years, children at this age require opportunities to develop numeracy and reading skills, engage in problem-solving, practice teamwork, develop sense of personal competency, practice questioning and observing, acquire basic life skills, and attend basic education.”

(The World Bank, 2011)

2.2.7 The framework for understanding the quality of education

Education for all UNESCO

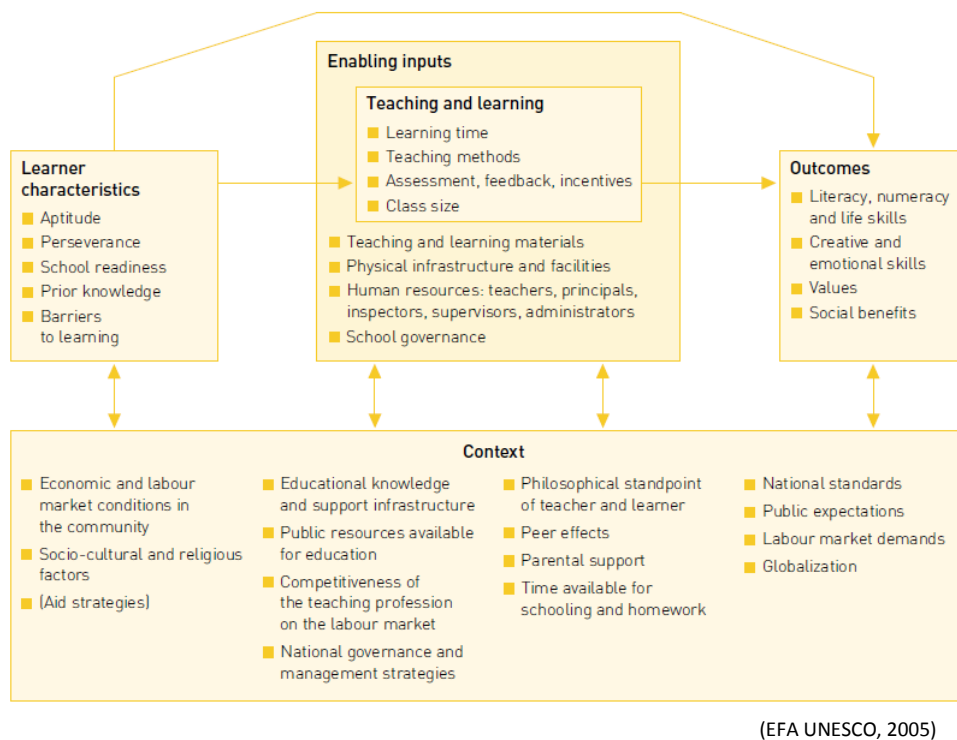
There is a great diversity in understanding and interpreting the quality of education, and especially in the undefined field of ECE. It is therefore essential to define quality and develop an approach to monitor and improve the existing education facilities. Several aspects which need to be determined in order to formulate a quality measurement mechanism are the following;

- “broad agreement about the aims and objectives of education;
- a framework for the analysis of quality that enables its various dimensions to be specified;
- an approach to measurement that enables the important variables to be identified and assessed;
- a framework for improvement that comprehensively covers the interrelated components of the education system and allows opportunities for change and reform to be identified.” (UNESCO, 2005, p. 35)

The Education For All (EFA) movement led by UNESCO has designed a framework for understanding the quality of education. The importance of this framework is emphasized by the following multidimensional description of education. In many societies the cognitive development, particular values, attitudes and skills are regarded important objectives of the education system. Overall child development includes an extensive range of aspects, such as; physical health, cognitive, language, social, emotional, behavioral, motor and moral development. The influences on the development of a child includes various characteristics of the child including the mindset, the family and environmental risk factors, social risk factors, nutrition, the socio-economic status, biological or genetic risk factors, and the policy environment (Kingdon, 2007) (Nair, 2007). Now that these features are put in a clearly structured framework (see figure 2.5), the quality of education can more easily be understood.

Even though the overarching structure of objectives is considered a common feature of an education system, the implemented content can greatly vary. Despite the assumed similarities between the wide-range of quality levels of the educational programs, the relationship between the conditions of education and its outcomes are not easy to determine. Therefore, has the EFA designed a framework including the main elements of the education systems and the relationships between them (see figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5 A framework for understanding the quality of education.



The framework helps to illustrate and understand the various influences on the quality of education. While it is not the single possible manner of doing this, it does give an overall construction of the issue at hand and helps to monitor the quality of education and also provides an insight in the possible improvements necessary. The SLA is used for interpreting the general context of the children's lives and the EFA framework zooms in on the specifics of the education services provided.

The framework contains four main elements, which subsequently are explained by starting with *the learner characteristics*. These entail the characteristics each student brings with him or her when attending an educational program, and possibly are of influence on the overall development experienced while attending an educational program. "Important determining characteristics can include socio-economic background, health, place of residence, cultural and religious background and the amount and nature of prior learning" (EFA UNESCO, 2005, p. 35). Therefore, it is regarded to be of importance to consider the differences among students which can result in inequalities, such as gender, disability, race, caste, and health. As the children central in the research are very young, the characteristics of the parents are considered comparable to those of the children.

At the bottom of the framework *the contextual features* are organized. The relation between the education system and the society it is operating in are strong, and are mutually influencing each other. The values and attitudes present in society are mostly shared within the education system and largely displayed by the teachers and peers of a student. Moreover, the prosperity of the society is generally reflected in the educational possibilities provided in that geographical area. The national policies and international aid policies are also a part of the context and form an overarching context in which educational programs need to operate. This section of the framework can be incorporated with the SLA presented earlier in the chapter as various aspects are similar to each other.

In the center of the framework *the enabling inputs* are presented, entailing the resources which are available to maintain the educational activities and how the resources are controlled. The main input variables considered in this framework are material resources and human resources (including school level governance). It is especially on these inputs that the performance of an educational program can be assessed, which is also the case within this research. However, this does not mean downplay of the importance of the learner characteristics nor the contextual features.

The final feature of the framework encompasses *the outcomes*, which are to be analyzed on the prior determined aims and objectives of the educational program. The measurement can vary from tests, emotional development, change in values and attitudes, or even economic gains. These final outcomes are however difficult to measure and moreover desire a longitude research approach. Though this feature is not included within this research, the hypothesis of a positive influence of ECE on the further educational attainments is earlier demonstrated in theory and therefore accepted to be true (Heckman and Klenow, 1997).

In the research mostly the learner characteristics and the enabling inputs are going to be considered, as these issues are granted the greatest influence on the quality of the education offered. Therefore, the elements of these two issues are going to be extensively included in the quality measurement and possible interventions. The contextual features are also of significant influence, and therefore included in the overarching analysis of the environment. The final elements of the framework are the outcomes, which are already explained to be very difficult to measure and especially in such a short time period. Therefore, very limited information on this is going to be gathered.

2.2.8 The quality measurement mechanism of early childhood education

Association childhood education international

The Association Childhood Education International (ACEI) believes that “every child should have the opportunity to grow up in a setting that values children, that provides conditions for a safe and secure environment, and that respects diversity” (ACEI, 2000, p. 1.). The children are often regarded as the future; however children are also the present of a nation. Children have a specific set of needs, rights and values, with that comes a need of suitable nurture and education within and outside the family context from birth onward in order for them to develop to their full potential. Consideration of health, nutrition, education, and psychosocial development of children throughout their early years is vital for the future well-being of both nation and the global community en large. According to ACEI the following features included in the global guidelines for ECE and care in the 21st century need to be considered when providing early childhood services including education and care for children;

- Environment and physical space of settings for children
- Curriculum content and pedagogy
- Early childhood educators and caregivers
- Partnership with families and communities
- Services for young children with special needs
- Accountability, supervision, and management of programs for children

It are these guidelines which are used to assess public non-formal pre-school education provided by the integrated child development service scheme of India in the research area. Additional to these aspects also 'educational resources', 'health services' and 'infrastructure and system' (Kagan, 2003) are included in the formulated measurement mechanism. According to the ACEI there needs to be special attention regarding equal attention for each child, communication between stakeholders, recognition of value of the educators and caregivers, intergenerational approaches, empowerment, funding, and cost analysis, monitoring, and evaluation of program quality. There is also a general belief from ACEI in an action plan regarding the needs of children as a vital contribution to future human well-being, long-term national development and more general global prosperity.

The first feature entails *the learning environment*, including physical space and psychologically safety. The physical safety entails the necessity to protect a child from health hazards that prohibit the child's ability to learn and develop. The child's psychological safety implies that the overall environment should introduce a sense of belonging and well-being for all children. Moreover, it is important that the learning environment is a stimulating environment for a child to explore and experience new situations.

The second feature includes *curriculum content and pedagogy*, entailing experience, routines and interactions during family care as well as ECE programs. A curriculum is "a plan that reflects the educational philosophy and provides guidelines for educators and caregivers and the interactions between adults and children who carry out the plan" (ACEI, 2000, p.2.). Every aspect of the child and his or her development aspects should be put central in the design of a curriculum. The various aspects included in the curriculum content and pedagogy are the curriculum document, content of the curriculum, pedagogical methods, learning materials, assessment of children's progress and evaluation of programs. On these aspects the quality of curriculum content and pedagogy can be measured, monitored and evaluated.

The third feature encompasses early childhood *educators and caregivers*, who have an important and greatly demanding responsibility. It is therefore important that these educators and caregivers have the acquired knowledge and skills concerning the development of children. The various aspects included as essential for educators and caregivers are a particular set of knowledge, performance, personal and professional characteristics and a moral/ ethical dimension. These individuals are the core of teaching activity, which is of remarkable influence on the effectiveness of education.

The fourth feature is *partnership with families and communities*, this is relevant as the care and education of a child is a shared responsibility among various stakeholders and should sustain the best environment possible for a child to develop in. It is important to communicate with families, to outline moral/ ethical responsibilities and behaviors, to formulate and enforce policies, to sustain a recognition of diversity, to create a fluent transition from home to school, to stimulate participation and an inter-professional collaboration for education to be used to its' full potential. Moreover, an intergenerational approach to early childhood care needs to be evaluated.

More recently, the importance of attending young children with special needs has become more present. Children with special needs include children with injuries, disabilities, illnesses, developmental delay or exceptional abilities. These children need additional services in order for them to develop to their full potential. The various aspects included in this feature are access and equity of services, basic health and nutrition, common philosophy and aims, knowledgeable staff and service providers, adapted environments, service delivery and responsiveness to individual needs. These aspects are however for a very concentrated target group and can be regarded a drain on common expenditures to serve the masses. Worrying as it sounds, especially in an environment lacking enough funding as it is; this is not the main focus of management of an education institution.

The final element is concerning accountability, supervision and management of ECE and care services. These factors help to ensure equitable access, quality of services and should ensure active participation. The need of open and transparent mechanisms together with cooperation between the various stakeholders helps to share the responsibility of ensuring well-being of all children. Some aspects assisting in reaching this are policies for quality standards, ensured service delivery, professional associations for educators, caregivers and policymakers, and clearly outlined responsibilities for the various stakeholders involved. Accountability is another vital element in ECE, which is emphasized by several researchers (Barnett, 2003) (Wiebenga, 2011).

Based on these well-argued and practically tested guidelines of the ACEI is the foundation of the designed quality measurement mechanism based (see appendix seven). However, the extensive literature study has enlightened several other specific elements of ECE. The following quality aspects are therefore also included in the mechanism 'educational resources' and 'health services', 'infrastructure and system' (Kagan, 2003).

The overall educational resources are taken as a separate element of the mechanism, as it is such a large, overarching and vital feature in the quality of ECE. According to Colclough (2005) there are various studies which indicate evidence of additional resources being vital to the improvement of the quality of education and this is especially when the resources are limited. Within these studies, supplements to the following resources are considered of great significance; low-pupil-teacher ratio, more and better books, time spent learning in school or at home, teacher qualifications and experience. Some other essential features include curriculum, instruction time, learning materials, language and the school environment. As these elements are emphasized and derive from practical experience, these are taken into great consideration for future evolvement of the quality mechanism.

As emphasized by various writings, health services are a central element of ECE. This is regarded as the principal place of initiating education regarding health for the children as well as the families, which helps to ensure an ongoing well-functioning and usage of the health services provided. In many cases the health aspect includes general check-up, nutrition, health education and referral services (Arora, 2006). It is also relevant to consider the significant influence of health services (and nutritional supplements in specific) on parents' decision of enrolling their children to ECE programs (Nair, 2004) (Kingdon, 2007). The general health of a child is central in the overall development and educational attainment of a child and therefore an essential element of ECE.

Kagan (2003) referred to two other vital elements of ECE as being hidden, though of great necessity for effective early care and education. One of which is *infrastructure*, referring to “the supports that are essential to child care and pre-school programs and other direct services to children and families, such as health and parenting education. These supports include finance, governance, accountability, professional development and training, appropriate regulations, quality assurance mechanisms and dissemination of information” (Kagan, 2003, p. 58). The *system* is the second element, which is considered a broader term and encompasses the complete infrastructure and also the actual early care and education services provided to children and families. These two features help to uncover the larger program of the ECE services offered, and help to illustrate the complete network of ECE and care available in the research area. Kagan has formulated eight components of a system for early care and education; including quality programs, results-driven system, public engagement, individual credentialing, professional development, program licensing, funding and financing and accountability. These components are additional considerations for the design of the quality mechanism. Kagan states that “without a uniform definition of a system and infrastructure for early care and education, achieving the desired outcomes for children will not be possible” (Kagan, 2003, p. 58). This last statement is however very drastic and next to depending on the context also depends greatly on the desired outcomes set for early care and education. ECE is not yet considered as a part of the official education system in many nations, including India. For one system operating in entire India to successfully be implemented, it will be necessary for ECE to become part of the formal education system. Nevertheless, it is noble and necessary to strive for alignment. The reason for this is that the lack of a common system results in a lack of direction, cooperation and organization; which eventually results in greater inequality (Kagan, 2003).

Supplementary literature contributed to the design of the quality measurement mechanism and highlighted the following features of ECE; school infrastructure, blackboard, playground, drinking water, toilet, maps or charts, toys, library, musical instruments, furniture, teaching aids, books, fans and computers (Kingdon, 2007). Also by Aggarwal (2000) a range of elements were mentioned, including student classroom ratio, drinking water, toilet facilities, library book, reference book and charts teaching-learning material. Arora (2006) remarked on teaching aids and play material, and Freeman (2003) emphasized curriculum, training staff and relationships among pre-schools. Finally also Nair (2004) contributed with physical building, outdoor play environment, toys, books and musical instruments. Besides these educational resources it needs to be underlined that the productivity in various sectors and the general earnings depend not only on the years of education acquired, however also on what is actually learnt at school (Kingdon, 2007). Teaching activity and competence is of influence on this, which ought to be included in the assessment of the quality of ECE.

In this research a quality measurement mechanism is designed and used, which derived from the above discussed theories and literature on the quality of ECE. However, because of the extensive range of elements merely a selection is used to endure a complete overview of the quality. The quality measurement mechanism is included in appendix seven.

2.2.9 Discussion on the relation between theory and research

The central element within the study is ECE, which is not merely a matter of national importance. This is however regarded to be of great significance on an international level. The ILO, MDGs and human rights represent the international community in this case, who provides support for enforcing the necessary services and improvements regarding education in general and also ECE in specific. Nevertheless, too much room is given to the GoI for implementing the various treaties and limited progress occurred in comparison to the international commitments made by the government. These aspects could be of great force for the local lives of the Indian population, and should be taken as examples by the GoI for future actions in ECE.

The lives of the local population can be clearly illustrated with the help of the SLA, of which human capital is of major importance in this study. However, it is so that the other capitals are of abundant influence on the human capital including ECE, and therefore cannot be excluded. The SLA helps to visualize and organize the influences on an individual's life which derive from the context. The approach however should not be used as a replacing theory, though as an additional tool too for example the ecological theory of Bronfenbrenner. In this theory the specific context and the main influences of the early years of a child are identified.

The relation between education and the rates of return of this human capital are demonstrated in the human policy theory. It became clear that high quality education is needed for the greatest effects on the rates of return. Moreover, ECE attains the highest rates of return and disadvantaged groups benefit most from early investments. Another perspective on human well-being is the capabilities approach, which enlightened the importance of freedom. In the early years the freedom of a child is limited and constraint mainly by parents. It is the freedom a child upholds in the future which is relevant, by then the learnt capabilities are hopefully used in a responsible manner. With this the early investments are evidently clarified as of great significance in later life, and function as motivations for the various stakeholders in the research.

The capabilities and rates of return can be explored through a common path to child development. The stages of child development represent basic guidelines to ECE services. A more specific framework for understanding the quality of education is given by the EFA UNESCO, in which the SLA can be incorporated as the local context. This framework together with the quality measurement mechanism for ECE of the ACEI are the main elements to be used in the research. One helps to understand the context and the other assists in uncovering the quality of the ECE services.

2.3 History and practices

2.3.1 The history of early childhood education

Within this paragraph an introduction to the global development of ECE is given, of which the initiative phase lies in the 19th century for much of Europe, North America and several developing countries such as China and India. During these times the kindergartens and nurseries often draw on similar models as Froebel, Montessori, Pestalozzi, and initiatives of missionaries (Kamerman, 2006). In the beginning a division between 'kindergartens' for educational objectives and 'day nurseries' for care was made. Some following developments were measured; including a minor increase during World War II, and an additional expansion after the war took place. For eastern European socialist countries and France however extensive developments occurred right after the war. French pre-school was integrated in the formal education system in 1886. It was not however until the 1960s that noteworthy enhancement took place; this was due to the end of colonialism, the historical increase in the female labor force, and some elaborate improvements in the child and family policies in Europe and the United States (Kamerman, 2006).

Only in 1968 became the division between public and private ECE clear. The provision remained limited and greatly concentrated in urban and affluent areas. There were only limited developments before this period, though in a research conducted by UNESCO in 1974 some prime problems obstructing the enhancement and growth of ECE were gathered. The problems in this time included "unclear benefits, scarce government funds, lack of agreement as to which government agency should have primary responsibility for policy, increasing regional and class inequities, and a scarcity of qualified teachers" (Kamerman, 2006, pp. 6-7). Besides the prior predicaments which resulted from the research, it became clear the ECE was a new field to develop and remained for the elite in society. Subsequently an outsized supply of data presented itself in the late 1990s (Kamerman, 2006). The plan Towards Basic Education for All (1990-1995), the Jomtien and Dakar Declarations were merely initial steps to the current context ECE is functioning in.

The contribution of education to social and economic development as well as raising the standards of living in Asia has greatly been appreciated. Overall education in this continent has evolved greatly, though not equivalently due to national and social movements. It is however so that extreme poverty remains worryingly present, education is regarded a great asset in diminishing this. In Asia the care for children has been in tradition the responsibility of the family, indicating the novelty of ECE and entailed that subsequent development was considerably slow.

ECE in India dates back to the 1890s, during this time kindergartens were initiated in the country (Rao, 2005). Disregarding this relative early start, ECE stayed dispersed, concentrated in urban areas in certain regions of India and unaffordable for the masses. There is a discussion on the possible features of influence on the negligence of ECE in India; these features include historical and cultural aspects, the caste system, parenting beliefs and practices, and the inferior status of women. Though, there is not one reason for the disregard of ECE in India. Only after independence the national government began to play a more prominent role in ECE.

The concept of 'balwadis' (child education centers) was implemented for children in backward regions. The main goal of these balwadis was to increase the focus on rural areas and the needy, in order to emphasize the holistic development of the child and not merely the educational aspect (Kammerman, 2006). It was in 1974 when the national government initiated the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) scheme, "which has become the world's largest attempt to provide a package of services to the most vulnerable population groups" (Kammerman, 2006, p. 40). The scheme is the largest in the country and focusses on urban slums, tribal areas and backward rural regions in India. The areas in which it provides services include health, nutrition and ECE. The ECE facilities researched in this study are a part of the ICDS scheme, therefore is the scheme discussed more elaborately later in chapter 4. There are however some supplementary programs to the ICDS scheme worth mentioning, including the 'Creches and Day Care Centres Scheme' for children below five years old of casual, migrant, agricultural and construction laborers. The 'Early Childhood Education Scheme' is another example which serves as assistance to existing ECE to reduce primary drop-out rates and limit the rate of retention in primary school. The ICDS scheme has not maintained an equality of services, though overall evaluations indicated a positive impact on the young children. The scheme has established its usefulness, so the national government has renewed its obligation to an even greater universal and equal program for all Indian children.

The private suppliers of ECE are highly concentrated in urban areas, additionally due to fees are overall for the middle and higher class who are able to pay for the services. Though this type of ECE has certainly reached a large group of the population, within this study the main focus is on the ICDS program. It is for this reason that the history of private suppliers of ECE is not elaborately discussed. Next to learning from the past of India's own program, one can learn from other practices of ECE.

2.3.2 Practices of early childhood education

Even though the history of ECE is fairly short, there are some cases from which lessons can be learned. Specific case studies in India or South Asia on ECE are only limitedly available; the search of practices is therefore expanded to a global level. The following cases can be regarded as examples in the field of ECE; the data displayed in table 2.2 is gathered from the allocated studies.

The first case study is famous for its widespread reach and high quality; the public Headstart program in the United States of America. The program offered comprehensive center-based child development services, and was created to break the cycle of poverty and improve opportunities for low-income children. Though the context of Headstart greatly differs from that in India, there are some strong characteristics of which other ECE services can learn. The program was launched in 1965 and had a long period of time to evolve its educational practices. The educational careers and primary incomes are found to be enhanced and the negative externalities limited for children who attended the Headstart program by various researchers (Anderson, 2003). The health services connected to the pre-school include medical, dental and mental health care. These indicate a complete and well-established health network allocated to the program. Moreover, there are social services for the parents as well as parent involvement, entailing strong partnerships with parents. The local context is taken into account in developing an appropriate curriculum, which enhances the fit of the program to the children in a specific area. The three features which can be taken as representative of Headstart are curriculum content, parent partnerships and health services.

Another case study is regarding the private Promesa Project in Colombia which was initiated in 1978 and designed to develop a better environment for the healthy development of young children (Arango, 2004). There were programs for mothers with children of pre-school age to foster the intellectual development of children during their daily interactions. Also a community-administrated primary health care program and a nutrition program which involved the mothers were offered. The program was effective in giving the younger children more opportunities to learn, and further school enrollment and persistence is found to be significant higher for Promesa participants. Next to the mothers also siblings were actively involved in the project, and the mothers became even more enthusiastic when development in the children was recognized. It is within this project that also community members took part in education and developed themselves for a more secure livelihood. The two aspects which are found to be strong points of the quality of the Promesa project include partnerships with parents and communities and the health services.

Yochien and hoiku-en is a program in Japan that promotes children's health, social relations, environment, language and expressions, and also has been around for several decades (Boocock, 1995). The yochien, or pre-schools, are primarily private programs designed to prepare children for primary school and the hoiku-en, or child care programs, are government-subsidized programs for children of all ages from families deemed in need by government authorities. The latter are of most relevant for this study, these government services are known for accurate records on enrollments, staff and equipment. Moreover, a continuous flood of philosophical works on ECE supports the educational services provided in the hoiku-en. The strong characteristics of the Japanese program encompass a proper and reliable infrastructure and system, and an up-to-date pedagogy is applied in the pre-schools.

Also the governmental ICDS scheme is considered as a foremost program of ECE services (Boocock, 1995) (Pattnaik, 1996). The ICDS services offered include supplementary nutrition, immunization, health check-up, referral services, treatment of minor illness, nutrition and health education and pre-school education (see chapter 4 for an elaborate discussion of the ICDS scheme). The wide-spread program can claim some successes in reducing infant mortality, malnutrition, and morbidity, as well as school repetition and dropout. Moreover, the use of innovative projects as child-to-child, school readiness and home-based programs, served as great backings to the scheme. It is especially the health services of the ICDS program that can be considered as a strong aspect.

The above mentioned practices are some excellent examples including the ICDS program. The implemented strategies which can be of use of the ICDS scheme in Juhapura encompass the greater inclusion and training of mothers to continue education at home and teaching of community members, entailing greater partnerships with parents and communities. Moreover, curriculum content and pedagogy together with a strong infrastructure and system intensely support the quality of the educational features of these programs. Especially the feature of adapting the curriculum to the local context could be viable in such an outsized country as India encompassing great variety in social groups. Though the other programs have some viable opportunities, these are somewhat farfetched for the anganwadi's included in this research (see table 2.2). The two evaluations regarding the ICDS program however both indicate a necessary improvement in the overall quality of the educational program, which is more specifically researched in this study.

Table 2.2 The best practices of early childhood education

Author(s)	Name intervention	Region	Main goals	Opportunities	Quality characteristic
Anderson, 2003	Headstart	United States of America	Children from birth to six years (and their families).	-Cultural awareness. -Space to be alone. -Child-related display. -Adult personal area. -Dramatic play. -For relation and comfort.	-Curriculum content. -Partnerships with parents. -The health services.
Arango, 2004	The Promesa project	Colombia	Designed to develop a better environment for the healthy development of young children.	No data on the effectiveness of the health care program nor on the nutrition program.	-Partnerships with parents and communities. -The health services.
Boocock, 1995	Yochien and Hoiku-en program	Japan	Promoting children's health, social relations, environment, language and expression.	Enhance the fit between the needs of low-income children and the characteristics of the early childhood program.	-Infrastructure and system. -Pedagogy.
Pattnaik, 1996	Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS)	India	Serve children between zero and six years, pregnant and lactating mothers, and young women by providing a development program.	- To educate all young children. -To elevate the professional status of educators. -To preserve the long-revered cultural tradition of community involvement. -To maintain equal quality throughout the complete scheme.	-Health services.

Not merely from good practices can one learn, though also from practices which desire improvement. Some of these cases are shortly displayed in table 2.3; immediately noticeable is the fact that all studies are regarding developing countries. The primary case study is regarding various programs in Africa by Torkington (2002). The programs focus on education, health and social welfare mainly for children from three to five or six years old. The various aspects which are regarded as negative characteristics of the program are it being a center-based organization, poor educational quality, badly equipped, and the program being unregulated. The features which are the major predicaments of the program can therefore be defined as the infrastructure and system and the educational resources.

A second example is bringing us into the Asian context, the Early Childhood Enrichment program in the Philippines originating from 1979 (Myeres, 1992). The objective is to deliver early childhood learning opportunities to disadvantaged preschoolers of the age zero to six years old. The two main features which desired improvement are the center-based organization of the program and the overall lacking of structural benefits of the program. It is within the organization of the program that elements of improvement primarily lay; entailing that the features of infrastructure and system which are considered inadequate in this program.

The governmental Home-Based program in Cambodia initiated in 2004 made use of the strategy of emphasizing the development of basic education competencies using local contexts, resources and parent's own skills and capacities (Cambodian Department of ECE, 2006). The program consists out of 'core mother groups' that are run by volunteering mothers providing pre-school services. The advantage of this program is that it requires little money to run, it is thus replicable in other backward, isolated and/ or remote communities. It also establishes networks of information and support between mothers, community members and government officials. Next to these advantages, there is a tremendous amount of predicaments in the program. Including insufficient supplies as storage is a problem, the classes are generally held in the core mothers' home in less than ideal circumstance, the core mothers' are inexperienced and lack teaching skills, and limited means of encouragement and community involvement. The educational resources, physical environment, educational caregivers and to some extent partnership with the community all are quality features which desire great improvement within the Cambodian program.

The final example is of the program the Education Watch in Bangladesh originates from 1998 and is run by a combination of public and private likeminded individuals (Nath, 2007). The program entails baby classes in formal primary schools, and pre-schools in kindergartens and English-medium schools. The program also included grassroots-level initiatives by schools themselves, with no recognition or permission from the ministry. The Education Watch undertakes other activities next to the ECE services, including wide range evaluations of the quality of education in Bangladesh. Though the participation in pre-school education has increased, the lack of uniformity in curriculum, quality and organization of the schools is deteriorating the effectiveness of the program. The need for an enhanced infrastructure and system is the major characteristic needing assistance. From these four cases there can be concluded that infrastructure and system are great difficulties for ECE programs.

Table 2.3 The worst practices of early childhood education

Author(s)	Name intervention	Region	Main goals	Opportunities	Quality characteristic
Torkington, 2002	Various programs	Africa	Education, health, and social welfare mainly for children from three years to five or six years old.	-Decentralize and regulate the program. -Provide equal quality and resources throughout the complete program.	-Infrastructure and system. -Educational resources.
Myeres, 1992	The early Childhood Enrichment Program	Philippines	Deliver early childhood learning opportunities to disadvantaged preschoolers.	-Decentralize the organization. -Maximize the reimbursements for the target groups.	-Infrastructure and system.
Cambodian Department of Early Childhood Education, 2006	Home-Based program	Cambodia	Emphasizing the basic education competencies using local context, resources and parents' own skills and capacities.	-Insufficient supplies. -Private place. -Well-trained employees or volunteers.	-Educational resources. -Physical environment. -Educational caregivers. -Partnership with the community.
Nath, 2007	Education Watch	Bangladesh	Baby classes in formal primary schools, and providing pre-school programs in kindergartens and English-medium schools.	-Lack of common pre-school curriculum. -Inconsistency in age groups enrolled. -Need of an educational policy targeting poor and disadvantaged children. -The indeterminate duration of pre-school education.	-Infrastructure and system.

2.3.3 Complementary approaches to programming for early childhood development

Early childhood development is a different concept than ECE as will be explained in the subsequent chapter. However, an overview of different approaches to early childhood development can be given for inspiration of an enhanced approach to ECE. The outline of approaches provides the allocating beneficiaries, objectives and models to the approach. Depending on the predicaments in an ECE program, one can find the allocating solutions or models which can apply in table 2.4 below. For example when greater involvement of families is desired, this can be done by home visits, parental education or even child-to-child programs.

Table 2.4 Complementary approaches to programming for early childhood development

Program approach	Beneficiaries	Objectives	Models
Deliver a service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The child - 0-2 years - 3-6 years - 0-6 years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Survival - Comprehensive development - Socialization - Rehabilitation improvement of child care 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Home day care - Integrated child development centers - Add-on" centers - Workplace - Pre-schools formal/ non-formal
Educate Caregivers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parent, family - Sibling(s) - Public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Create awareness - Change attitudes - Improve practices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Home visiting - Parental education - Child-to-child programs
Promote Community Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community - Leaders - Promoters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Create awareness - Mobilize for action - Change conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Technical mobilization - Social mobilization
Strengthen National Resources, Capabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Program personnel - Professionals - Para-professionals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Create awareness - Improve skills - Increase material 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Training - Experimental demonstration projects - Strengthening infrastructure
Advocate Child Development Programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Policy makers - Public - Professionals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Create awareness - Build political will - Increase demand - Change attitudes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ethos creation - Knowledge dissemination

(Myers, 1992)

Depending on the approach of a specific program different target groups can be reached and a variety of objectives can be gained. In most programs there is a combination of beneficiaries or stakeholders involved, meaning a combination of approaches needs to be used to reach these various stakeholders and with that a variety of models can be used. The overview is to be consulted for the formulation of the interventions, which is the end objective of the research.

2.4 Research questions

The following primary research question is put central throughout the complete research process and displays the desired information presented in the research.

What are the opportunities for improving the quality of public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad and how can constructive interventions regarding quality improvement be implemented?

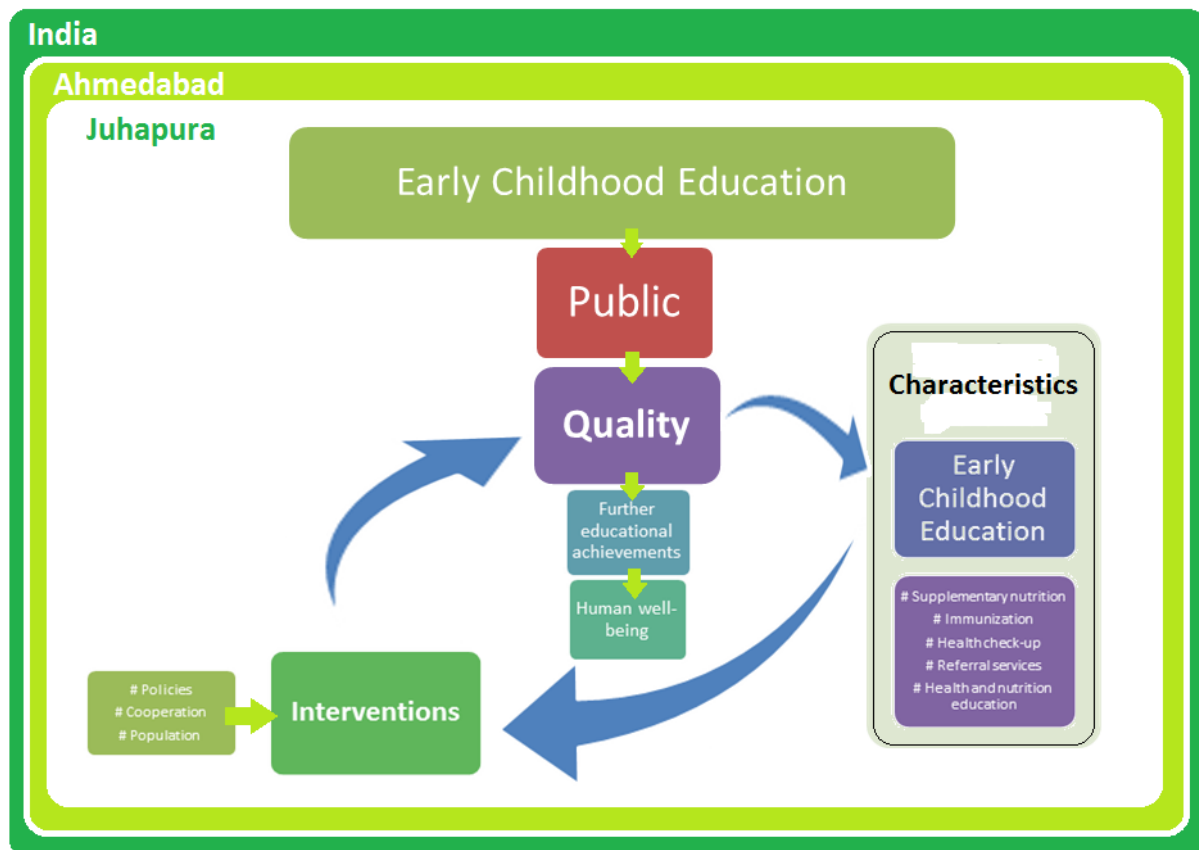
Subsequently to an extensive literature study more questions than answers arose. The additional sub-research questions provide an elaborate picture of the current environment the public early childhood educational programs operate in. The sub-research questions entail;

- 7) What is the quality level of public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad?
- 8) What are the strengths and weaknesses for public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad?
- 9) In what manner are public early childhood educational providers in Juhapura in Ahmedabad and SAATH currently cooperating and is there possibility for enhanced cooperation?
- 10) What are the government policies regarding public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad?
- 11) To what extent are the opportunities for public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad in line with the population demanding these programs?
- 12) What are the opportunities for SAATH to implement for an enhanced quality of public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad?

2.5 Conceptual framework and operationalization

The central element in the study is the quality of public (government run) ECE and the main elements of the quality are outlined in the purple box on the right which are subtracted from the integrated child development service scheme as can be seen in figure 2.6. This scheme is the main public ECE program of India and includes six fundamentals. The primary element of these six is ECE and the main focus in the study, which is on its turn assessed according to a devised quality measurement mechanism of ECE by the Association Childhood Education International (ACEI). The assessment of the various quality features help to design interventions necessary to improve the quality of public ECE for SAATH. These interventions are moreover influenced by various policies, cooperation possibilities and the population. The central element of the study is the quality of public ECE, though the importance lies within the development of the child; the further educational achievements and the overall human well-being of the child in the future. It is necessary to operationalize certain elements within the conceptual framework for clarification and possible assessment.

Figure 2.6 Conceptual framework



The geographical context of the research is the slum area *Juhapura*. Juhapura is a living area located in the southwestern of Ahmedabad, consisting for about two thirds out of legal households and one third of unregistered households (chawls). The socio-economic status of the inhabitants overall varies from very poor casual workers to middle class shopkeepers. However, because of the communal riots some well-off Muslim families have also located themselves in the area. In general the households in Juhapura are comprised out of Muslim families. Because the area falls partly outside the boundaries of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC), not the entire area is entitled to health facilities, power supply, roads, drainage and street lighting provided by the AMC. This exclusion has had influence on the employment possibilities for the inhabitants of the area and their possibility of access to high quality education and health facilities (Chandhoke, 2009).

Early childhood education (ECE) is the foundation of the overall education system and can be interpreted by many definitions, within this thesis the definition stated below is used. There is an extensive range of possible providers within the frame of ECE, including NGO's who provide non-profit facilities and mostly for special groups (Pattnaik, 1996), community owned ECE demanding great community participation (Nair, 2004), private unaided and private aided ECE both demanding user costs and aided ECE additionally receives financial support of the government (Pattnaik, 1996) and public suppliers encompassing all solely governmental run ECE programs.

“Early Childhood Education is a term that refers to educational programs and strategies geared toward children from birth to the age of eight. This time period is widely considered the most vulnerable and crucial stage of a person's life. Early childhood education often focuses on guiding children to learn through play. The term often refers to pre-school or infant/child care programs.” (About, 2012)

Disregarding the provided definition, some differentiation exists within the context of India. As the children within India are obligated to go to formal school from the age of six years, ECE only applies from birth to six years old for the ICDS elements. Specifically regarding pre-school the age merely applies from three to six years old.

Public early childhood education is provided by the government of India by means of anganwadi's to children between the age three to six years, including physical, cognitive, language, social, emotional, behavioral, motorial and moral development. This excludes the private ECE funded by the government. The overall method of teaching used in the anganwadi's is in the form of playway (Prochner, 2002) and the Montessori's method (Pattnaik, 1996) (see chapter 4 for more on public ECE in India).

Initially the *quality* of public ECE consists out of the six main elements which are subtracted from the integrated child development service scheme. However, as the main subject of the research is merely the primary element of the scheme, ECE, these needed further specification. The quality of the public ECE programs within this research encompass a wide range of features (e.g. physical features, teaching activity, accountability, cost-effectiveness, curriculum, teacher qualification, language, reputation, infrastructure, parents' involvement, nutrition, hygiene, and etcetera). These features derive from the literature study, existing assessment forms and previous studies regarding a related topic. In this study the quality elements are generally build on the 'Global Guidelines for Early Childhood Education and Care in the 21st Century' by the ACEI. The main features of this guideline include 'Environment and Physical Space of Settings for Children; Curriculum Content and Pedagogy; Early Childhood Educators and Caregivers; Partnership With Families and Communities; Services for Young Children with Special Needs and Accountability, Supervision, and Management of Programs for Children'. Additional to these aspects also 'educational resources' and 'health services', 'infrastructure and system' (Kagan, 2003) are included in the formulation of quality features.

The possible *interventions* are to be implemented for enhanced quality and can be defined as; an attempt or great effort to transform a particular situation by implementing a project with a specific goal and an elaborate action plan. In this case the quality of the public ECE programs in the context of Juhapura is desired to change for the better. The specific goals are to be formulated along the research process and an elaborate action plan is to be formulated by the initiating stakeholder for implementation. An action plan is a sequence of steps that are to be taken for a strategy to be implemented successfully; the necessary interventions are explained in detail within such a plan. The three major features an action plan encompasses are a realistic time line, formulation of the specific tasks with clear activities, cooperation agreements and division between stakeholders and the third element is the overall resource allocation regarding the available funds for implementing the tasks.

The *cooperation* within this research is concerning the public ECE programs, the population and additional stakeholders in ECE such as NGOs. It has become clear that on the local level there is some rivalry between the public and private providers, on managerial level however this is allegedly not the case. Involvement and commitment are two elements which are considered vital for all three stakeholders.

The *public policies* are concerning the obligations and regulations for ECE, and definitely regarding public ECE, are extensive and the predicament of corruption is clearly present within the policy context. Next to the fact that corruption is a widely known characteristic in India, it is also deduced from the literature study that “the regulations are widely ignored, subject to the payment of bribes” (Tooley & Dixon, 2003, p. 17). Because of great constraints on the District Education Officers who ought to enforce public policies within the education system, only a limited range of regulations are complied.

The *population* regarding ECE exists out of the parents as well as the children (3 to 6 years old) in the Juhapura area. The socio-economic status and their demand are to be sketched after completing the interviews with a range of parents in order to formulate a truthful perspective.

The *further educational achievements* of the children encompass the complete education system of India and even in the international context. However, predominantly the subsequent step in the education system, primary education, is granted to be significant in the research. The reason for this is the noteworthy influence of ECE on the enrollment and performance in primary education (Pattnaik, 1996). Hence, ECE is also granted to be of influence on other or further educational achievements of children attaining ECE.

Overall *human well-being* is greatly influenced by the educational achievements of an individual, as it accumulates human capital and provides more employment possibilities. Next to this it also limits secondary handicaps and social risk factors (Anderson, 2003), which could be drains on a stimulating, prosperous and healthy life. The theories used to support these hypotheses are elaborately explained in the previous section of this chapter.

With the help of the conceptual framework and the conceptualization the research became clearer and easier to understand, as it is like a puzzle when putting the pieces together. The conceptual framework illustrated in this chapter led to the use of the methodology as described in the following chapter.

2.6 Conclusion

Over the years abundant international attention regarding educational development has presented itself and mostly the focus has been on primary education. However, ECE has become more visible in the international context as well. May it be as a tool to obtain the UDHR or reach the MDGs, the importance of ECE has been stressed. Though, it can be regarded as not having the greatest impact at the present day, in the long run the impact of education and ECE is considered to be significant.

A more specific framework for understanding the quality of education is given by the EFA UNESCO, in which the SLA can be incorporated as the local context. This framework together with the quality measurement mechanism for ECE of the ACEI are the main elements to be used in the research. One helps to understand the context and the other assists in uncovering the quality of the ECE services in Juhapura. From practices, both strong and weak examples, one can conclude that the vital element of the quality of ECE is infrastructure and system. Therefore, this needs to be elaborately considered in the research and constructive interventions.

A great base of theoretical information is available to this research. Elaborate theories and practices can be used to overcome mistakes made in the past as well as applied to the structure and support the empirical data found. The primary research question which derived from the demand for information on the topic and the theoretical framework is as followed;

What are the opportunities for improving the quality of public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad and how can constructive interventions regarding quality improvement be implemented?

The conceptual framework illustrated in this chapter led to the use of the methodology as described in the following chapter.

Chapter 3 Methodology

“Research is to see what everybody else has seen, and to think what nobody else has thought.” Albert Szent-Gyorgyi

3.1 Introduction

The subsequent chapter portrays the methodology practiced in order to realize the research objective of the study. The use of secondary and various primary research methods resulted in a greater verification of the gathered data. Additionally some definitions of key matters within this thesis are given for clarification. The research period brought some difficulties forth, which are discussed in the research limitations and the chapter is closed by a conclusion.

3.2 Secondary research

The secondary research has provided relevant background information on the phenomenon Early Childhood Education (ECE) and supportive theories which are incorporated in the research as discussed in the previous chapter. The general information was helpful for a broader perspective on the research subject including the focus area, the overall context, the education system, the international context of ECE, research approaches and different legislation issues. A wider perspective on the research matter enhanced the understanding of the importance of ECE and the various elements of quality, which was necessary to attain the research objective. The secondary research conducted regarding a quality measurement mechanism and for a greater understanding of the quality of education have been a tremendous help for orientation on the matter and structuring the gathered data from the field research.

Secondary research included desk research on the internet, books, reports, magazines, publications and other theses'. This element of the research process entails an analysis of previously published information on the subject and a succeeding search for unanswered questions relevant to the research goal.

A considerable time was spend in the office of SAATH to become acquainted with the workings and vision of the NGO. Moreover, during this period vital connections were made and relevant information could be gathered. Desk research helped to form an in depth insight and a virtuous basis for the thesis, and provided additional information to determine and better understand the information gathered from the primary research.

3.3 Primary research: triangulation

The first stage of field research was adaptation and participatory observation of the study area and culture to limit the artificial research situation on an initial basis. In the research process when more precise information was desired, the artificial research methods were used. Observation is of great importance, as it has expressed vital information for a better understanding of the context and helped to correctly begin and complete other stages of the primary research.

It was during this time that social behavior and polite cultural gestures became familiar. Moreover, it has been useful to exercise a field inventory during this stage; “a checklist of items or phenomena you are likely to encounter in the field” (Desai & Potter, 2006), of which the features relating to ECE were the focus (see appendix six). The additional tools which are used included a quality check-list regarding ECE, questionnaires and structured in-depth interviews which all are included in the appendices (see appendices eight, nine, ten and eleven).

The quality check-list for assessing the ECE services needed to be formulated by the researcher, as no satisfying measurement tool currently existed (see appendix seven). However, there are other studies and organizations which did make use of some sort of a check-list, which was consulted when designing the check-list specific for this research. One example is the Global Guidelines for Early Childhood Education and Care in the 21st Century of the Association for Childhood Education International. Another study which made use of these guidelines was conducted in Shanghai, which was concerning ECE through kindergarten directors’ self-assessment (Zhu-Jiaxion, 2005). It was desired to design such a check-list that it can be replicated to other areas as well and possible to be used by various stakeholders. Within this research the check-list was completed by the researcher, parents and teachers for each pre-school. The number of check-lists is based on the sample of the anganwadi’s and balghars displayed below.

The quality check-list can be interpreted as a Likert scale, ranging from –2 till +2. In which the former is very unsatisfactory and the latter very satisfactory concerning the allocating element of quality in ECE. The average for each group of respondents of such a Likert scale is used for indicating the quality level of an element in the belonging anganwadi or balghar.

The second element of the primary research entails the structured interviews, which were completed by teachers and parents of the children involved in both private and public ECE with the help of a translator. The teachers helped to draw a complete picture of the current situation at the ECE programs of both anganwadi’s and balghars, and the desired changes for in the future. The demand side of ECE is represented by the parents of the children enrolled in ECE of both anganwadi’s and balghars. These interviews constructed a quality assessment and any preferred improvements for in the future from the demand side.

For a representative sample of both the teachers and parents in the structured interviews the following methods have been used. The study area Juhapura has recently experienced an administrative reorganization, which resulted in unclear boundaries of the area. This resulted in a difficult inventory of anganwadi’s in Juhapura, though with the help of officials of the integrated child development service program the list displayed in table 3.1 was formed. In total there are 22 public run pre-schools in Juhapura, also known as anganwadi’s. These pre-schools in the area are implemented by the NGO Maktapura Seva Samaj. From these 22 anganwadi’s 15 had been systematically selected to be included in the sample, this was possible as there was no logical order in the list. Though because of confusion regarding which anganwadi it was one case got wrongfully selected. Prior to these structured interviews, one pilot interview with a teacher and one with a parent were conducted. Subsequently, seven anganwadi’s were systematically selected for interviews with parents. Of each selected anganwadi six parents were interviewed, in total 42 parents of anganwadi’s were interviewed.

Table 3.1 Anganwadi's of the NGO Maktampura Seva Samaj

Juhapura			Teachers	Date	Parents	Date	
No.	Ward	Worker					
1	Vejalpur	Nahid S Mirja		14.03.2012			
2	Vejalpur	Pravinaben		22.03.2012		27.03.2012	
3	Vejalpur	Mayurikaben					
4	Vejalpur	Mumtazben		19.03.2012			
5	Vejalpur	Hamidaben		19.03.2012		24.03.2012	One pilot
6	Vejalpur	Alkaben Shah		22.03.2012			
7	Vejalpur	Anjanaben Parmar		22.03.2012			
8	Vejalpur	Ushaben Parmar		22.03.2012		28.03.2012	
9	Vejalpur	Jamilaben					
10	Vejalpur	Shahin Saiyad					
11	Vejalpur	Yasmin Sagri		20.03.2012		04.04.2012	
12	Vejalpur	Dinaben Patil					
13	Vejalpur	Lataben Mahoriya		21.03.2012			
14	Vejalpur	Hansaben Sonara		23.03.2012		30.03.2012	
15	Vejalpur	Dakshaben Rathod					
16	Vejalpur	Salma Maniyar		23.03.2012			
17	Vejalpur	Rumanaben				31.03.2012	
18	Vejalpur	Farjanaben					
19	Sarkhej	Urviben Mistry		21.03.2012			
20	Sarkhej	Ushaben Vaghela		21.03.2012		02.04.2012	Pilot
21	Sarkhej	Jahedaben		Sick			Systematically selected
22	Sarkhej	Anjumben		23.03.2012			Wrongly selected

To gain an elaborate perspective on the quality of pre-schools in Juhapura and to better understand the values of SAATH and especially their strengths, the balghars of SAATH were also included in the research. In total there are seven balghars operating in Juhapura, and all were included in the sample. The balghars where parents were interviewed are randomly selected by a computer generator. Resulting in five random balghars where six parents each were interviewed, so in total 30 parents were interviewed regarding the balghars in Juhapura.

Table 3.2 Balghars of the NGO SAATH

Juhapura			Teachers	Date	Parents	Date	
No.	Ward	Teacher					
1	J ward	Sarfunisa Pathan		15.03.2012			
2	G ward	Shakila Hussain		15.03.2012		05.04.2012	
3	E ward	Sanjida Shaikh		20.03.2012		09.04.2012	
4	E ward	Nasreen Mansuri		16.03.2012		06.04.2012	
5	H ward	Suhana Ajmeri		16.03.2012			
6	C ward	Zarina Mansuri		15.03.2012		11.04.2012	Systematically selected
7	Ronak Park	Rahisa Chhipa		19.03.2012		10.04.2012	Randomly selected

Another group which is included in the research is the parents of children in the age group 3 to 6 years old excluded from ECE, to see if there are any improvements possible within that area. Because of the reasons limiting time and this being a difficult and small group to reach, merely a limited group of 11 parents have been reached. These parents were found by the use of the snowball effect in different places of the area.

The final element comprises of structured in-depth interviews. The need of a structured interview is emphasized by the fact that the use of an interpreter is obligatory, as language is a great barrier. The interviews with SAATH employees and other NGO officials helped to analyze the cooperation environment, existing policies and possible interventions more elaborately. In total four structured interviews were conducted within the timeframe of the research period. These interviews took place with two SAATH employees, the anganwadi supervisor of Maktampura Seva Samaj and the director of the NGO Samerth.

The various approaches together demonstrate the use of triangulation in the research. With the theoretical foundation for designing the various research tools, the research can strongly be defended in the final conclusions and recommendations.

3.4 Translator

Vital elements of this research were the two translators which assisted during the entire process of primary research. It was of great importance that the translator could speak Hindi, Gujarati and English and have a social character. Prior to finding excellent translators, some initial contacts in the field were made. Though these contacts were greatly superficial and difficult to uphold. Due to financial limitations, English major students rather than professionals were used. Before the translators went into the field an elaborate explanation and discussion regarding the research took place, including clear instructions on the interviews. Unfortunately, the need of using two translators was inevitable as without a translator it was impossible to communicate with the respondents. The differences were however minimized by making the translators work together for two days and align the formation of interviewing.

3.5 Definitions and concepts

Within the thesis certain notions and concepts are used, and it is considered to be cluttering to provide an ample elaboration on these matters in the chapters where these are discussed. However, without any clear definition of the issues these are easily misunderstood. It is therefore that four of these concepts are commented on in the following subparagraphs.

3.5.1 Baksheesh

Baksheesh is of influence on the processes of ECE as it remains a common activity in the government of India. Subsequently, the already bureaucratic system which controls the public ECE programs becomes even more problematic. Especially for a backward area as Juhapura it becomes even more difficult to depend on authority figures when these individuals or even departments are involved in baksheesh. Corruption, favoritism and informal businesses are the basis of the Indian governmental environment. The endless bureaucratic system existing in the country is a great predicament for lower educated individuals to make efficient use or even correctly understand the workings of their own government. The difficulties Juhapura is experiencing as a backward and biased area are merely additional to this problem of corruption. Corruption is however not the most accurate term used, 'baksheesh' is more suitable for the situation in Ahmedabad. The following definitions are given for baksheesh:

- "tipping, charitable giving, and certain forms of political corruption and bribery in the Middle East and South Asia."
- "lavish remuneration and bribes, rudely demanded but ever so graciously accepted by the natives in return for little or no services rendered." (Testaments of Time, 1966)

To illustrate the difference between corruption and baksheesh the following definition of corruption is given:

- "Giving or obtaining advantage through means which are illegitimate, immoral, and/or inconsistent with one's duty or the rights of others." (Business dictionary, 2010)

Baksheesh is not in line with the religion of the Islam. However the norms and values change over time and baksheesh becomes familiarized by the Islamic society. There are different streams of the Islam and there are some extremist groups who do not allow any form of baksheesh. It is however so, that in Juhapura no one has the means to make elaborate use of baksheesh. Overall society does not accept baksheesh; however do use the opportunity of creating a better situation for themselves. Nonetheless, the money lost in baksheesh could be used more effectively and constructively in other places and make the bureaucratic systems currently in place more apprehensible for the masses. There is a fine line between helping friends and baksheesh, the difficulty is who decides where this line is drawn and by what values and norms.

The opposite of baksheesh is transparency, integrity, responsibility, participation and justice. These aspects are wanted by the public sector and local communities, however not supported by everybody. It remains to be that often the entire society is included in baksheesh and everybody tries to do his or her advantage by baksheesh (KIT publishers Amsterdam NOVIB and Koninklijk instituut, 2005).

3.5.2 Early childhood development

Within the following subsection a short introduction is given on early childhood education. Prior however it is of importance to display the definition of early childhood development.

“Early childhood is the most rapid period of development in a human life. Although individual children develop at their own pace, all children progress through an identifiable sequence of physical, cognitive, and emotional growth and change. The Early Child Development (ECD) approach is based on the proven fact that young children respond best when caregivers use specific techniques designed to encourage and stimulate progress to the next level of development.” (The World Bank, 2011)

The overall development of a child can be considered ECD, subsequently ECE is explained as a more specific element of the development of a child.

3.5.3 Early childhood education

It is specifically ECE which is put central in the thesis, and not the happenings of the entire ECD process. ECE can be considered a fragment of the overall development in a child’s early life, which can be defined as following.

“Early Childhood Education is a term that refers to educational programs and strategies geared toward children from birth to the age of eight. This time period is widely considered the most vulnerable and crucial stage of a person's life. Early childhood education often focuses on guiding children to learn through play. The term often refers to pre-school or infant/child care programs.” (About, 2012)

The reasons to invest in early childhood education are extensive, below several arguments are given.

- “A strengthening factor for realization of the goals of compulsory primary education.” (Pattnaik, 1996)
- “Children who participate in well-conceived ECD programs tend to be more successful in later school.”
- “Ensuring healthy child development, therefore, is an investment in a country's future workforce and capacity to thrive economically and as a society.”
- “Including early childhood interventions in larger programs can enhance the programs' efficacy. Early childhood interventions in health and nutrition programs increase children's chances of survival.”
- “A healthy cognitive and emotional development in the early years translates into tangible economic returns.” (The World Bank, 2011) (Heckman and Klenow, 1997).
- “The first years of life are particularly important because vital development occurs in all domains” (Nath, 2007) (Nair, 2004) and “child development is an important determinant of health over the life course.” (Anderson, 2003).
- “Limit social risk factors and secondary handicaps.” (Anderson, 2003).

As will become clear later on, the context of a society is of great influence on the outcomes of educational programs. It is therefore of great importance for “childhood [to] be carefully defined in all nations as a highly distinct period of human growth and development that deserves careful education, social, and political attention and intervention” (Jalango, 2004, p. 144).

One major provider of ECE in India is the public integrated child development services scheme, including a package of services. The services are provided to children (below six years of age), expectant and nursing mothers as well as women between 15 and 45 years old, and encompass supplementary nutrition, immunization, health-checkup, referral services, health and nutrition education and non-formal pre-school education (Arora, 2006). The scheme has put great emphasis on the health and nutrition components, resulting in a low priority of the pre-school component. For this reason has the scheme not been able to attain the desired level of community participation and acceptance in pre-school provision (Nair, 2004).

Despite great developments, there remains a perceived ‘uselessness’ concerning the education of girls. The reason for this is that within society the traditional gender roles continue to be of influence, and girls are not envisaged to partake in the labor market. It is for this reason that it is not found productive to send girls to school. Moreover, conservatism and a concern for safety are also of influence on the participation of girls in education on all levels (Kingdon, 2007). Next to the gender bias for girls attending education there is also a gender bias concerning the educators, which only women are suitable for caring for young children. A second unfair event results from this is an economic bias, as women are overall paid less (Jalango, 2004).

The specifics of the public program are elaborately discussed in the following chapter, and clearly illustrate the objectives and means which are a part of the ECE services offered by the government.

3.5.4 [Mindset](#)

The mindset of an individual or group is the foundation of the norms and values system which determines the ethics of that individual or group. A mindset is shaped by the social and general environment in which a person grew up in and is living in (with its culture, tradition and religion), the life experiences, the various possibilities and the choices made over time by the individual. Every individual and every child holds a different background, a different foundation and strength to battle life. A mindset results in the outlook on the world and the position given by the individual to him or herself that the individual deserves as person within the world. Moreover, it also reflects the perspective of a parent on his or her children. The following definition can be given:

- ‘A fixed mental attitude or disposition that predetermines a person's responses to and interpretations of situations.
- An inclination or a habit.’ (The free dictionary, 2010)

The outlook, school of thought and the behavior (including responses and interpretations of situations) determine the position of a person in his or her environment. Each individual oversees different outcomes or possibilities, wants to accomplish singular goals in life or experiences similar situations differently which all is determined by the mindset the individual carries with him or her.

Indicating each person makes different decisions and shapes his or her life according to the mindset given and impacted by all various influences. The young children central within this research do not have a say over their own lives yet, it is therefore of great importance to consider the mindset of their parents and environment as well.

Moreover of importance are self-esteem, self-image and self-respect for an individual which all are of influence by the mindset of that person. These aspects are highly valued by SAATH. It is also for this reason that SAATH expects a small payment for their services, in order not to make the people feel useless or beggars. The mindset of an individual is influenced by the environment, how the environment behaves and treats the individual. When an individual has been taught a certain belief from childhood on, the individual does not know any better. As long as no other person shows or demonstrates life differently, the individual will continue living according to this belief. This aspect is of great importance in the ECE programs children attend, these children need to be stimulated and be taught self-esteem.

The mindset of the children as well as of the various stakeholders (especially in the case of young children the parents) is of great influence on the development of a child and moreover the (social) environment holds a vital role in a child's life. Children until the age of six years overall do not control the decisions taken concerning their lives, their parents decide if a child enrolls in education and especially in ECE. This is also considered in Sen's capabilities approach; it is not always the freedom an individual has right now, however the freedom an individual will obtain in the future. A greater understanding of the situation of a child's life is necessary to completely oversee the influences, effects and changes of one's acts upon a child's life. The phenomena 'mindset' is therefore seriously considered during the research.

3.6 [Research limitations](#)

Ethics. When doing research in a developing country on a matter such as ECE in a disadvantage area as Juhapura, it is of great importance to take ethics into account (Desai, 2006). The research approach and throughout the complete research process the communication has been with care and consideration concerning the various ethics or moral philosophies by different stakeholders involved to gain as much relevant information as possible. This also displays the importance of power of the various stakeholders in this specific research; SAATH obtains certain outlooks and desires particular outcomes, the teachers are accountable to the employer, the parents depend on information which is made available to them and the children depend on their turn on their parents. The role of the researcher was therefore a vital element of consideration, which is discussed under the heading 'objectivity' and 'position as a foreign woman'. Another element of ethics is informed consent, which is necessary to validate the information obtained. Informed consent entails "explain why we are doing this and what are the intended outcomes, both for ourselves and them" (Desai, 2006, p. 26). The latter aspect turned out to be of great importance, as not all respondents immediately understood our intentions. All the matters of ethics concerning this research are obtained in a Code Of Conduct, attached in appendix one.

“In simple terms, morality is the right or wrong (or otherwise) of an action, a way of life or a decision, while ethics is the study of such standards as we use or propose to judge such things. Thus abortion may be moral or immoral according to the code we employ but ethics tells us why we call it so and how we made up our minds. As a result, ethics is sometimes called moral philosophy; we use it to criticize, defend, promote, justify and suggest moral concepts and to answer questions of morality.” (The Galilean Library, 2005)

Language/ use translator. Concentrated interaction was needed during the field research period in order to obtain strong qualitative and some quantitative information. An obstacle in this was the issue of language, which was overcome by the use of two translators. The desired skills and attitude of the translators were precise, and some training was necessary to limit the bias of the translator. Nevertheless, information went lost or was altered in translation. For this reason, careful utilization of and instructions for the translator were of great importance. By follow up questions and repetition these predicaments were kept to a minimum.

Objectivity. As illustrated below, the bias of ‘being a foreign woman’ could have great influence on the research outcomes. Moreover, the position of the researcher is also granted of importance. The positions of the various stakeholders need to be heard and taken into account, however should not overshadow the direction and impartiality of the research. By being aware of the limitations of objectivity, the reliability and fairness of the research will be greater.

Position as a foreign woman. While conducting research in an unfamiliar environment it was essential to adapt to the local culture. Despite a great adaptability a researcher remains biased, as an individual cannot disregard the norms and values he or she has shared a lifetime (Desai, 2006). By being aware of the bias and positionality, a researcher can limit the influences and foresee the impact on the research outcomes. Moreover, there are significant differences in approaches between a female and male researcher. Within this study concerning ECE it could be granted an advantage of being a woman, because most interaction will be with women and children. Additionally, as the target group generally includes Muslims, women were more open to be approached by other women. There was however also a marginal disadvantage, as in some aspects of the Islamic culture the woman remains in a backward position and therefore some interactions for a female researcher were unattainable. Nevertheless, no major predicaments were experienced on this matter.

Restrictive time period and incompleteness. The lack of time and resources limited the possible research approaches and the extensiveness of the information obtained. The specific research objective needed to be realistic, specific and have clear boundaries in order to be completed and not to drown the researcher in work and problems. A threat could have been the incompleteness of the gathered information, as it is greatly difficult to obtain additional information later on in the process. Though it is always possible to obtain more information to verify ones findings, within this research all major components of the field research were conducted through research triangulation.

Scarcity of publications. There is an extensive range of publications on primary education and because of the upcoming importance of ECE there is also a variety of publication on that specific matter. However, on the specific context of Juhapura or Ahmedabad related to the subject, the publications are limited. This stressed the importance of the research, which will hopefully help future researcher to conduct a more elaborate analysis. It was however possible to make certain use of 'good practices' or examples of other ECE reports and analyses in India or South Asia.

Sensitive environment. ECE in a disadvantaged area and the allocated subjects are sensitive matters to discuss or research, accusations are easily made and people quickly feel offended. The manner in which a researcher is to approach the subject is with great care and no suppositions towards the research group. When open to listening to different stories and to various research approaches the gathered information is extensive. This is a very important feature considered during the field research.

3.7 Conclusion

An extensive range of research methods resulted in the use of research triangulation to ensure greater verification of the empirical data gathered during the research. In total four structured in-depth interviews were conducted, 105 questionnaires and 127 quality check-lists were gathered. Though several limitations were encountered, by realizing these difficulties it was possible to overcome them and to consider them in the concluding analysis. With the help of detailed definitions of vital elements in the research a greater understanding could be realized. It is now time to put the methodology into the research context as presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 4 Context analysis of Juhapura

"All is connected.. No one thing can change by itself." Paul Hawken

4.1 Introduction

Unique to every single research is the context in which it is undertaken, in this study the locality is the slum area Juhapura in Ahmedabad and the allocating context is presented in this chapter. The specific characteristics of the area regarding the national politics and the legal system, the geography, the economy and institutions, and the society and demographics are orderly discussed. The relevant facets of the context regarding Early Childhood Education (ECE) are uncovered for a greater understanding of the contextual influences on the processes of ECE. Juhapura is an individual case of particular circumstances and influences, which makes the context peculiar and the research interesting. The chapter firstly starts with a short discussion of India and subsequently Gujarat - Ahmedabad, and provides as well an introduction to the general education system of India and the Integrated Child Development Scheme. The succeeding paragraphs present the context analysis of Juhapura, and the chapter is finished with a short conclusion.

4.2 The context of India

India is situated between Bangladesh and Pakistan, moreover bordering Bhutan, Burma, China and Nepal. On the south side the country borders to the waters of the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. Because of the immense distances the country covers the climate varies from tropical monsoon in the south to temperate in the high north. This is also dependent on the variety of land the country offers; plains in the south, flat to rolling plains along the 'artery' of India the Ganges, deserts in the west and the Himalayas in the north (NIC, 2005). These geographical characteristics and the overall climate setting have as consequence that India is a disaster prone country; regularly suffering from droughts, earthquakes, floods and cyclones (Bremer, 2003).

Map 4.1 India (CIA, 2011)



The Indian *economy* has experienced various strategies over time, and now it is striving towards a free-market economy. From earlier times a mark was left by the British colonial period on the organization and circumstances of the economy in 1947. In the aftermath, subsequent to destructive famines and exploitation, the national economy started to recover and the strategy applied tended to protectionism. It was not until 1991 that economic reforms were made to limit these constraints and initiated the inflow of foreign direct investment into the country (India Times, 2012). These processes have accelerated economic growth in India, and goes accompanied with upturns in life expectancy, literacy rates and food security. However, these developments have been concentrated in particular urban areas of India. The poverty rate of India was 37.2% in 2010 based on a national scale (UNDP, 2011).

As is everything in India, its economy is extremely diverse from traditional rural farming to modern agriculture, and a wide range of modern industries and services. A strong characteristic of the country is the large English-speaking workforce, which developed India into a foremost exporter of information technology services and software. English is considered a vigorous asset by the Indian population for someone entering the labor market. A young population and the enhancement of the integration into the global economy stimulate a positive prospect for the Indian economy. The various national advantages India holds are however not the only influences on the economy. Several predicaments remain to taunt India such as prevalent poverty, inadequate physical and social infrastructure, scarce access to quality education and housing (Raja Mohan, 2011). Moreover, 4.4% of the labor force remained unemployed in 2005 and this has been increasing since (World Bank, 2012); unemployment is a great burden on households in an already deprived situation. The financial benefits of the uprising economy of India are clearly not equally shared among its population and the country continues to be taunted by extreme poverty and further inequality.

Previously the need for improvement in the physical and social *infrastructure* in India was mentioned. The overall transport infrastructure is relatively developed and greatly contributes to the economic enhancement of India. The means of transport on local scale and in backward areas are however limited. India has developed its information technology sector over the past years leading to an increase in domestic use of such infrastructure. Regarding mobile phones tremendous development has taken place over the past ten years, and also concerning the access to and usage of internet an increase came about (World Bank, 2009). The energy, power, water and social services are also part of the infrastructure and continue to desire pronounced attention in certain areas of the country. Mostly rural areas and backward urban areas are excluded from these services.

The democratic Republic of India has experienced a long history of religious development, occupation, conflict and diversification. The most significant happening of the last century was a great struggle which brought about independence from Great Britain in 1947 (Majumdar, 1950). This was followed by several turbulent periods within the country and with other countries; including border conflicts with Pakistan. India is currently a democratic republic and the national *government* inherited its organization from the British parliamentary system. Disregarding this heritage is India a unique democracy. The British democracy is based on a homogenous basis of Caucasian, affluent, and Christians with one dominating language; where the Indian democracy is founded on a plural platform of various religions, multiple languages and a complex caste system accompanied by poverty, illiteracy and diversity. The country is divided up into states which have their own elected governments; however the power remains concentrated at the national government. Conceivably due to the plural platform India provides, has the country put bureaucratic conducts in governance to the extreme.

Box 4.1 Bureaucracy

“Management or administration marked by hierarchical authority among numerous offices and by fixed procedures.

An administrative system in which the need or inclination to follow rigid or complex procedures impedes effective action.” (Free dictionary, 2012)

These cumbersome processes of endless departments in the government, required forms and regulations are holding back innovative ideas in every sector in the country. The overall workings of *the bureaucratic system* are inexplicable to the majority of the Indian population, and obstruct them to accurately use the services which are created to assist them. As will be indicated later in this chapter, the ECE services provided through anganwadi's are also governed by a long chain of offices and administrators. Next to the fact that a great amount of time passes till a decision can be made, the priorities are differently organized at each level. For this reason there is the problem of decisions being made at a national scale and in the meantime different pressing problems are of issue at the operational or local level. The communication between the various stakeholders of the same chain is often very limited or considered merely one-way, as in many cases no concrete communication comes back down the chain to the local level. Next to the immensity of the system, there is also the problem of accepted *baksheesh* (see paragraph 3.5.1). The practices of accepting bribes or favoritism are when possible used by the majority of society to gain a better position or other advantage.

It has been over 50 years ago when the State initiated the process towards equality for all after independence in 1947 (Govinda, 2008). During this time significant attention was given to the *education system* of India by influential individuals. One being Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi who was a great advocate for free and compulsory education for everyone (Pattnaik, 1996). The attention given and initiatives taken regarding education in India encompass a range of national and international actions. In the national article 21, primary education for children aged six to fourteen was made a fundamental right; "the State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the State may by law, determine" (Chauhan, 2009, p. 232). Because of the compulsory duty of this constitutional right the population of India is able to demand and enforce education in this age group. Thus the article functions as a means to empowerment and allows every citizen to the entitlement of educational provision with equal opportunity. ECE has however been incorporated under another constitutional article; the less obligatory article 45 and includes a promise of the national government entailing the following "the State shall endeavor to provide early childhood care and education for all children until they complete the age of six years" (Chauhan, 2009, p. 232). In this setting 'endeavor' involves a sincere State activity intended to accomplish the demonstrated objective, though ECE is not considered an enforceable right. Because of this it might be that children under the age of six are deprived of education, while this is an essential time for further development. The data of the recent census of 2011 are not available at the time of writing, therefore is the data of the 2001 census used to indicate the tremendous amount of children who are denied ECE. There were an estimated 60 million children between the age of three to six years and merely some 34 million of those children were able to attend a pre-school in 2001 (Bhawan, 2007-2012). This age group is perceived to grow immensely in the future, thus the task of providing education to all children in India is not going to become easier.

The national commitments of the government towards education are not the only factors of influence on the development of education in India. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948, together with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) are agreements which ought to enforce compulsory and free primary education.

Disregarding all these international commitments, much room for specification regarding obligatory education is left to the national government of a country. This makes the national legislation of great influence on the educational possibilities for the youth of a country. Nevertheless, these international agreements are a form of accountability and awareness regarding the endeavors and compulsory responsibilities a nation has committed itself to.

Though India is enjoying an uprising economy and the positive impacts of this prosperity, the remaining predicaments are greatly obstructing equal and inclusive development for the entire Indian population. Widely known issues as inadequate infrastructure and social services in India are considered barriers for further development of backward areas. The bureaucratic conducts that are common in Indian society are expected to be of significance in the local context of Juhapura. Moreover, especially the national legislation regarding the education provision is regarded to be of importance in the future developments in the field of ECE. These are however the overarching influences on the local context, the specific context of the area is discussed subsequently in the chapter. Firstly some other predominant structures in Indian society are discussed.

4.2.1 [The caste system](#)

The caste system plays a significant role in society. The Indian Constitution of 1950 officially abolished untouchability and casteism, and even privileges concerning employment and educational opportunities ('the reservation system') are given to the former lower castes. Nevertheless, there remains a great sense of deceitful social advancement. The issues of lower castes continuously being underrepresented and often are discriminated against continues (Raman, 1999).

The caste system remains an important factor in shaping today's society. The system consists out of five main groups, including the Brahmins (conventionally known as priests and teachers), the Kshatriyas (the warriors and royalty), the Vaisyas (the moneylenders and traders), the Sudras (the unskilled laborers) and the Ati Sudras also known as the untouchables or the Dalits (obtaining the basic jobs perceived as the lowest in society) (Deshpande, 2000). The former three groups are considered noticeably superior to the latter two groups. Pronounced inequality continues to exist between these five groups.

Though the caste system has been officially abolished it remains a limiting factor for the lower castes to fully reach their potential and large groups of Muslims are regarded to be in these castes. This is due to various lower caste people who adapted to the Islam many centuries ago. Moreover, because of large scale migration after the separation between India and Pakistan the Muslim population in India decreased tremendously. The motivation for many to move was to preserve their identity and seek enhanced livelihoods. Those who remained settled in societies as Juhapura and often were allocated to the lower castes. Disregarding the fact that this system no longer exists as bounded by the constitution, the enduring influences are experienced by the lower groups of the caste system.

4.2.2 The Indian education system

The education system is governed by the Ministry of Human Resources, from basic to higher education. The ministry encompasses two departments, the Department of School Education and Literacy and the Department of Higher Education. The prior department is responsible for the primary education, secondary education and adult education and literacy. The later department concerns the university and higher education, technical education and minority education (National Government of India, 2005).

The Indian education system originates from the colonial period and thus is based on the British model. However, over time it has been transformed into an 8+2+2+2 year system. This entails that the general education system exists off 8 years of basic education, 4 years of high school and 2 years of higher education. In 2002 education became a part of the constitution as a fundamental right. However, only on the first of April 2010 the right of children to free and compulsory education act came into force. The act is regarding free and compulsory education to all children in India between the ages of six to fourteen years. It is considered a duty of the central government as well as the states to enforce this act (National Government of India, 2005). The obligatory educational career for all children is from six years till fourteen years old; however in practice this regulation is not always enforced. Moreover, an official diploma is not obtained until several more years of education after the age of 14. The article 45 concerning free and compulsory education for all children in 1960 has been rewritten and now includes the promise of the national government to “provide early childhood care and education for all children until they complete the age of six years” (Chauhan, 2009, p. 232). The overall language used in basic education is the most important language in the region, after the first 10 years English or Hindi are the main teaching languages.

There is much discussion on the privatization of education, which is done by transforming the education system into an educational sector. “The rapid growth of the private tuition industry in India – which constitutes a surrogate education system – has become a cause of concern because of its perceived detrimental effects on the main education system” (Kingdon, 1996, pp. 29-30). The dual system that arises from the provision of public (free of charge) and private (fee-charging) education creates a competitive and economic environment in which the education system operates. This entails that the education system has evolved into a market. The reasons for discouragement are that it creates greater inequity between the various socio-economic groups within society and because primary education is a fundamental right and it is considered unethical to demand tuition fee for this education. Private education should be seen as an addition to the government provision, not a substitute of (Aggarwal, 2000). Nevertheless, it can also be considered good because competition among providers can stimulate quality of services (Kingdon, 1996). Overall the quality of public educational programs is considered inferior compared to private educational programs.

The privatization of education has derived from the overall superior efficiency of private education, students at private schools outperform their public schools equals, the unit costs of private schools are reported to be lower than those of public schools, private schools are of higher quality than public schools, or it may be the demand for a differentiated product (namely English-medium schools) (Kingdon, 1996) (Kingdon, 2007) (Aggarwal, 2000).

There are also several other reasons presented for the increase in private schools; resulting from the growth in demand for quality education, the dissatisfaction with the public school performances and the ability of certain groups in society to afford the necessary costs for quality education (Aggarwal, 2000). The differences in unit costs derive from the private schools' per student salary expenses which are much lower than in public schools. "There are huge economic rents in the salaries of government school teachers" (Kingdon, 2007, p. 188). More worrying is the issue of public schools spending little on non-salary costs, with the consequence that these are under-resourced. It is however interesting how these characteristics manifest in public and private ECE; the national scheme for ECE is discussed in the following paragraph.

4.2.3 [The Integrated Child Development Services scheme](#)

The Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) scheme was established in 1975 by the Government of India (GoI). The national policy for children of 1974 emphasized the responsibility of the nation itself for nurturing its children, as the youth is considered the most vital asset for the future. From this time on it was regarded the concern of the State to provide sufficient services to the nation's children, hence the initiative of ICDS the following year (SAATH, 2008). The continuous existence of child malnutrition in India is a consequence of various issues; including diseases, nutritional habits of the children and pregnant women and the inability of a part of the population to acquire sufficient food (AED, 2007). Initially the purpose of the program was merely a supplementary food program; however the program has evolved to a more holistic approach to early childhood development. The various facets included in the program are health, nutrition and education. The educational component exists out of a pre-school education center named 'anganwadi'. The ICDS scheme represents a centralized model of food distribution at the grassroots level together with the national or state level where the decision power is concentrated (AED, 2007). The program is allocated to the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MOWCD) and encompasses five general objectives (see Box 4.2). A multi-dimensional approach to child and mother well-being is used in the ICDS scheme and includes a variety of services at the anganwadi level (see box 4.3).

Box 4.2 The objectives of the ICDS scheme

"Improve the nutritional and health status of children below the age of six years, pregnant women, lactating mothers, and adolescent girls.

Lay the foundations for proper psychological, physical, and social development of the child.

Reduce the incidence of mortality, morbidity, malnutrition, and school dropout.

Achieve effective coordination of policy and implementation among various departments to promote child development.

Enhance the capability of the mother to look after the normal health and nutritional needs of the child through proper health and nutrition education." (AED, 2007, p. 5)

Box 4.3 The services of the ICDS scheme at anganwadi level

Supplementary nutrition; to children below six years of age, and nursing and pregnant mothers.

Nutrition and health education; to all women in the age group of 15- 45 years of age.

Immunization; of all children less than six years of age and all expectant mothers.

Health checkup; which includes antenatal care of expectant mothers, postnatal care of nursing mothers, care of newborn babies and care of all children under six years of age.

Referral of serious cases of malnutrition or illness.

Non-formal preschool education; to children of three to five years of age. (Arora, 2006)

The scheme is currently the world's largest early childhood development program (Bredenkamp, 2005). The target group of the ICDS scheme includes children (below six years of age), expectant and nursing mothers as well as women between 15 and 45 years old. Growth monitoring is a vital component of the ICDS scheme (Bredenkamp, 2005), other services offered are displayed in table 4.1 below according to the target group.

Table 4.1 Services by the ICDS scheme

	Children between the age of 3 to 6 years	Pregnant women	Lactating women
Health check-up and treatment	Health check-ups. Treatment of diarrhea. Basic treatment of minor ailments. Referral of more severe illnesses.	Antenatal check-ups.	Postnatal check-ups.
Growth monitoring	Monthly weighing of under-threes. Quarterly weighing of three to six year olds. Weight recording on card.		
Immunization	Immunization against poliomyelitis, diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, tuberculosis and measles.	Tetanus toxoid immunization.	
Micronutrient supplementation	Supplementation for malnourished children.	Advice on infant feeding practices, child care and development, utilization of health services, family planning and sanitation.	Advice on infant feeding practices, child care and development, utilization of health services, family planning and sanitation.
Health and nutrition education		Hot meal or ready-to-eat snack.	Hot meal or ready-to-eat snack.
Supplemental nutrition	Hot meal or ready-to-eat snack. Double rations for malnourished children.		
Pre-school education	Early childhood care and pre-school education.		

(Bredenkamp, 2005)

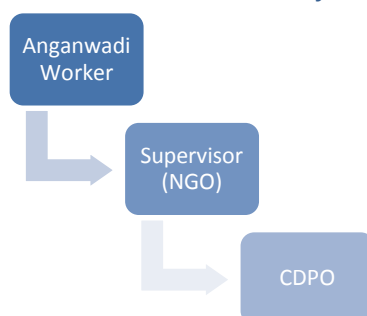
The ICDS program started with 33 development blocks spread over India in 1975, and remarkably it has spread to 5,500 blocks by 2003. In 2004 there were about 600,000 recorded anganwadi workers and almost equally as much anganwadi helpers working for the ICDS program throughout India. These workers and helpers reached some 33.2 million children and 6.2 million pregnant and lactating women in 2004 (Bredenkamp, 2005). The numbers on the program however vary extremely as another source acknowledges 70 million children to be reached and about 15 million pregnant and nursing women (HNPP, 2009). The anganwadi is the central and smallest unit for the provision of services to the target group, the local level of the ICDS scheme is brought to the population through these anganwadi's. The term used for private pre-schools is balghar's. One anganwadi is allocated to a population of 800 households in urban areas, and in rural areas this is to 400 households. The main employee of the anganwadi is the worker, who is assisted by a helper. The listed responsibilities below in box 4.4 are ought to be carried out by these two employees.

Box 4.4 The responsibilities of anganwadi employees

- Providing early childhood education for children between the ages three to six years old.*
- Providing supplementary nutrition to children under six, pregnant women and lactating mothers*
- Providing health and nutrition education to mothers.*
- Making home visits regarding education of the children en for education parents.*
- Facilitating community support and participation in organizing the scheme.*
- Assisting the health center staff for fulfilling the health feature of the scheme.*
- Facilitating relationships with other organizations.*
- Keeping records on the slum survey and monthly progress reports.* (Ministry Human Resources, 2011)

The functioning of an anganwadi and its employees is managed by a supervisor, and each supervisor is responsible for about 17 to 25 anganwadi's. It is however in practice that one supervisor is responsible for about 33 anganwadi's. The supervisor is appointed by the NGO which is managing the anganwadi on the operational level in order of the ICDS program. The NGO has no decision making power on its own, merely serves as an implementer or a puppet of the scheme. The following level is represented by the Child Development Project Officer (CDPO) who manages, coordinates and facilitates the scheme from the managerial level. The functional three tier structure of the ICDS scheme is merely the bottom of the bureaucratic system in which the anganwadi's are incorporated (see figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1 The bottom structure of the ICDS scheme



A more detailed construction of the organizational structure of the ICDS department with the allocated roles and responsibilities can be found in table 4.2 Additional to the department itself there are some related institutions which are given in table 4.3 below.

Table 4.2 The organizational structure of the ICDS department

Level	Department/ personnel	Role and responsibility
Central level	Ministry of Human Development Resources/ Ministry of social welfare	Budgetary control and direction of the implementation of the program.
State level	Directorate, Women and Child Development	Overall control throughout the state.
District level	District Women and Child Development Officer	Responsible for all ICDS projects of the district.
Block level*	Child Development Project Officer Supervisor (NGO)	Managing ICDS at the block level, mainly responsible for selecting AWs, securing local facilities, ensuring food supplies, flow of health services and reporting to higher authorities.
Slum/ village level	Anganwadi worker and helper	See previous named eight responsibilities.

*block – a block is usually considered for a population of 100,000

(National Informatics Center, 2012)

Table 4.3 Other related institutions

Level	Department/personnel	Role and responsibility
Central level	National Institute of Public cooperation and Child Development	Training of CDPOs, supervisors and anganwadi workers
	All India Institute of Medical Sciences	Central Technical Committee for Health and Nutrition

(National Informatics Center, 2012)

The impact of the ICDS scheme has been elaborately studied, and overall the studies indicated that the outcome has been positive in terms of decreasing infant mortality, reduction of severe malnutrition, coverage of immunization and utilization of health services (SAATH, 2008). Additional positive results have been found in school retention, preparation for formal education and reducing the drop-out rate. Nevertheless, in the same studies also several bottlenecks of the scheme are presented. Such as, in total there are about 170 million children under the age of six years old in India, of which merely 13 million are estimated to receive ECE. The poor quality of implementation of the ECE element has also been clearly illustrated in these studies. The ICDS scheme has put great emphasize on the health and nutrition components, resulting in a low priority of preschool. For this reason the scheme has not been able to attain the desired level of community participation and acceptance in the provision of pre-schools (Nair, 2004).

Despite political changes, the GoI remains committed to and strive for expansion of the ICDS scheme (HNPP, 2009). The emphasize of the scheme remains on malnutrition of young children. This commitment of the GoI also puts pressure on other officials to invest in this fight against malnutrition (HNPP, 2009). Nevertheless, the discussion on the effectiveness of the scheme concerning malnutrition continues, as to date no clear evidence is found that it has been of any influence. Moreover, the distribution of the provided services is not considered to be equal between states nor is the poorest population reached (AED, 2007).

4.3 The context of Gujarat - Ahmedabad

The capital city of the state Gujarat is Gandhinagar, though the largest city is Ahmedabad. The state is located in the mid-west of India, bordering the country Pakistan and surrounded by the states Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. Due to its *geographical location* the disastrous occurrence that especially struck Gujarat is the 2001 earthquake; which killed an estimated 20,000, injured 170,000, 600,000 people became homeless, and an added 910 villages were destroyed. The impact of the disaster amplified as hospitals and schools were least resistant against the earthquake (Bremer, 2003). Ahmedabad is the seventh largest city of the country, highly urbanized and industrialized, and famous for its textile sector (Chandhoke, 2009). The geographical organization of Ahmedabad is determined by the division of the Sabarmati River and the city consists out of four distinct areas; the old city, the industrial belt, the relatively new western districts and the suburban region which all are a part of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) (Chandhoke, 2009). The history of the city can be illustrated by the lay out of the city and its allocating outskirts. The area most significant within this research is the industrial belt, which is subject to many one-room housing units (chawls; historically housed mill workers) and slums (illegal occupation of marginal areas) (UN-Habitat, 2003). "Workers in the largely informal economy live in these degraded housing clusters, very often built on illegally occupied land" (Chandhoke, 2009, p. 7).

In the past there has been a shift of *governance* over Ahmedabad between Muslim, Hindu and foreign authorities. The population of the city encompassed 3,52 million inhabitants, of which 15% constitutes of Muslims. The historical structure has had an influence on the current existing segmentation (prior on basis of class and currently more on basis of religion) regarding standards of living, quality of housing and availability of basic services in the city. The present local government body in the city is the AMC, which was founded in July 1950 and is responsible for the civic infrastructure and administration of Ahmedabad. The Gujarat state government extended the city boundaries of Ahmedabad in 2006, merging various municipalities into one corporation. The AMC is one of the major stakeholders in the development of the city as well as for Juhapura including the educational provision in the area. Though unproven, Juhapura is considered to receive a backward treatment by the AMC, for the reason of it being a Muslim area and a slum settlement.

Gujarat is one of the *economically* enhanced states of India; the reason for this is that the state took all possibilities to develop that globalization offered. This is especially concentrated in Ahmedabad, which after the fall of the textile industry took up manufacturing and has been attracting foreign direct investments in a diverse range of sectors. Ahmedabad has moreover a thriving chemicals and pharmaceuticals industry and experienced a growth in the information technology industry over the past years. Nevertheless, oversized pockets of poverty coexist with the affluent business center of the city and it is in these backward areas such as Juhapura that adequate infrastructure and financial revenue is lacking. The city has gained however some strong features, including the high literacy ratio of 73,3% and a high per capita income. The economic developments have also had its effects on the spatial organization of the city (Chandhoke, 2009). The best known initiative in the city is the Slum Networking Project (SNP), entailing; "an internationally recognized 'best practice' in participatory slum upgrading" (Das, 2009, p. 213). Characteristics of this SNP are increased decentralization, reduced state control and greater participation of civil society and the overall community in the decentralized processes. It is now more relevant to zoom in on the specific context of Juhapura.

4.4 Economical and institutional context of Juhapura

The economic circumstances of the backward area Juhapura are not favorable, together with the inadequate provision of infrastructure and services it makes that the local population encounters great difficulties. Juhapura is under governance of the AMC as discussed prior, and Juhapura is experiencing a backward and biased treatment as an area by the AMC for the reason of it being a Muslim area and a slum settlement. As considered in the SLA, the policies and institutions are of a locality of great influence on the capabilities an individual holds (see paragraph 2.2.2). The investments in government responsibilities such as health and education by the AMC in Juhapura are limited and the support for the local population to generally develop the area is lacking. It is within the city though mostly in the area itself that the population finds employment. The labor force in Juhapura mainly consists out of a male population, and popular employment possibilities are rickshaw drivers, local entrepreneurs or small scale merchants. English is considered a vigorous asset in Juhapura for someone entering the labor market, and therefore considered to be of importance in education.

There have been some *infrastructural changes* in the area; including mobile phones which are affluently available in Juhapura, internet however is very scarce or even inaccessible for the majority of the population. Infrastructural services which Juhapura does not have include street lighting, and no bus services, playgrounds or fire stations. Because Juhapura previously was outside the boundaries of the AMC, the area was not entitled to the provision by the AMC of health facilities, power supply, roads, drainage and street lighting. This exclusion has had influence on the employment possibilities of the area and the accessibility to high quality education and health facilities. Moreover, this segregation within the city has created a challenging environment for civil society to exist (Chandhoke, 2009).

The *social services* of education and health are a governmental responsibility, with some optional assistance of the private sector. It is mostly concerning these facets of infrastructure where investments are prominently desired. Next to the public institutions whose actions are of influence on the research area, there are several Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) working in Juhapura. The social services offered in Juhapura are very limited and sadly insufficient for such a large population as the area encompasses. There is one police station in Juhapura and one in a neighboring area. The Iqraa hospital and Riyaz hospital are both located in Juhapura and the Matoshree hospital in a neighboring area. The two hospitals in the area itself are private initiatives by the Muslim community to substitute the distant public hospitals and to overcome the flee of Hindu doctors from the area during the riots of 2002 (see paragraph 4.6.5). The difficulty of this however is, that these hospitals do not provide free services and desire high fees for medical attention. For this reason the community of Juhapura remains to travel long distances to the public hospitals, with the risk of being denied assistance. The reason for this denying of services is that in the recent past devastating incidences took place between Hindus and Muslims as is described in the social and demographic context, and unsolved prejudices remain to control interaction between the two groups. The need for a public and with that affordable a hospital within Juhapura is greatly stressed by the size of the population, the distance to currently available public hospitals and the received treatment at other hospitals.

Experience box 4.1 Pregnant women was denied care; mother's story

Several respondents of the research presented experiences of pregnant women seeking medical attention prior to or already in labor at a public hospital and being denied any assistance for the reason of being Muslim. "After travelling for a long time and we finally arrived at the hospital, the doctor turned us away and said he could not help us in any way. I was already in labor at that time. As it was a public hospital, they had no right to turn us away and by doing so endangering the life of my child."

There are 19 accounted for NGOs working in Juhapura on various issues as education, microfinance, health, individuals with special needs and women empowerment (see appendix three). The organizations are initiated by different groups including the Muslim community, international organizations, local established NGOs or other small-scale NGOs. An accurate inventory of NGOs was however rather difficult to attain, as no supervising or administrative body for such projects exists in Juhapura. Moreover the area is widespread, the population is unaware of many of the services available and organizations are also unfamiliar with or unwilling to recognize other projects. The communication and cooperation between the NGOs is very limited and with that undermining a great possibility for the area and its population. Overall, organizations with similar projects are regarded as competition even though most of these organizations ought not to pursue profit. This last remark puts forward another issue which is only based on opinions of the local population and other NGOs. The concern entails that certain NGOs in the area are dishonestly making profit of services provided to the needy population of Juhapura. This portrayed image of a deceitful organization together with the often inadequate supplied or poorly managed services do no good for the confidence of the local population in the possibility of honorable assistance. Nevertheless, there are various NGO's who remain convinced of the opportunity and competence of Juhapura and invest in the development of the area. There is one NGO directly involved in the provision of public ECE in Juhapura, which is Maktampur Sewa Samaj. The NGO is small scale and managed by a board of trustees who come together once a year. There are three supervisors working for the ICDS scheme, of which one is appointed to the 22 anganwadi's in Juhapura. Regarding the responsibilities of the supervisor more information can be found in the prior paragraph concerning the ICDS scheme.

Central within this study is the *ECE service* of India and in specific of Juhapura. Though much is lacking in the provision of education within the area, there are some educational facilities available. Starting from the basic level of education available, there are 22 anganwadi's in Juhapura. Moreover, there are seven balghar's of SAATH which reached 1.468 children (SAATH, 2012) and 13 balghar's run by Samerth in Juhapura and Vejalpur. Samerth is a NGO active in the area of Juhapura and provides besides ECE the following services, including a disability day care center, one mobile library, providing legal advice on conflict resolution and house abuse and an information center. Another important task Samerth fulfills is advocating education to the government. No other known ECE activities take place in Juhapura. There are however nine schools in the area and three in close by surrounding neighborhoods. It is however unclear what level these schools obtain, mostly are primary schools, some secondary schools and there is no high school in Juhapura. Additionally there is no library next to the mobile library offered by Samerth and no college available. The existing educational services are very minimal for the population Juhapura encompasses, not even speaking of the quality of those services available.

4.5 Geographical context of Juhapura

Juhapura is a residency area in the southwest of Ahmedabad (see map 4.2). The area encloses mostly resident areas (80%), some sloops or unused land (10%) and little economic activity grounds (10%). Of the estimated 65,000 landowners there are about 70% illegal settlements and 30% legal settlements in Juhapura, though the eviction threat is perceived to be low by the population as well as by the NGO SAATH. The physical condition of the constructions is poor to very poor, as are the gutters, roads and street lightings.

In 1973 Juhapura was founded as an area. Prior to 2010 the complete area enclosed in the research was known and administrated as to be Juhapura. During that time the area was not included in the AMCs administration, though was enclosed in the rural administration. However, in 2006 the organization of the AMC changed and two years ago the area was reorganized. Next to the fact that Juhapura was from that time on included in the AMC, the naming of the area has also been reorganized. The area in total is still named Juhapura, and especially the inhabitants of the city continue to use this name. However, the complete area has been divided up into three wards; Juhapura, Sarkhej and Vejalpur which all together make the area of Juhapura. Within the three wards there are several areas or societies and even those are divided into smaller wards. As for example the area Sankalitnagar where six of the seven Balghar's of SAATH are located is divided into ten wards (A to J). Of these ten wards, A to G are in Vejalpur and H to J are in Sarkhej. Unfortunately there is no updated and precise map available of the area, both due to insufficient resources and the difficulty of illegal settlements. This all together made the precision of formulating the geographical area a challenging task. Though based on the location of the anganwadi's, the allocated wards and societies are considered as the main research area (see appendix two).

Map 4.2 Juhapura located in Ahmedabad



(SAATH, 2010)

4.6 Social and demographical context

4.6.1 Demographics and multilingualism

The total population of India is impressive and of great influence on both the current social affluence as well as the predicaments that the country is experiencing, however within this thesis the focus is on the pre-school going age group. For the reason that in the complete ICDS scheme the age group of zero to six years is involved and no specific data on the age group three to six years is available, is the former age group initially used (see table 4.4). The number of the total population of Juhapura was not available from any statistical sources, and various results were found during the field research. Therefore an estimation of 350,000 people as the total population of Juhapura has been used.

Table 4.4 The population of India in the age category zero to six years

	Age	Percentage/number of total	Gender
India (census 2011)			
Total population; 1,210,193,422	0-6	13.1% (158 million)	Males; 83 million
			Females; 75 million
Gujarat (census 2011)			
Total population; 60,383,628	0-6	12.40% (7,487,569)	Males; 3,974,286
			Females; 3,519,890
Juhapura (2011)			
Total population; +/- 350,000	0-6	12.40% (43,400)	Males; 23,002
			Females; 20,398

(National census India, 2011)

When making a rough estimation of the children currently enrolled in pre-school in Juhapura, a worrying conclusion comes about. There are in total 42 known pre-schools in the area, which all have on average 35 children enrolled. This makes a total of 1,470 children enrolled in a pre-school in Juhapura. When considering that half or even less than half of the age group zero to six years old (+/- 20,000 children) should be enrolled in pre-school, this is truly a sad number to determine. Firstly because of the reason that only a small number of children are attending a pre-school and secondly because there are only pre-schools available for a very limited number of children in Juhapura. There might be some additional pre-schools in surrounding neighborhoods; however it is unlikely that children will attend a pre-school far from the area due to financial limitations and the social similarities in the area which stop at its boundaries.

The main language spoken in India is Hindi and the largest religion practiced is Hinduism (80,5%), followed by a considerable smaller group of Muslims (13,4%). It is also in Juhapura that people mainly speak Hindi, however Gujarati and other dialects are variously used in the area. This leads to the use of multilingualism in Juhapura. The use of various languages in Juhapura might cause difficulties for children starting with pre-school. The main language in which is taught at the base of the public education system is Gujarati, though some children never learned another language than Hindi. Moreover, the English language has become of greater importance over time and is also valued accordingly by the population. Therefore became English more present in the Indian education system and even at pre-school level some have initiated to teach in English. Languages are a great asset to the labor force, though it can also limit the possibility for children to easily enter ECE.

4.6.2 Society and the Islam

The Muslims present in India mostly originated from the country itself, as various lower caste people adapted to the Islam many centuries ago. Noticeable is the importance of the Islam as a religion in Juhapura, because of daily behavior influenced by religious practices, the social conduct, the various mosques and often used kerchiefs in public. Islam is the most important religion in Juhapura and therefore has a great influence on the culture of the society, including education and indirect related social behavior. The five pillars of the Islam are five practices essential to Sunni Islam (see box 4.5).

Box 4.5 The five pillars of the Islam

“The shahadah, is the basic creed or tenet of Islam that must be recited under an oath with the following specific statement.

The salah, is the ritual prayer, which must be performed five times a day. Each salah is done in the direction of the Kaaba in Mecca. Salah is compulsory however flexibility is allowed depending on various circumstances.

Sawn, is the fasting during the month of Ramadan. The fast is to encourage a feeling of nearness to God and during the Ramadan Muslims should express their gratitude for and dependence on God, atone for their past sins and think of the poor.

Zakat, is alms-giving which is the practice of giving based on wealth and is obligatory for all Muslims who can afford it. A fixed portion is spent to assist to spread of Islam and to help the poor or needy.

The Hajj, is the pilgrimage during the Islamic month of Dhu al-Hijjah in the city of Mecca. Every Muslim who can afford to make the pilgrimage must make it at least once in his or her lifetime.” (Religious Tolerance, 1995-2010)

The Zakat, alms-giving, upholds the possibilities of beggars or poor street vendors to employ children; because the Islamic society supports these employers financially despite the issue of child labor. With this, most likely, the society unintentionally supports the possibility of child labor for a poor social group within the local community to continuously exist. In such cases the children are unlikely to be send to pre-school or any other school, as currently the children are already earning sufficiently. At this moment the caregivers of a child are the overruling influencers in a child’s life, as already illustrated by Bronfenbrenner families are actors in the direct context of a young child (see paragraph 2.2.3).

It is however the salah that is of most noticeable influence on everyday society, as during these prayers all men when possible stop their work or whereabouts to go to mosque. The women however are not attending mosque and pray in the comfort of their homes. This is merely one example of the different position of women in this Islamic society. There is a general rule that it is unacceptable that a women works for financial support; the task a woman needs to fulfill is bounded to housework and caring for the children. This leads to some cases of women never leaving the boundaries of their own house or perhaps the street by themselves. Of course this is not to be generalized to the entire community, as there are progressive families in the area were women are accepted to work. The family is an important corner stone of the Islamic society and also an important feature in the Indian culture. The family of husband, wife, and children is the most common domestic unit; though elders and unmarried siblings may be added to the family unit or even cousins are added to the domestic unit when necessary (JRank, 2010).

The difference between men and women is also present in education. There is a general assumption that education is not necessary for young girls, as there is no need for them to get a job in later life. However, because of progressivity and mildness of fathers there is a large group of girls who are able to attend the fundamental stages of the education system. Specifically for the Islamic culture there are primary schools present in the area, named madressas. This is where children learn Urdu, general education and specific religious classes are given. Every mosque has a madressa and teaches first to seventh standard. The children attending these schools are however not registered at this time, and the madressas are not formally recognized schools. After five years of age the children are able to attend these schools, however girls are no longer allowed to go after their first menstruation. Moreover, it remains a common tradition that girls get married at a young age and some even at a critical young age. When married it immediately ends the possibility for continuing ones education, with exceptions there. Next to the disadvantages girls experience, boys have similar limitations as it comes to education. As men are overall considered as providers for the family, there are cases that boys need to assist in this at a young age and no longer can attend school. Though change is occurring and not all remarks on gender issues apply to the entire population of Juhapura, it remains to be that education is not always valued greatly and equally within the society.

At the time of conducting the research kidnappings of children were occurring in the entire city, and also in Juhapura (see appendix four for newspaper article). The reasons for kidnapping the children remained unclear, due to lack of money by the families one can only guess for the explanations of these actions. These events caused major stress on the society and especially on parents. These events are directly connected to the pre-school for the reason that parents kept their children out of school because there were reports of children being snapped on the way to or from schools. According to the parents the most rational action was to prevent the children to go to school. Towards the end of the research the news of the kidnappings had settled, and children were returning to school. With this however the vulnerability of a society like Juhapura is clearly illustrated, and is of influence on its daily conduct.

4.6.3 Mindset and modernization

The notion of mindset has been defined earlier in paragraph , though it is essential to underline the importance of its implications on society. The mindset of the overall community of Juhapura is influenced by their religion; there are however differences between age groups and certain other groups such as gender within a society. Parents are the dominant decision makers regarding the early stages of a young child's life and it is therefore of great importance how the parents value education. It is not until a later age when children become the main decision makers of their own life and future decisions are made based on the mindset the children have developed till that moment (Saito, 2003).

Modernization is of influence on the mindset and behavior of the younger generation, because this group is most vulnerable to the accompanied changes with their incomplete developed minds and individualities. Moreover modernization implies a change in standards of life. The living conditions and used goods change into more luxury instead of common conditions and goods. The goods include for example clothing, technology, means of communication, drugs or prostitution. The trickle-down effect demonstrates how it is possible for various social groups to adapt to modernization over time.

Box 4.6 The trickle-down effect

“The trickle-down effect is a marketing phenomenon that affects many consumer goods. Initially a product may be so expensive that only the wealthy can afford it. Over time, however, the price will fall until it is inexpensive enough for the general public to purchase.” (Georg Simmel, 1904)

It is desirable for children to have a well-established educational background in order to attain such luxury goods in later life, and education in itself is considered a luxury asset when it was not available to the general public before. Pre-school is not a compulsory part of education, however the demand for and supply of ECE services are rising. With modernization, also the labor market evolves as does the education system, which need to grow closer to each other to realize its full potential for India. The evolving mindset of the population moreover changes the values given to education, and can positively influence the possibilities given to children. In addition a loss or disappearance of more conservative norms and values is a part of modernization. Respect for elderly or higher ranked individuals, family or religion, the position of women in society are only a few examples of these changing norms and values. Modernization implies a change in behavior and habits in the social context. The relation between men and women changes with time; the women become less dependable on the men, which results in postponing the age for marriage. The rights between men and women slowly become more equal, as well as in the written as in the unwritten laws of the Islam. The social structures in society are of immense influence on the educational opportunities of the children, and effects of modernization might change the position of education in society for the better.

4.6.4 Health, malnutrition and special needs

A tremendous amount of health issues remain present in India, of which the following are of significant influence on the health of children; maternal health, neonatal health, measles and HIV/aids. The measles remains a prominent cause of death amongst young children, regardless of the fact that a working vaccine has been available for over 40 years (UNICEF, 2011). Though on the whole extensive attention has been given to these health issues, the provision of the necessary services in Juhapura remains limited.

Next to the various health predicaments there is also the unmistakable problem of malnutrition; which was one of the main reasons for initiating the ICDS scheme. Though this has not been found a major issue in Juhapura, it remains an issue and does exist in the area. Overall there are 20% of children under the age of five years old who suffer from wasting because of malnutrition, 43% of all children in India under five years are underweight and the percentage of underweight children is nearly five times higher among children whose mothers have had no schooling than among mothers who have had some education (UNICEF, 2011). Even though this numbers do not necessarily apply to Juhapura, it needs to be considered as a difficulty. Moreover, education can be of great positive influence on the intense sad issue of malnutrition, because off nutrition provision at certain educational institutions and the effect of educated parents on a reduced amount of malnutrition under children. Malnutrition moreover endangers children’s survival, health, and development, and it decelerates national development towards prosperity and equality. These are aspects which are tried to be strengthened with the help of ECE.

Another critical issue is children with special needs living in Juhapura. For a long time these children in India were mistreated or even ignored due to ignorance, social taboos, parental embarrassment and lack of specialists (My education times, 2010). However, a proactive attitude and greater awareness of the possibilities for these children is arising. The services for these children, as are many services, are however greatly lacking in Juhapura. There is one NGO (Samerth) in the area known to offer them a very basic class, which can merely hold 10-15 children at a time. It is however impossible for such a NGO to cover the entire area of Juhapura. Children with special needs are also included in the ICDS scheme, however the possibilities for these children are very limited in the anganwadi's and therefore this should be further explored to enhance the services.

4.6.5 The communal riots

Due to urbanization a cocktail of different ethnic groups currently exists in the urban areas of India; sadly enough not always in peace. After the earthquake of 2001, some unbelievable riots between Hindus and Muslims took the stage in Gujarat. These riots resulted from the event of a train with Hindu pilgrims which caught fire, with as consequence 59 deaths. After this tragedy Hindus especially target neighborhoods where overall many Muslims lived, resulting in over 1000 Muslims being killed. Juhapura being one of the largest Muslim slums in India was a focal target of these riots. This was however not the first riot occurring in Ahmedabad. The city has been suffering from a wide range of riots between the two groups, and the major riot of 1969 initiated the commencement of 'ghettoization'. It was during this time that Juhapura became known as a refuge for the victims of violence and especially of the Muslim society, which is one example of 'ghettoization' in Ahmedabad. "Juhapura is one of the largest settlements of the Muslim community, containing about 300,000 people – about 46 percent of the total Muslim community in the urban agglomeration" (Chandhoke, 2009, p. 11). The area borders another neighborhood, Vejalpur area, which overall encompasses Hindu households. The road between the two areas is overall seen as the border between Vejalpur and Little Pakistan as how Juhapura is also known.

The most at risk minority group resulting from the riots were women from the local Muslim society. This was the case due to the fact that many of these women had lost the productive assets which were used to sustain their livelihoods or even their men, and therefore were now forced to sustain their livelihoods by working in more poorly paid types of work (UN-Habitat, 2003). It are these events that have constructed the negative image of Juhapura, and because of the long history of riots such an image is difficult to overcome.

4.5 Conclusion

The multifaceted context of Juhapura is elaborately illustrated and difficult to capture in few words. It can however be considered of great influence on the processes of ECE services. This as the bureaucratic systems controlling every facet of society function as facilitating and as limiting bodies for development and for ECE as well. The current image and treatment of Juhapura as an economic deprived and backward area, with a dangerous Islamic population limits the opportunities for the inhabitants. Additionally, the provided services within the area remain limited as is the involvement of the AMC. Religion, history, culture and mindset are together of significant influence on the decisions taken regarding the educational paths of children. Moreover, these facets help to determine the underlying motivations and necessary alterations in the ICDS scheme for improvement in the specific context of Juhapura.

Chapter 5 The quality of early childhood education in Juhapura

"Quality means doing it right when no one is looking." Henry Ford

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter mainly the quality of the public Early Childhood Education (ECE) services in Juhapura is discussed. The quality is regarding the ECE services provided through local anganwadi's by the Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS) scheme of the government. There are eight key components which make up for the notion of quality in ECE and therefore need to be considered when ECE is provided. These eight variables derive from the theoretical framework, and mostly from the global guidelines for ECE and care in the 21st century of the ACEI (see paragraph 2.2.8). The first element is *accountability, supervision and management*; these factors ensure equitable access, quality of services, clear organization and safeguard active participation. The following element is *curriculum content and pedagogy*; this entails experience, routines and interactions during family care as well as ECE programs. This leads to the third element namely *early childhood educators and caregivers*; beside family care it are the educators who need to obtain a particular set of knowledge, performance, personal and professional characteristics. In order for the educators and caregivers to perform any educational activity, *educational resources* need to be available; it are these resources that are necessary in teaching children, including books, boards and chalk, toys, etcetera. The *environment and physical space* are however considered a separate element; a safe and stimulating environment needs to be provided for the children to explore and experience new situations. The *health services, infrastructure and a system* are other vital elements of the quality of ECE; the health services are often incorporated or linked services to the ECE component and the infrastructure together with a system are the support mechanisms in structuring the entire program. *Partnership with families and communities* are also regarded a part of the ECE program; the care and education of a child is a shared responsibility among various stakeholders. The final element is concerning *services for young children with special needs*; this includes children with injuries, disabilities, illnesses, developmental delay or exceptional abilities who need distinct services in order for them to develop to their full potential. Even though these components might all be considered in the formulation of the public ECE program, it is now the question how well these are actually implemented in Juhapura. Therefore several characteristics of each component are discussed to evaluate the quality of the public ECE service. The following research question is partially answered in this chapter and additional insights are given in the subsequent chapter;

What is the quality level of public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad?

Next to the quality of public ECE a comparison study of the quality of the private ECE provided by SAATH in Juhapura is included, for an enhanced understanding of the possible improvements in the public ECE services. Before closing the chapter with a conclusion, specific opportunities for enhancement of the public ECE program are presented.

The variables used for evaluating the characteristics of a quality element are assessed by a Likert scale. For each variable it is mentioned on how many cases the final score is based, and the final score can range from -2 to +2. In this -2 being very unsatisfactory, -1 unsatisfactory, 0 neutral, +1 satisfactory and +2 very satisfactory regarding the specific characteristic. The average of such a Likert scale for each group of respondents is used for indicating the quality level of the concerning variable. Detailed statistics regarding the calculations are given in the footnotes included in the chapter.

5.2 Accountability, supervision, and management

There are various lines of accountability which need to be considered in the ICDS system, reaching from the top of the organization to the bottom at the operational level. However, only a current measure of accountability at the operational level has been made, and loosely based valuations can be presented concerning the links with the upper management level of the scheme. The features of accountability help to safeguard equal access, high-quality, and active participation for all in the ECE processes.

Resulting from the elaborate quality check-list the accountability level of the anganwadi workers to the parents is regarded to be high, however to the ICDS scheme this is very low to even none existing¹. It is expected that when obligatory fees are of issue, a greater feeling of accountability is maintained towards the parents. In this case disregarding the absence of obligatory fees for the ECE services, a high feeling of accountability from the workers towards the parents resulted. Because of the far-reaching chain of management in the ICDS scheme, it was probable that the feeling of accountability from the workers to the distant management structure was low. The decision making body in the system uphold other priorities and understandings of the workings at the local level then the local implementers do. The long bureaucratic system which controls the scheme is considered a disadvantage by the local population, the workers and various NGO's. Even though these individuals at the top of the chain are regarded to be accomplished individuals, without proper cooperation and communication with the other stakeholders in the ICDS scheme practical mistakes can be made and opportunities missed. This might result in a feeling of low accountability of the workers towards the management level of the scheme.

Box 5.1 Anganwadi workers on strike in Gujarat

In March there has been a protest in Gandhinagar of the workers of anganwadi's in Gujarat due to lack of responsiveness of the Chief Minister of India. The workers made four 'demands', including a minimum salary for workers and helpers; age of retirement to be 60 years old; a minimum amount of pension-gratuity; and regular payments of the bills of snacks and fruits (see appendix five for newspaper article). These 'demands' can be considered the tip of the iceberg that are the predicaments encountered by the anganwadi workers.

¹ The accountability of the anganwadi teachers to the parents is on average 1.14 (based on 14 cases) and to the ICDS scheme it is 0.07 (based on 15 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

The feeling of accountability of the teachers in balghars towards parents is very high, as well as to SAATH as employees. The strategy of SAATH to make use of obligatory fees to create enhanced accountability and inclusion can herewith be considered a success. However, this might be not of sole influence in the accountability of the teachers towards the parents, as the workers of the anganwadi's similarly attained a feeling of accountability. The relatively small organization structure of the pre-school program of SAATH however does ensure greater accountability between the various stakeholders involved, as there is limited distance between them and can easily collaborate.

Box 5.2 The NGO supervisor of anganwadi's in Juhapura

The direct supervision of the anganwadi's is next to the parents and the community done by the ICDS supervisor who is appointed by the NGO coordinating the anganwadi's. The allocating supervisor of the anganwadi's in Juhapura oversees in total 42 anganwadi's of which 22 in Juhapura. The number of anganwadi's as stated in the regulations is 30 for each supervisor, which might indicate exploitation of the supervisor as an employee or the limited resources available for local supervision. Whenever the management of the ICDS scheme changes the division of anganwadi's between the supervisors this is done without any consultation of the local supervisors, which therefore results in unpractical reorganizations. The job of the supervisor entails overseeing the progress and all processes related to the anganwadi's; including keeping track of the register of the anganwadi and each child enrolled. Once a month there is a workers meeting managed by the ICDS supervisor, and every three months there is a helper meeting. During these meetings the register, innovational matters are discussed, and possible decisions at the operational level are made. The fifteen teachers interviewed have indicated to be satisfactory with the work input by the supervisor. However, because of the little belief in the bureaucratic system of the ICDS scheme and nervousness of losing one's job these answers might be distorted. This can be remarked from some cases of dissatisfaction and feelings of unreliability towards the ICDS supervisor and the overall ICDS organization. Several workers have indicated to doubt the communication effort of the supervisor with the management level, and disbelief the promises made by the ICDS scheme which is the cause of recurrent disappointment. The endless filing of reports and administration reports is an obligatory task for the teachers enforced by the upper levels of management and additional to their primary job responsibilities. Meaning this is a major drain on the already limited resources of educators available in the anganwadi's, though the reports serve as a supervising instrument for upper management.

The ICDS system contains a long range of different management bodies as explained in paragraph 4.2.3. The general thought on the ICDS scheme of the workers in the anganwadi's is that it provides good services for either children or young women, or both. However, also more than half of the workers mentioned that there was much room for improvement in the scheme. The main weaknesses of the program as indicated by 12 out of the 15 respondents include the following three facets; the provided facilities to be insufficient, untrustworthy promises of the management, and necessary improvement in the nutritional provision of the program. A great problem lies in the fact that the decisions taken at the top of the chain do not always allocate with the needs at the local level for an improved implementation of the program.

² The accountability of the balghar teachers to the parents is on average 1.86 (based on 7 cases) and to SAATH it is also 1.86 (based on 7 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

This resulted in great frustration and desperation among the workers, who state that more can be done with enhanced facilities and assistance of the management level. It is therefore not surprising that the anganwadi workers find the communication between stakeholders to be unsatisfying and the cooperation between the stakeholders even to be very unsatisfying³. Next to the difference in priority, a two-way communication structure between the local and managerial level is greatly lacking. Several workers as well as the ICDS supervisor put forward the difficulty of communication. Though various times requests or problems were communicated to the ICDS departments, no answers were obtained. The workers feel therefore simply ignored and as if no actual decision power lies in their hands. Once a year, not on regular basis, a supervisor from the administrative department performs a check-up at the anganwadi's. A number of the workers tried to directly communicate with this supervisor concerning the difficulties occurring in the anganwadi, this however was unanticipated by the supervisor and directed to the local ICDS supervisor who came down on the workers for protesting to the administrative supervisor. The functioning of open and transparent communication mechanisms with the management of the scheme are greatly missing.

The supervision and management operations related to the balghars in Juhapura are coordinated by the education program manager, who is in direct contact with the local supervisor of the balghars. There is no extensive bureaucratic system within this organization; it is merely a small scale project of ECE. The program manager has indicated to be satisfied with the reliable and stable team of employees working in the balghars. The teachers of the balghars come together every day and there are general meetings organized for regular discussion of problems and processes. SAATH greatly values the evaluations and inputs of the supervisor as well as of the teachers, which stimulates an open communication platform and empowerment for making the balghars function at the best of their ability. It is therefore that the cooperation between stakeholders has been valued very pleasing and the communication between the stakeholders even extremely satisfying by the teachers of the balghars⁴. The organizational structure of the ECE program of SAATH is regarded sound and productive, though there are some facets which desire some improvements. This is based on decisions taken at the management level that are not properly explained to the employees at the operational level, nor were these employees included in the process of decision making.

Experience Box 5.1 The local supervisor of the balghars

"There are seven balghars working in Juhapura, and all have sufficient children enrolled as well as functioning in an excellent manner. It is therefore shocking news to us that three of these balghars are being closed this summer, and not opened in the new school year. Instead, now the teachers need to take surveys in other areas to see if it is useful to open a balghar there. Of course opening new balghars is a good thing, but where should the children go who attended the now closed balghars?"

³ The value given by the anganwadi teachers to the communication between the stakeholders is on average 0.00 (based on 15 cases) and to the cooperation between stakeholders is on average -0.40 (based on 15 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

⁴ The value given by the balghar teachers to the communication between the stakeholders entailed on average 2.00 (based on 7 cases) and to the cooperation between stakeholders on average 1.86 (based on 7 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

Nevertheless, these impediments are minor and the various levels in the balghar program are satisfactory with the workings of current processes. Additionally to the organizational structure there is also the community and the parents who function as supervisors of the balghars. Due to the strategy of reinforcement concerning the rights of the parents for the services which are paid for, the parents are inclined to oversee the balghar processes and communicate with the teachers regarding the enhancement of the ECE services (more on this and on community supervision for both anganwadi's and balghars in chapter 6).

5.3 Curriculum content and pedagogy

Prescribed by the ICDS scheme there is a specific curriculum available which uniformly structures the processes in the anganwadi's in India. Included in this curriculum are various elements of the development of a child such as cognitive, emotional, physical, psychological and social development. The activities and desired developments for each element are carefully defined for implementation. It is however so that due to either lack of resources, unavailability or utilization of the curriculum the actual practice of this curriculum is minimal in Juhapura. In the majority of the anganwadi's there was no sign of the curriculum being actively used or even the availability of one. Nevertheless, the workers of the anganwadi's have indicated to be satisfied with the availability as well as the utilization of the curriculums. Through observation and the quality check-list these two facets were however barely considered satisfying⁵, especially when taking into account the limited resources in the anganwadi's. The content of the curriculum can be considered valuable as a positive effect has been demonstrated by the overall ICDS scheme, though is ineffective without adequate resources and inspired workers.

The registered timings of the anganwadi's are from 11.00 to 15.00, and in the summer due to the hot weather this is from 9.00 to 13.00. The hours in which the anganwadi's however are operational differ greatly from these timings. One example of how this can be gathered is the unwritten rule of helpers starting at the official time and the workers are tolerated to come on average a half hour later. For the reason that one helper alone is unable to handle a class of on average 36.79 children and perform all the allocating tasks of both a helper and a worker the actual starting time of the anganwadi is delayed until the worker is present. Moreover, it is not strictly maintained that the children also duly arrive in the anganwadi, which again causes a delay on the starting of the lesson. The suggestion of an attendance list has been made by several parents to ensure attendance. In table 5.1 the day curriculum of the anganwadi's is given, even though the finalizing time indicated is three o'clock, the actual time specified by many workers is at two o'clock. The task of register filling ought to be completed after the closing time of the anganwadi, as are three to five home visits by the workers. It is however doubtful that these home visits are actually performed, as workers were often encountered on their way home prior to three o'clock. Worryingly is one of the anganwadi's which due to miscommunication or irresponsibility was closed throughout the complete research period.

⁵ The value given by the anganwadi teachers to the availability of the curriculum entailed on average 0.93 (based on 15 cases) and to the utilization of the curriculum on average 1.07 (based on 15 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

⁶ The value given by the researcher to the availability of the curriculum entailed on average 0.13 (based on 15 cases) and to the utilization of the curriculum on average 0.13 (based on 15 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

Experience Box 5.2 The E ward anganwadi predicament

“The helper of the anganwadi has been on pregnancy leave for a few months now, and the worker just does not show up. I do not know where to go and get answers to my questions. I have send my child to the other anganwadi in E ward, as I do not foresee the anganwadi being opened or work well in the near future. “

Table 5.1 Implemented day curriculum of the anganwadi’s as indicated by the teachers

Timings	Activity
11.00 – 11.30	Prayer
11.30 – 12.00	Check health and cleanliness, and Physical exercise
12.00 – 12.30	Snacks made by the workers
12.30 – 13.00	Reading, alphabet and mathematics
13.00 – 13.30	Songs and rhymes, games and story telling
13.30 – 14.00	Water
14.00 – 14.30	Snacks made by the helper; package
14.30 – 15.00	Register filling

The overall teaching time in the anganwadi’s is valued satisfactory, and the teaching effort is considered very satisfactory by the workers themselves⁷. By observation these values are considerably lower as given by the teachers⁸. There needs to be realized that a significant difference between the anganwadi’s regarding this element exists. Workers in some anganwadi’s do not let the limited resources diminish the possibility of educating the children in a playful way, contradicting to certain teachers who do not undertake any educational activities.

The balghars have an extensively organized curriculum available in all the preschools, and is structurally and visually organized by charts and logbooks. The remembrance of the curriculum and the daily reminder of the chart available in the classroom tremendously assist the teachers in coordinating the classes accordingly. Both the curriculum availability and utilization are indicated to be very satisfactory by the teachers⁹. The timings of the balghars are from 11.00 to 14.30, and in the summer due to the hot weather this is from 9.00 to 12.30. These times are in general endorsed, with exceptional late comings by the teachers. It is however similar as in the anganwadi’s, that the children in the balghars rarely all are present at the formal starting time. Additionally both the teaching time and teaching effort are valued to be satisfactory by the teachers as well as through the process of observation. Only the teaching time has been valued slightly less by the researcher as by the teachers¹⁰. The reason for this is that the time available could be used more efficiently.

7 The value given by the anganwadi teachers to the teaching time entailed on average 1.07 (based on 15 cases) and the teaching effort 1.33 (based on 15 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

8 The value given by the researcher to the teaching time entailed on average 0.40 (based on 15 cases) and to the teaching effort on average 0.27 (based on 15 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

9 The value given by the anganwadi teachers to the curriculum availability entailed on average 1.29 (based on 7 cases) and regarding the curriculum utilization on average 1.43 (based on 7 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

10 The value given by the balghar teachers to the teaching time entailed on average 1.00 (based on 7 cases) and to the teaching effort on average 1.14 (based on 7 cases). The value given by the researcher to the

Box 5.3 The Montessori Method

The pedagogical method used in the anganwadi's as in the balghars, is the Montessori Method of Maria Montessori. The central character of the method is independence, though this freedom is within boundaries. The four basic elements of the Montessori Method entail the following according to the American Montessori Society (2011);

- Create classrooms with mixed age groups for children from the age of three to six years old.*
- The student holds the choice of activity from proposed possibilities.*
- Structured blocks of time.*
- Learning through doing instead of by instructions.*

Due to a lack of understanding by the researcher regarding the Montessori teaching method, it was not possible to construct sufficient findings regarding the quality of this facet. One can however imagine that the exercises allocating to the method are not adequately implemented by all anganwadi's, as the teaching effort is regarded to be minimal in some anganwadi's.

For each child a separate file is kept for monitoring the child's development with various drawings, health related growth indicators and other works demonstrating the development of the child. In order for a child to achieve sufficient development to pass the ECE program a certain level or standard per topic needs to be obtained and reviewed by the educators. The levels or standards given seem very basic, yet are of importance for the child's overall and future development. Both in the balghars and the anganwadi's the records are remarkably well kept and recorded in various registers. Again in both cases it is used by the upper management levels as reference tool regarding the progress in the pre-schools, including the development of the children and the quality of the delivered services. Especially the workers of the anganwadi's, as these also have other target groups of which record needs to be kept, consider this task as a great drain on time and resources.

The languages are also a feature of the curriculum and pedagogy in the ECE program. Figure 5.1 illustrates that Gujarati is the main teaching language in anganwadi's, figure 5.2 indicates that Hindi is a valued second language and English is used very little. There is also another language taught by one other teacher, namely Urdu which is a language related to the Muslim religion. The main language spoken in Juhapura is Hindi, as this is a language also used in the Islam and Gujarati not. For this reason some difficulties might arise for children starting in anganwadi's who merely ever learned Hindi and no Gujarati. Adapting the ICDS program to local circumstances can be a great strength.

Figure 5.1 Primary teaching languages in anganwadi's

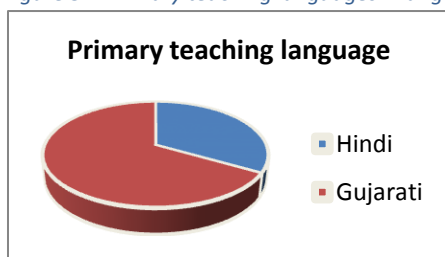
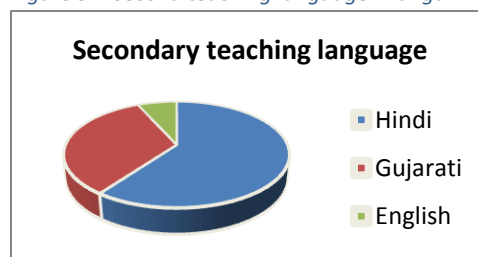


Figure 5.2 Second teaching language in anganwadi's



teaching time entailed on average 0.71 (based on 15 cases) and to the teaching effort on average 1.00 (based on 15 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

Within the balghars the primary teaching language is Hindi with 85.7% and the second teaching language is Gujarati. In this case the problem of mother tongue is limited for the children starting in ECE, the language use in the ECE program has changed to the specific context of Juhapura. Next to these various indicators also learning materials are a part of this section; however these are elaborately discussed in a later part of this chapter.

5.4 Early childhood educators and caregivers

The early childhood educators and caregivers considered in this study are mainly the workers of the anganwadi's and the teachers of balghars. In order to gain a basic illustration of the socio-economic profile of these workers and teachers the following profiles are formulated.

Table 5.2 The profile of teachers of anganwadi's in Juhapura

Variable	Result		
Sex	100% female		
Age	34.93 years		
Religion	53.3% Hindu	46.7% Muslim	
Living area	59.9% Juhapura	33.4% Jivraaj	6.7% Vasnar
Years schooling	14.4 years		
Highest attained diploma	20.0% Primary	20.0% Secondary	
	40.0% Undergraduate	20.0% Graduate	
Teaching experience	6.96 years		
previous experience preschool	26.7% Other		
Income	3,892.86 INR		

Table 5.3 The profile of teachers of balghars in Juhapura

Variable	Result		
Sex	100% female		
Age	41.88 years		
Religion	100% Muslim		
Living area	87.5% Juhapura	12.5% Jivraaj	
Years schooling	11.25 years		
Highest attained diploma	12.5% Literate	62.5% Primary	
	12.5% Secondary	12.5% Graduate	
Teaching experience	9.5 years		
previous experience preschool	12,5% Anganwadi	25% Other	
Income	2,975 INR		

When making a comparison between the two groups of teachers, there are some variables which are striking. The average age of the balghar teachers is about 6.95 years higher, though the years of schooling is on average 3.15 years higher for the anganwadi teachers.

More significantly there is a large portion of the anganwadi workers who are Hindu encompassing 53.3%, as for the balghar teachers who are all Muslim. A large percentage of the anganwadi workers live outside of Juhapura (40.1%), and for the balghar teachers this is only a minor portion (12.5%). For the reason that unemployment can be considered a tremendous problem for the households in Juhapura and not many employment opportunities are found outside the area, there is the general assumption of the inhabitants that the jobs in the area should be for the local population. Though, for cultural reasons and increased mutual respect it is vital that collaboration between different cultural groups is build, however there are some concerns that people outside of Juhapura are stealing the jobs of the local population. Over time the strict borders which came to exist after the riots have been fading and mixtures have occurred, the general image of Juhapura from the riots has however not yet been overcome. Most remarkable of all characteristics of the profiles is the difference in income between the two groups; as the anganwadi workers earn on average 3,892.86 Indian Rupees (INR)¹¹ and the balghar teachers merely 2,975 INR¹² a month. This might not only cause a feeling of undervaluation for the teachers, it can also stimulate teachers to work in the public sector instead of the private sector of education. Moreover, these high worker salaries of the anganwadi's are a large drain on the financial resources which are available to the pre-schools.

Another facet which is remarkable concerning the teachers of the balghars is the characteristic on which these women are chosen. The reasons greatly differ, including domestic violence, divorce or being widowed by the communal riots. The women hired by SAATH to work in the balghars need to be financially independent, which is provided by the job. Moreover, there is social support amongst the teachers and the supervisor, as the women might have to endure domestic violence or other problems. The women need a social network to depend on; women in such situations in Juhapura lose any prior networks and are not always treated rightfully. SAATH incorporates with this a vulnerable group of the community in society, and makes use of local resources the area has to offer.

Experience Box 5.3 A teacher's personal story

"I am very grateful for the opportunity that SAATH has given me to teach children, and earn money to support my family. My husband used to hit me regularly, therefore I moved out of the house and moved back in with my parents. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to get a divorce and maybe even impossible if my husband does not agree. I have two children, and my husband does not support us financially, so I had to get a job to provide for my children."

Next to the general education the workers and helpers have obtained, training is provided by the ICDS scheme. Experience is highly valued in the ICDS system; the new educators therefore first become helpers and later evolve into becoming workers. The provision of educators for the anganwadi's is the responsibility of the government and so is the appropriate education for such educators. Because the allocation of the helpers and workers is decided by management level, no consideration regarding distance let alone neighboring areas is made. This might explain the large group of workers from outside of Juhapura currently working in the anganwadi's. The training provided entails an initial ten day course, with additional trainings twice a year for two to three days.

¹¹ 3,892.86 Indian Rupees = 57.18 Euro (valuta.nl 26-07-2012)

¹² 2,975 Indian Rupees = 43.70 Euro (valuta.nl 26-07-2012)

These trainings are largely concerning health issues which are also to be dealt with in the anganwadi. The ICDS training center in Gujarat was however closed in 2011 for unknown reasons and the educators had to go to another state for the additional course. The motivation and willingness to subject to such travels was very low and a high absence level at these trainings was the result. The educators indicated that the training received was regarding the general teachings of a child, however 40% of the respondents indicated not to have received any training whatsoever.

The teachers of the balghars received an initial fifteen day course by SAATH, and must uphold prior to starting a tenth standard in general education. The training is given by doctors, highly educated and professionals in order to provide the future teachers the best education possible. The local supervisor is able to follow various trainings concerning for example Islamic law, nutrition or computer practices, and the teachers can learn this subsequently from the supervisor.

Box 5.4 The employment wishes of the educators

The main motivation of all the teachers to attain this profession was working with children, followed by financial support for her family and finally the wish of fulfilling a social service. An important facet in the motivation is also the feeling of safety in the area and for the women within both programs. The foremost future employment aspiration of the teachers is to remain in the current job, followed by the aspiration to attain a better job such as a supervisor. More than half of the anganwadi respondents would not accept a new job when offered, for teachers of the balghars a little more than half would accept a new job when offered. None is looking for a new job or foresees the possibility at the moment, entailing a relatively stable labor force at the operational level for both the anganwadi's and the balghars.

The mere feature of stress has been indicated of being some drain on the energy of the teachers. For the teachers of the balghars it was one teacher out of seven who felt stressed from time to time, and two have the feeling of being overworked. However for the anganwadi's five out of fifteen educators were stressed and six feel overworked. The two activities which are of most influence on these feelings are the register filling and the actual teachings to the children. It is expected that the restricted educational resources in the anganwadi's is additionally of influence on the ample feeling of stress and being overworked under the workers, on this more in the subsequent paragraph.

5.5 Educational resources

There is an elaborate range of educational resources needed in an ECE program, of which some have already been discussed as time spent in school, teachers, curriculum and language. The environment and physical space are to be discussed in the following section; nevertheless this leaves a great variety of resources. The colors on the wall, the posters and drawings decorating the room, benches or mats for children to sit, educational toys, musical instruments or art supplies are merely a few of the items that make the experience of a child in a pre-school valuable. One of the most important resources are the teaching aids, including educational materials as learning books. It is concerning these facets that the following assessment is made within the various pre-schools. The differences in resources between the pre-schools, as well as within the groups of anganwadi's and balghars are substantial. Therefore a variation in the quality of the educational resources needs to be considered.

The anganwadi educators have valued the various educational resources of the pre-schools to be very unsatisfying, except the nutrition provided which is regarded to be adequate¹³. The educators are, because of that, confronted with the overwhelming feeling of desperation and frustration. The responsibility of providing these resources lies with the ICDS management. When an anganwadi is founded the basic utilities need to be made available for the anganwadi to function appropriately, and every five years new toys and teaching aids ought to be provided. In several anganwadi's none has been given by the ICDS scheme, therefore educators invest themselves to attain some posters or old toys. There were many complaints regarding the promises that were made by the managerial unit of the program though almost never kept, the faith which the educators had in the ICDS scheme is decreasing by every unfulfilled promise. Additionally, from observation great displeased with the provided resources came about, though again only nutrition is considered to be barely satisfying¹⁴. The sight of six children fighting over one broken doll is greatly saddening, and resulted in educators sending children home as there is nothing to entertain nor teach them with.

Experience Box 5.4 A teacher's story: educational resources

"Since we started the anganwadi no educational resources what so ever are provided by the ICDS program, and we have been here for over three years. This despite the promises which were made and the supposedly supplies that are obligated to be provided. The posters on the wall we as teachers bought them ourselves, and the broken toys is what we brought from home or was given by the community. With this little resources I do not know what to do or how to teach the children."

The pupil teacher ratio is considered agreeable, this being 37 children for every two educators according to enrollment. Concerning the regulations of the ICDS scheme, there is a minimum of 35 children who need to be enrolled in the anganwadi for it to exist. When fewer children are enrolled, the pre-school is terminated when no additional enrollments are shortly registered. For this reason it is often that the registers in the anganwadi's are incorrect, more children are reported to be attending the pre-school as there in reality are. Though the records have not been checked directly, by observation it became clear that for almost all anganwadi's there were never 35 children simultaneously in one class. Attaining the quantity of students has also been indicated as one of the major challenges by the educators. Moreover, almost half of the given necessary improvements are regarding the educational resources in the anganwadi's. This included benches, charts, exercise games, general facilities, mats, nutrition, outdoor playground, reading aids, teaching aids, toys and uniforms. Regarding some of these resources there is a need of elaborate quantity, others desire replacement and several resources are completely nonexistent in the anganwadi's.

¹³ The average value given by the anganwadi teachers to teaching aids is -1.67, toys -1.73, musical instruments -1.73, art supplies -1.46, books -1.75, posters -0.79, blackboard -1.20, the overall utilization of the resources -1.00, and nutrition 0.93 (based on 15 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

¹⁴ The average value given by the researcher to teaching aids is -1.80, toys -1.73, musical instruments -1.73, art supplies -1.60, books -2.00, posters -0.93, blackboard -1.60, the overall utilization of the resources -0.80, and nutrition 0.67 (based on 15 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

Concerning the resources of the balghars, the teachers have valued a tremendous amount of these aspects very satisfying¹⁵. Nevertheless, some resources were indicated to desire improvement, such as the general facilities, teaching aids, toys, writing activities and materials. It is however so that every balghar had some resources to work with, and most even attained sufficient toys for each child. By observation the overall value for the educational resources has been very satisfying and even the nutritional value given was very satisfying¹⁶. Of great help would undeniably be additional teaching aids and general facilities; including among others teaching books, slates, toilets, and educational toys. Within the group of balghars there is also variation in the educational resources, and room for improvement is definitely present. The pupil teacher ratio also got valued very agreeable and this being on average 36 children for every two teachers according to enrollment. Also for the teachers of the balghars the demanded quantity of students is seen as a major challenge. The supposedly number of children enrolled was repeatedly untruthful registered, though not as dramatically as in the anganwadi's. The building and classroom itself are also a part of the educational resources and are considered in the following paragraph.

5.6 Environment and physical space

Central within this section is the safety of the children provided by the pre-school's environment, which additionally needs to stimulate an aptitude for learning. This entails different features of the physical space and atmosphere together creating the pre-school.

The physical space of the anganwadi's consist out of one and sometimes two rooms, occasionally a small kitchen is available and rarely proper toilets are present. The main room which functions as a classroom is always in a regular family house, often of the worker or the helper and sometimes of a community member. By the regulations of the ICDS scheme it is not possible to purchase or rent a private building (not a regular family house) from which the anganwadi can be run. Despite this regulation there is one anganwadi in Juhapura which is located in a private family house with no other function as the anganwadi; the conditions of this anganwadi are however severely saddening. The maximum rent which can be paid for a room is 700 INR and 200 INR¹⁷ on the lighting bill a month. With this budget it is merely possible to rent a small family house to run the anganwadi from. The houses in Juhapura are overall very little, and the living room as well as the bedroom are mostly one room; by making this one room also an anganwadi brings various predicaments about. The room's main function remains a family area, no permanent educational attributes are present and often there are several people present during class who should not be. The problem with this is that no actual school like atmosphere can be created, in which the room can be used to its full potential to make the children comfortable and learning. This moreover has been made extremely difficult with the limited resources available as discussed earlier.

15 The average value given by the balghar teachers to teaching aids is 1.29, toys 1.57, musical instruments 1.57, art supplies 1.57, books 1.29, posters 1.43, blackboard 2.00, the overall utilization of the resources 1.57, and nutrition 2.00 (based on 7 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

16 The average value given by the researcher to teaching aids is 1.00, toys 1.14, musical instruments 1.00, art supplies 1.29, books 1.14, posters 1.14, blackboard 1.43, the overall utilization of the resources 1.14, and nutrition 2.00 (based on 7 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

17 700 Indian Rupee = 10.27 Euro. 200 Indian Rupee = 2.94 Euro (valuta.nl 26-07-2012)

There are posters in some of the rooms, and rarely a blackboard is available. The space available is very limited and unpractical with 20 let alone with 35 children, two teachers and any individuals not belonging in the classroom. Other points of improvement concerning the buildings are ventilation, fans, toilets and a kitchen. The smell in some anganwadi's is unbearable during monsoon, and in the summer the heat is unhealthy for the children. The toilets and kitchens are for family utilization only, and the workers are not allowed to make use of these facilities. The workers need to go home to cook a meal, and children are send home when they need to make use of a toilet. The size of the buildings has been valued unsatisfying by the anganwadi educators, as is the condition of the classroom and the kitchen in general¹⁸. The hygiene level of the anganwadi's is also debatable, though no unusual findings have been presented regarding this. The possibility of teaching outside in the shade during the summer or having outdoor activities in the anganwadi's is almost non-existing; an occasional anganwadi has the possibility to sit outside. Physical exercise and outdoor activities would greatly help the children to explore and develop in this stage of life, and an outdoor playground is really desired by the educators. The major challenge for the anganwadi's within this facet remains the available space entailing the limited size of the anganwadi's, and the great need of a private place instead of a family home.

The balghars are operating from private places which are rented by SAATH, immediately overcoming the problem of operating from a family home. The size and conditions of the physical space of the balghars are overall valued very satisfying by the teachers¹⁹. By observation the physical space was valued satisfying, with some exceptions there as some balghars are in need of an enhanced space. For the reason that the balghars are situated in private places, it is possible to provide a greater school like atmosphere for the children and a stimulating environment for exploration and development. The educational resources helping with this are posters, blackboards, drawings, toys, a television and mats on the ground. The physical environment is also of influence on the health of the children, and the allocating health facilities of the pre-school programs are discussed consequently.

5.7 Health services, infrastructure and a system

ECE is regarded as the principal place of initiating education regarding health for the children as well as their families, which helps to ensure human well-being, an ongoing well-functioning and usage of the health services provided. Primarily, the ICDS scheme was founded for diminishing the tremendous malnutrition among young children; therefore the nutrition provided remains to this day of significant importance in the program. In many cases the health aspect includes a general check-up, nutrition and health education, and referral services (Arora, 2006). The actions of the ICDS scheme regarding health services outside of the pre-school was not a main focus of the research and is therefore only limited included in the discussion.

¹⁸ The average value given by the anganwadi teachers to the size of the building is -0.07, size of the classroom is -0.20, condition of the classroom is -0.07, kitchen is -0.14, condition building is 0.27 and toilets 0.60 (based on 15 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

¹⁹ The average value given by the balghar teachers to the size of the building is 1.00, size of the classroom is 1.00, condition of the classroom is 1.29, kitchen is 1.14, condition building is 1.00 and toilets 1.00 (based on 7 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

The *nutrition* provided in the anganwadi should consist out of a snack, a cooked meal and the food packages provided by the ICDS scheme. The snacks provided vary from a small chocolate to a hand full of grapes which are not always orderly distributed between the children. The cooked meal needs to be prepared in the anganwadi, though due to the lack of a kitchen some educators prepare this at home and occasionally no meal is provided. The nature of the meals when provided is very basic though nutritional. The main complaints from both the workers and the parents regarding nutrition are about the food packages directly delivered from the ICDS scheme which should be prepared during the pre-school lessons.

Box 5.5 The ICDS food packages

The quality of the packages is shockingly depraved as small sand grains are regularly found in the food, as are small dead animals and insects. Moreover, the children refuse to eat it as the taste is very bad and sometimes the packages are given to the parents who throw it out or not even accept it. Rarely the food packages are appreciated, and often it is a waste of capital. There are comments about officials who merely invest the minimal amount of money to provide these packages, and attain the remaining money for themselves. There is one INR (0.01 Euro) per child per day available for fruits and two INR (0.03 Euro) for the cooked meal. A more appropriate amount for the food in the anganwadi's is considered to be eight INR (0.12 Euro).

The overall nutrition is valued nourishing by the educators of the anganwadi's, as is the cooked meal provided. The snacks are both by means of observation and by the educators valued least pleasing, and the cooked meal is barely considered satisfying by the researcher²⁰. These values are however given considering the available budget and kitchen at the anganwadi's. Tremendous complaints came forth from the educators about the depraved quality of the nutrition provided. There are households which greatly count on the additional nutrition the children receive at the anganwadi's, and consider it an important reason for sending the children to the school. The danger of low quality nutrition negatively influencing the attendance in the anganwadi's is certainly present, and an even greater predicament is the destructive health implications. Though undernourishment has not manifested as a major predicament in Juhapura, families do count on these possibilities of nutrition and the nutritional services of the ICDS scheme need to flourish for enhanced health of the children.

The balghars have also put emphasize on providing nutrition, consisting out of seasonal fruits as a snack and a cooked meal every day. The overall nutrition provided, the cooked meal and the snacks are all considered very satisfying by the teachers, and also based on active observation²¹. The various facets of nutrition are given on a regular basis and the availability of a kitchen in all the balghars ensures the possibility of nutritious and fresh food. In the balghars it also applies that the supplementary nutrition is appreciated by the parents of the children attending, and functions as a supporting factor regarding the health of the children.

²⁰ The average value given by the anganwadi teachers to the nutrition 0.93, cooked meal 1.00, snack 0.07. The researcher valued the snacks as -0.07 and the cooked meal as 0.40 (based on 15 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

²¹ The average value given by the balghar teachers to the nutrition 2.00, cooked meal 1.86, snack 1.86. The researcher valued the snacks as 1.57 and the cooked meal as 1.86 (based on 7 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

The *health check-ups* in the anganwadi's go hand in hand with growth monitoring, the latter is done monthly by measuring the children's length, weight and height. The overall health check-up is once a year when a doctor comes. The educators of the anganwadi's consider the health check-ups barely satisfying, and the growth monitoring on its own very satiating. By observation the growth-monitoring has been found agreeable, the health check-up however has not²². Also immunization should be available at the anganwadi's, however little is known on these provided services and therefore no clear illustration can be made. Growth monitoring is performed by the teachers on a regular basis in the balghars. In the Balghars a health check-up is performed twice a year including the weight and height of the child. When it is found necessary the parents are approached and informed if any underdevelopment is taking place. The various facets relating to health are considered to be satisfying to very satisfying²³ in the balghars.

Health and nutritional education are considered of significant importance to ensure health in the home environment and in the ongoing lives of the children. From observation however the actual effort for implementing these types of education are minimal, as can the effectiveness of both the anganwadi's and the balghars regarding this be questioned. The inclusion of parents and siblings is minimal to nonexistent in both the anganwadi's and the balghars, which limits the continuation of health habits and nutritional activities in the homes. The referral services should be extensive for the anganwadi's, as these are a part of a greater scheme, however are largely absent in the anganwadi's. In the balghars the referral services are considered minimal, though these are not part of the overall program. The health and nutrition education in the anganwadi's are valued satisfying by the educators, though the researcher has considered these services unsatisfying²⁴. As for the balghars the services have been valued satisfying to very satisfying²⁵ by both the teachers and by observation. These three features are not only provided to the children in the pre-schools, however also to the parents or in the case of anganwadi's, referral services are also offered to other community members. Despite that the referral services are provided as a part of a greater system connected to the anganwadi's, there are some major cracks in the infrastructure regarding these services in Juhapura.

22 The average value given by the anganwadi teachers to the health check-up is 0.33, for growth monitoring 0.93 and by the researcher for the health check-up -0.27 and for the growth monitoring 0.57 (based on 15 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

23 The average value given by the balghar teachers to the health check-up is 0.71, for growth monitoring 1.14 and by the researcher for the health check-up 0.71 and for the growth monitoring 1.29 (based on 7 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

24 The average value given by the anganwadi teachers to health education is 0.82 (based on 11 cases) and for nutrition education 0.82 (based on 11 cases). The average value given by the researcher to health education is -0.87 (based on 15 cases) and for nutrition education -0.87 (based on 15 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

25 The average value given by the balghar teachers to health education is 1.29 (based on 7 cases) and for nutrition education 1.14 (based on 7 cases). The average value given by the researcher to health education is 0.71 (based on 7 cases) and for nutrition education 0.86 (based on 7 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low and +2 extremely high).

Box 5.6 Health services in the ICDS scheme

Every child with a health problem can get free services at a government hospital with the stamp of an anganwadi worker. It is however more sustainable to work on health and nutritional problems before the assistance of a hospital is needed. Even though it is an official part of the ICDS scheme parents have indicated never to have noticed health nor nutrition education, others say that the health education provided is not good nor sufficient. Disregarding that the scheme has put great emphasize on these elements, the implementation of adequate health services is greatly lacking.

The *infrastructure and system* available and necessary for the ECE programs have not been sufficiently researched for an appropriate discussion at this moment. Several aspects as accountability, training, and regulations are discussed prior, though this does not portray the complete pictures of the infrastructure and the systems of the programs. Especially an adequate quality assurance mechanism as part of the infrastructure was found missing in both programs. Next to the occasional research and the registers mainly kept by the educators, no objective form of measurement is in place at this moment. As discussed prior the communication between the stakeholders is vastly insufficient and missing possibilities for improvement in the anganwadi's. Both programs have been well set-up, and especially the ICDS scheme has been planned and directed to the smallest detail. This however results in one overarching perspective and limiting the possibility of change for the better. The great diversity of India limits the possibility of one program applicable in the entire country without any opportunity for adaptation to the local culture. Specific habits of the local community tremendously influence the usage of services as health, nutrition education and referral services. As illustrated by the EFA in chapter 2 the same inputs of a system do not ensure the same quality outcomes in different contexts. For example Muslim women and with them the children are not properly assisted in every hospital near the area. The infrastructure and system of a program are vital for the desired and the resulting accomplishments, and never should stand still and continuously evolve for the better. The infrastructure and system should moreover be easily comprehended by the target groups, in these cases families and community members.

5.8 Partnership with families and communities

The direct environment is of most significant influence on the development of a young child; as demonstrated by Bronfenbrenner (see paragraph 2.2.3) the stimulus a child endures is very limited in the early stages of his or her life. It is therefore not only of importance that the pre-schools are properly organized, also in the household a stimulating environment needs to be provided. The communication and collaboration with the family, and a fluent transition between home and school are aspects which can assist in an elaborate partnership between the various stakeholders.

The anganwadi educators have indicated that there are on average more than five parent-teacher meetings every 12 months. However, on the contrary two out of 15 respondents have indicated that no such meetings ever take place. According to the educators the parents can be involved in their child's education by assisting them with home-work and show a greater interest in the child's educational progress. The educators in the anganwadi's are considered rather open to involvement of the parents in the children's education.

The parents themselves however do not always see the responsibility for motivating children or the viability of an education. Moreover, parents are not all aware of the rights which apply to them and can enable them to demand certain services.

The teachers of the balghars all demonstrated that there are five parent-teacher meetings every 12 months, and active participation of the parents in the meetings is safeguarded. However, 71.4% of the teachers find that there are no other possibilities for parents to participate in their child's education; a minority finds the possibility of revising homework a manner of involvement of the parents. Within this perspective the responsibility of education of children is not truly shared with the parents by the teachers, which is of significant importance for ensuring the continuation of education.

The parents in general bring and get the children from the pre-schools; it is highly unusual that parents remain in class. This however is a time for informal talks to take place between parents and teachers. The communities in which the anganwadi or balghar are located are small scale and closed societies, which might create a secure and open communication as well as supervising possibilities. The character and willingness of both the educators and the parents are however of tremendous influence on the communication. Besides these informal talks and parent-teacher meetings, there is currently no other form of community or parent involvement in the education of the children. Nor are siblings considered or involved in any manner of the pre-school programs. The features of community communication and community acceptance do not demonstrate any difficulties according to the educators nor the researcher. The perspective of the parents themselves however is not enlightened in this section; this is done elaborately in the chapter 6.

5.9 Services for young children with special needs

Children with special needs include children with injuries, disabilities, illnesses, developmental delay or exceptional abilities. These children need additional and very specific services in order for them to develop to their full potential. The balghars do not specifically have any regulations on children with special needs, the anganwadi's however do and these services for young children with special needs should be provided through the anganwadi's. The resources available are very limited, and the conditions are deprived in a manner that it is no suitable environment for such children. The resources are spread thin and children with special needs particularly need more attention. These additional services concern a very concentrated target group and can be regarded as a drain on common expenditures to serve the masses. Worrying as it sounds, especially in an environment lacking enough funding as it is, this is not the main focus of management in an education institution nor is it possible for local educators to provide suitable services to the young children with special needs. Because no actual facilities or young children with special needs were present in the anganwadi's or balghars, no further information can be offered on this aspect.

Experience Box 5.5 A parent's story: a special needs child

"My son is eight years old and has never been able to attend any form of education. He is both mentally and physically handicapped, and is unable to sit up straight by himself. We do not have the facilities or resources to provide him with better care. The only time he comes out of the house is when he needs to go to the hospital, and then me and my husband need to carry him. We would love for him to receive some more attention in a special facility, but we do not know where to turn?"

5.10 Possibilities for improvement

With regard to the research, the main objective of the study entailed uncovering improvements in the provision of public ECE in Juhapura. Besides the preceding quality measurement of the complete ECE process, specific challenges and improvements within the anganwadi's were given by the educators. These however, remain rather general and will need broad elaboration concerning specifics of the matter for future interventions.

Table 5.4 displays the major challenges the workers have experienced in the anganwadi's. As each worker could indicate three challenges, the total comes up to 45 possibilities. The overall subjects of improvement are regarding time pressure and the physical environment of the anganwadi. The time spent on teaching by the workers is limited by certain activities as register filling and surveys. The physical environment in this matter is gathered to be challenging because of the lack of a kitchen, the limited size and ventilation in the anganwadi. The two biggest challenges include the attainment of the quantity student target of 35 students and the size of the anganwadi. When an anganwadi is not able to attain sufficient students the pre-school is closed, this brings great pressure on the workers. The size of the anganwadi is very limited due to the fact that the school is working from a family house instead of a private place with the mere function of being an anganwadi.

Table 5.4 The major challenges in the anganwadi's

Variable	Result
Time pressure total*	5
<i>Filling register</i>	2
<i>Making children acquainted to atmosphere</i>	2
<i>Limited teaching time</i>	1
<i>Taking surveys</i>	1
Physical environment total**	6
<i>Limited size of anganwadi</i>	3
<i>Lack of kitchen</i>	1
<i>Lack of ventilation</i>	1
<i>Lack of general facilities</i>	1
Other variables total	6
<i>Health children</i>	2
<i>Quantity student target***</i>	4
Missing	27
Total	45

*Activities that inflicts time pressure on the educators.

**Aspects of the physical environment that desire improvement.

*** Attaining the quantity student target of 35 students per anganwadi.

In table 5.5 the necessary improvements presented by the anganwadi educators are outlined. Four possible responses were asked per worker and two questions were combined; therefore a total of 120 answers are presented. The necessary improvements display a range of more specific elements, though it remains to be that two topics stand out including educational resources and the physical environment of the anganwadi. There is a great lack of educational resources in the anganwadi's, and especially toys and teaching aids are desired. In the physical environment the size and the general space of the anganwadi are greatly lacking, most probably due to the fact that the anganwadi's are run from a family home. Additionally, the nutritional provision is regarded to be unsatisfying as well.

Table 5.5 The necessary improvements in the anganwadi's

Variable	Result
Educational resources total*	31
<i>Toys</i>	11
<i>Teaching aids</i>	7
<i>Benches</i>	3
<i>Mats</i>	3
<i>Charts</i>	3
<i>Uniforms</i>	2
<i>Exercise games</i>	1
<i>Reading aids</i>	1
Physical environment total**	28
<i>Size of the anganwadi</i>	8
<i>Space of the anganwadi</i>	8
<i>General facilities</i>	5
<i>Private place</i>	4
<i>Outdoor playground</i>	2
<i>Kitchen</i>	1
Other variables total	9
<i>Inadequate nutrition</i>	5
<i>Lack of training</i>	2
<i>Limited teaching activities</i>	1
<i>Quantity student target***</i>	1
Missing	51
Invalid answer	1
Total	120

*Lack of educational resources.

**Limited or lack of physical environment characteristics.

*** Attaining the quantity student target of 35 students per anganwadi.

Though the balghars are not considered the foremost study matter in this research, one can learn from the strengths and weaknesses of the balghars for future interventions in the anganwadi's. In table 5.6 the major challenges that the balghar teachers have encountered are displayed. As each teacher was asked to give 3 possibilities, there are a total of 21 responses. In the balghars the quantity student target is considered greatly challenging, together with various aspects of teaching activities. In this case it is not so much the facilities and educational resources which are lacking, though the time for embarking on teaching activity and the knowledge to effectively implement the teaching activities.

Table 5.6 The major challenges in the balghars

Variable	Result
Teaching activities total*	4
<i>School readiness</i>	1
<i>Teaching alphabets</i>	1
<i>Teaching mathematics</i>	1
<i>Teaching writing</i>	1
Other variables total	5
<i>Quantity student target**</i>	2
<i>Upholding the health children</i>	1
<i>Making children acquainted to atmosphere</i>	1
<i>Obtaining the support of the area</i>	1
Missing	12
Total	21

*Undertaking and having the time to embark on these teaching activities.

** Attaining the quantity student target of 35 students per anganwadi.

The teachers of the balghars were asked for necessary improvements in the balghars, with a total of 56 answers. The most striking was the response of no change necessary, which also is indicated by the great number of cases missing. However, there are some desired improvements in the provision of general facilities, an improvement in the nutrition provided and elaborate training of the teachers. These desired improvements can however be considered very minimal.

Table 5.7 The necessary improvements in the balghars

Variable	Result
Educational resources total*	3
<i>Teaching aids</i>	1
<i>Toys</i>	1
<i>Writing materials</i>	1
Teaching activity total	2
<i>Low level teaching activity</i>	1
<i>Insufficient writing activities</i>	1
Other variables total	9
<i>No change necessary desired</i>	3
<i>Inadequate nutrition</i>	2
<i>Lack of general facilities</i>	2
<i>Insufficient training of the teachers</i>	2
Missing	42
Total	56

*Lack of educational resources.

5.11 Conclusion

In this chapter a reflection of the quality of public ECE in Juhapura has been illustrated and various remarkable interpretations came about. The infinite bureaucratic system of the ICDS program is regarded to be a limitation for the potential of the pre-school element. This is due to the slow and unbalanced communication as well as cooperation between the various stakeholders. Additionally, the untrustworthy promises made and the regulations ignored by the management level are constraining the desired outcomes of the educational component. The anganwadi educators' accountability towards the parents is regarded to be high; however towards the administrative departments the level of accountability is minimal. Though a large program as the ICDS attains great strengths including a holistic approach to child development, a small scale operation has tremendous advantages regarding the management of a program. This because of the limited 'distance' between the stakeholders, which ensures greater transparency and collaboration.

The educators of the anganwadi's receive a noticeable higher salary compared to the teachers of the private sector, which illustrates a drain on the finances for other educational features of the anganwadi's. In general all educational resources are greatly lacking in the anganwadi's, which limits the possibilities of teaching or entertaining the children in class for the educators. The foremost predicament regarding physical space of the anganwadi's is the lacking of a private place; including the available space, the inability to create a school like atmosphere and in some cases the condition of the building. Moreover, the nutritional services desire improvement regarding the availability of a kitchen, and regular as well as nutritional food. Furthermore the services for children with special needs are unavailable in the anganwadi's, despite it being an element of the ICDS scheme and the demand from the locality.

The elaborate range of tasks put on the educators additionally limits the time of teaching, which is already scarce as various workers act disrespectful towards the timings of the pre-school. Some educators in the anganwadi's feel stressed and overworked, due to the additional responsibilities of surveys, register filling and home visits assigned to them. According to the workers, the parents of the anganwadi's are included in the children's pre-school experiences by parent-teacher meetings and house visits. Though, the overall inclusion of the parents could be increased as well as for the siblings who currently are not involved in any manner.

The infrastructure and system of the ICDS scheme need to be elaborately researched for a proper conclusion can be made, as the other levels are merely partially included in this analysis. There are various means of supervision, however of which none is regarded to be completely accurate and especially an objective quality mechanism is missing for the anganwadi's. The workers of the anganwadi's have displayed a wide range of necessary enhancement, of which the major elements included are concerning time management, educational resources and the physical environment of the anganwadi's. Generally there can be determined that there is tremendous room for improvement in the anganwadi's in Juhapura.

Chapter 6 The user population

“The child supplies the power but the parents have to do the steering.” Benjamin Spock

6.1 Introduction

The perspectives of the both the anganwadi and balghar teachers in the previous chapter illustrated an important, though partial picture of the current ECE services in Juhapura. For a broader situation to be portrayed, the population attached to the programs need to be included. The population entails the entire community connected to the anganwadi or balghar. Though in this case especially the parents with children between the ages of three to six years old need to be considered as the focus is on the pre-school element. The teachers definitely provided enlightening discoveries regarding the services, it is however the population who can be considered the final and foremost consuming stakeholder in the programs. For this reason the values and results according to the population need to be elaborately considered. This is done with the help of the eight variables that derived from the theoretical framework, though mostly from the global guidelines for ECE and care in the 21st century of the ACEI (see paragraph 2.2.8). In this chapter the population demand is discussed, which is necessary to answer the following research question;

To what extent are the opportunities for public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad in line with the population demanding these programs?

The chapter starts off by providing an elaborate profile of the three groups which make up for the population, including the allocated learner characteristics of the children. Subsequently, the quality of both public and private ECE according to the user population is discussed and the chapter is finished with a conclusion.

The variables used for evaluating the characteristics of a quality element are assessed by a Likert scale. For each variable it is mentioned on how many cases the final score is based, and the final score can range from -2 to +2. In this -2 being very unsatisfactory, -1 unsatisfactory, 0 neutral, +1 satisfactory and +2 very satisfactory regarding the specific characteristic. The average for each group of respondents of such a Likert scale is used for indicating the quality level of the concerning variable. In this chapter also the use of an independent sample t-test is used to determine if there is a significant difference between the means of groups concerning a specific feature. For both detailed statistics regarding the calculations are given in the footnotes included in the chapter.

6.2 Household profiles and learner characteristics

In this section a detailed account on the social economic background of the population included in the research is given, which helps to gain a greater understanding who form the consumer side of ECE in Juhapura and how the quality of ECE is reviewed by them. The profile of the parents has been divided up into three main household groups, including parents of children attending anganwadi's, parents of children attending balghars and parents of children who are currently not attending any pre-school (hereafter named 'excluded parents').

The parents of children attending the anganwadi's are the main target group in this study and provide the level of satisfaction amongst the user population. The parents of the children in balghars are also included and help to recognize the strengths in the balghars which can be used in the anganwadi's. Parents of children currently excluded from any pre-school, though are in the pre-school age group, are also a part of the user population and therefore needed to be included in the research. A greater understanding needs to be formulated on the issues that are prohibiting these children to attend a pre-school. These children might also be involved in the pre-schools when problems can be overcome, and with that a larger group of children is reached. The excluded parents prominently vary from the other two groups of the population, a complete comparison between those three groups is therefore considered incompatible. However, it is useful to state the main differences between the profiles of the three household groups to recognize some basic characteristics of the excluded parents and their children which might help define the problems causing exclusion of the pre-schools.

There are some differences between the groups of parents; including the respondent parents of anganwadi's who have on average a higher attained diploma compared to the other two groups. The difference between the anganwadi and balghar parents is however not significant, and the difference between the highest attained diploma of the partners of those two groups is neither significant²⁶. The parents of children attending an anganwadi have on average 2.48 children, for balghars this is 2.50 children and for excluded parents this is 2.90 children. More noticeable is the difference in children in the household who attended pre-school; for households connected to anganwadi's this is 1.86 children, for balghars this is 1.70 children and for excluded parents this is 0.55 children. Even though the excluded parents have on average more children, the children of the household evidently attend pre-schools less.

From the employment status and the average employment rate of males and females one can deduct that women are a minor part of the labor force in Juhapura; as more than half of the women for all three groups are not working. Mostly when a woman is working this is by self-employment, the percentage of women who are employed is almost negligible for the three groups. The final noticeable difference is in income and expenditure between the three groups, were as it is for the excluded parents considerably lower as for the other two groups. The excluded parents are outlined more elaborate in paragraph 6.3.9. The profiles are presented in table 6.1 below.

Experience Box 6.1 A parent's story: an excluded parent

"My children used to go to the balghar, and from the time that I was not able to pay for the balghar anymore they went to an anganwadi. The teachers there are however very irregular and nothing really is being taught; therefore I see no use in sending my children there. I have not had anything decent to eat for days, as I do not have a job and my husband is in jail so he cannot provide for us. I do not know what to do."

²⁶ The highest attained diploma for the respondent parent obtained a sig. level of 0.051 and the partner parent obtained a sig. level of 0.218, entailing there was no significant difference between the means of the two groups of anganwadi and balghar respondents.

Table 6.1 The profiles of the households included in the research

	Anganwadi's	Balghars	Excluded parents
N	42	30	11
Average age	28.02 years	26.87 years	30.45 years
Religion	100% Muslim	100% Muslim	100% Muslim
Civil status respondent	100% married	100% married	100% married
Average household size	6.03 people	6.83 people	5.90 people
Average number of children per household	2.48 children	2.50 children	2.90 children
Average number of children attended pre-school per household	1.86 children	1.70 children	0.55 children
Average number of adults in household	3.55 adults	4.33 adults	3 adults
Highest attained diploma respondent	9.5% illiterate 2.4% literate 47.6% primary education 38.1% secondary education 2.4% undergraduate	20.0% illiterate 63.3% primary education 16.7% secondary education	16.7% illiterate 50.5% primary education 25.0% secondary education *
Highest attained diploma partner	4.8% Illiterate 54.8% Primary education 40.4% Secondary education	13.3% Illiterate 53.3% Primary education 33.3% Secondary education	25.5% Illiterate 41.7% Primary education 25.0% Secondary education *
Average years living in Juhapura	9.86 years	9.17 years	11.24 years
Average employment rate of males	1.64 males	1.87 males	1.18 males
Average employment rate of females	0.26 females	0.50 females	0.27 females
Employment status respondent	19% self-employed 4.8% employed 2.4% unemployed(actively) 73.8% not working	23.3% self-employed 3.3% employed 73.3% not working	8.3% self-employed 8.3% employed 16.7% unemployed(actively) 58.3% not working *
Employment status partner	35.7% self-employed 57.1% employed 2.4% unemployed(actively) 4.8% not working	80% self-employed 20% employed	50% self-employed 16.7% employed 16.7% unemployed(actively) 8.3% not working *
Average household income	7,341.46 INR* (107.68 Euro)	7,200.00 INR (105.62 Euro)	4,345.45 INR (63.74 Euro)
Average household expenditure	6,837.50 INR** (100.30 Euro)	7,327.59 INR* (107.49 Euro)	4,045.45 INR (59.34 Euro)

*one missing value ** two missing values

The above displayed characteristics are regarding the parents of the children who are put central within this study; children between the age of three to six years old living in Juhapura. It is therefore important to elaborate some more on the learners characteristics of the children, these entail the characteristics each student brings with him or her when attending an educational program. "Important determining characteristics can include socio-economic background, health, place of residence, cultural and religious background and the amount and nature of prior learning" (EFA UNESCO, 2005, p. 35). The characteristics of the children are overall similar to those of their parents, and can be considered moderately equal amongst each other with exceptions there.

Overall, by giving the profiles of the allocating parents the primary learner characteristics of the children have been illustrated. There might however be some differences which remain unrecorded regarding health, disabilities or personal circumstances in the household. These features are particularly personal and difficult to measure; the limited data gathered regarding this is insufficient for there to be any interpretations of these aspects. A noteworthy difference is regarding the monthly income, where excluded parents earn less than the other two groups of parents. The difference of income is subsequently of influence on the place of residence; which is considered moderately similar except for the excluded households, who are generally less fortunate. The amount and nature of prior learning is not of influence at this stage, as pre-school is the primary form of education. The children are living in a backward area of Ahmedabad, are not older than six years and have overall been living in Juhapura their entire lives. The health facilities aiding the area are limited and on average low nutritional values are common in this age group in India (UNICEF, 2011). Though, no accurate explanations on the health status of the children can be given. All the children are from India and are brought up in a Muslim culture, there is little to no mixture with other religions in the area. The ECE services should be specifically designed for these children, and ought to be suitable for them according to the management of the program and the parents.

6.3 The quality of early childhood education

6.3.1 Accountability, supervision, and management

The accountability connected to the parents is merely from the teachers with whom the parents are in direct contact. The ICDS program as whole is too distant and unfamiliar for the parents to hold accountable for any actions taken in the anganwadi's. The parents of the anganwadi's overall view the accountability to them, the communication and cooperation between them and the workers to be satisfactory, as do the parents of the balghars²⁷.

Box 6.1 Accountability strategy

One of the reasons why for the services provided by the balghars a small tuition fee is required comes from the strategy that SAATH applies in other projects as well. This strategy is concerning accountability and entails the following; it is very important to uphold the self-esteem of people, to motivate individuals and provide them with a feeling of inclusion. By ensuring a small fee for the provided services these elements for enhanced accountability are encouraged. Moreover, when someone is obliged to pay for a service, he or she is more committed to ask for proper services. Responsibility and accountability are more often demanded from the service provider, in contrast to when no fees are paid (SAATH, 2010). The involvement level is considered to be lower when there is no financial investment and it is generally believed by the user population that one has no right to demand anything in this case. This is because the service is for free and merely obliges as a supplementary feature to the child's development.

²⁷The value given by the anganwadi parents to the accountability is on average 1.02 (based on 42 cases). The value given by the anganwadi parents to the communication between the stakeholders is on average 0.88 (based on 42 cases) and to the cooperation between stakeholders is on average 0.90 (based on 41 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high). The value given by the balghar parents to the accountability is on average 1.03 (based on 30 cases). The value given by the anganwadi parents to the communication between the stakeholders is on average 1.03 (based on 30 cases) and to the cooperation between stakeholders is on average 1.00 (based on 30 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

Despite the strategy implemented by SAATH no significant difference between the groups of parents is found concerning none of the three collaboration aspects²⁸. The difficulty with this is however, that the comparison is based on the experiences of the parents without them having the knowledge of how it can be different. Despite the satisfied connotation with accountability; the feeling of low self-esteem and exclusion from the ECE processes often came forth from the interviews with parents of children attending anganwadi's. The comparison between the two groups might therefore be misleading, as from open questions the difficulties with accountability and supervision which the parents encountered are clearly illustrated. Several parents of the anganwadi's have indicated to have difficulties in communicating with the workers. Certain parents have never been invited to a parent-teacher meeting, nor believe that the children are actually being taught something in the pre-school. Moreover, the parents find that specific elements of the educational activities should be enhanced, though feel that their voices are not being heard. Additionally, some parents do not value the educational feature of the pre-school; merely the nutrition provided is seen as an important aspect. These parents view the ECE services as something additional and not of priority for their children. The parents of the balghars on the contrary have demonstrated that the educational aspect of the pre-school is of tremendous importance, and therefore are willing to pay a small tuition fee for the services. The difference in value for education and understanding of their rights is of abundant influence on the accountability to and involvement of the parents in ECE.

Box 6.2 Community supervision

Juhapura is a society where powerful community control is of force, the privacy level is low and there is a common open door policy. When a door is closed this is interpreted as secrecy and tainted actions, therefore little privacy is possible with the adjacent housing structure. A small community is allocated to the anganwadi for the various services it provides. Though this entails according to regulations 800 households for each urban anganwadi, in Juhapura the group of households is much smaller and extremely concentrated. The balghars likewise cover a restricted area including a limited amount of households. In both anganwadi's and balghars, everyday supervision by the community is a consistent feature in the pre-schools. Though community supervision is of direct influence on the actions of the teachers, there is only limited room for adjustments by the teachers in the pre-schools. Teachers feel responsible towards the community and can perform their utter best within the anganwadi. It is however so that next to evaluations and communication with the management level, the teachers have no say in the overall process of the anganwadi's. The difficulty regarding communication of the workers with the bureaucratic system of the ICDS program has been illustrated in the previous chapter.

The parents on the contrary to the community are viable to enforce some supervision and can be of influence on the workings in the anganwadi's, even at managerial level. Even though it is the right of the parents to act upon observations and desires concerning the ECE services, this is not always done or perceived as a possibility to do so. The involvement level of the parents in and the information provided concerning the pre-school processes is too little for the parents to confidentially act towards the overarching schemes of the pre-schools.

²⁸ The accountability to the parents obtained a sig. level of 0.957, the communication between stakeholders obtained a sig. level of 0.205 and the cooperation between stakeholders obtained a sig. level of 0.436, which all are larger than 0.05 entailing there was no significant difference between the means of the two groups of anganwadi and balghar respondents.

Currently this is not done in any collective form by neither the parents related to anganwadi's or the balghars. The supervision function fulfilled by the parents besides the direct contact with the teachers can therefore be considered minimal at this point. Even at the local level the parents encountered some difficulties with enforcing their supervision to the teachers as mentioned earlier, let alone towards the managerial supervision which is overall unfamiliar and very distant for the parents. Because of this unfamiliarity the parents had difficulty of valuing the supervision, which merely indicates the limiting significance given to the parents' opinion regarding the ECE program by the managerial bodies. The bureaucratic system managing the ICDS scheme is hardly reflected by the parents, as it is impossible to equally communicate with this stakeholder for the parents. Though the program of the balghars is less elaborately in organizational bodies, the communication and cooperation merely reach the teachers and the supervisor. These stakeholders are obliged to make the connection between the local parents and the management bodies of the schemes for enhanced communication and cooperation. It is at this managerial level that decisions regarding every element of the program, such as curriculum, are made.

6.3.2 Curriculum content and pedagogy

The curriculum content provided by the ICDS program and the pedagogy applied in the pre-school have barely been valued satisfying by the anganwadi parents. Several parents have indicated that there is too much play instead of teaching in the anganwadi's. The subjects most regularly indicated desiring attention by the parents are reading, writing, mathematics and English. Especially English is considered to be of great importance, as the language is emphasized by 11 out of the 42 parents of the anganwadi's as a relevant teaching subject. The most regular reasoning for this is the alleged usefulness of the language on the labor market. The teaching languages are considered satisfying²⁹.

The parents in general do not greatly respect the timings of the anganwadi's, as it regularly happens that children are late or even not attending class at all. The children in anganwadi's miss on average 5.36 days of class a month. This for various reasons as the child is crying or being stubborn, a three day marriage, sickness and mostly when the family is obliged to leave town for a few days. The irregularity of attendance in the pre-school is demotivating for the teachers and limits the effectiveness of ECE on the child. A few parents indicated that an attendance list is desired, which could be useful to overcome this predicament. Moreover, the provision of a formal certificate might stimulate regular attendance for the parents, however often no certificate is provided in the anganwadi's even though this is a part of the ICDS scheme. The balghars neither provide a formal certificate after the completion of an ECE course; this would however add value to the pre-school.

Experience Box 6.2 A parent's story: attendance

"Sometimes my son is too stubborn to go to school, he screams and cries while putting on a fight. Even when we force him to go to school it is not profitable, as the teacher will only send him home if he continues to scream or cry. We find it therefore easier to let him stay home for the day."

²⁹ The value given by the anganwadi parents to the teaching methods is on average 0.14 (based on 42 cases), to the curriculum availability is on average 0.05 (based on 42 cases), the curriculum utilization is on average 0.13 (based on 40 cases) and the teaching language is on average 0.55 (based on 42 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

The parents of the balghars have valued the teaching methods and curriculum availability hardly satisfying. A minority of the parents connected to the balghars have indicated that there is too much play instead of teaching and five out of the 30 parents of balghars have mentioned that writing practice is one of the subjects desiring emphasize. Despite that there is an extensive and visual curriculum available in every balghar, the curriculum availability is not strongly considered to be sufficient. The reason for this is expected to be the unfamiliarity with the curriculum of the parents and exclusion of parents from the in-class activities. The curriculum utilization and teaching language are convincingly valued satisfying by the balghar parents³⁰. On average the children in balghars miss 3.20 days of class a month. The children are absent for various reasons as stubbornness of the child, no snacks provided on Saturday, unproductive timing on Saturday and especially when the family has obligations out of town. Both the parents of the anganwadi's and the balghars do not consider regular attendance in the pre-schools as something obligatory or of great importance. The educators of the pre-schools can play a vital role towards enhanced attendance in both the anganwadi's and the balghars.

6.3.3 Early childhood educators and caregivers

The educators and caregivers entail two teachers in the balghars and a worker together with a helper in the anganwadi's. The anganwadi educators' qualification is considered satisfying by the parents, as are the teaching experience and teacher responsiveness to the parents accordingly³¹. The anganwadi parents have however also indicated that there are some facets which are unsatisfying regarding the educators. There are cases where inappropriate interaction takes place, as children get scolded at or ignored by the educators. Especially in the case with young children, this is unconstructive for the self-esteem and learners aptitude of the child. The educators involved in these cases are considered by the parents to be frustrated and unmotivated to commit to the job in the anganwadi. The lack of motivation might also influence the teaching activity in class and be of effect on the fluctuating timings of the pre-school. One example of this is of the anganwadi where the helper was with pregnancy leave and the worker did not show for several weeks, resulting in the anganwadi simply being closed. However, both the anganwadi workers and the balghar teachers have indicated to truly like being a teacher, going to work and find the work important³². This can be considered contradicting with the highlighted cases of inappropriate and unmotivated educators in the anganwadi's by the parents.

³⁰ The value given by the balghar parents to the teaching methods is on average 0.20 (based on 30 cases), to the curriculum availability is on average 0.28 (based on 29 cases), the curriculum utilization is on average 0.82 (based on 28 cases) and the teaching language is on average 0.97 (based on 30 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

³¹ The value given by the anganwadi parents to the teacher qualification is on average 0.55 (based on 31 cases), to the teacher experience 0.83 (based on 41 cases) and to the teacher responsiveness 0.79 (based on 42 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

³² The average value given by the anganwadi teachers to 'like being a teacher' 1.33, 'like going to work' 1.20 and 'work is important' 1.80 (based on 15 cases). The average value given by the balghar teachers to 'like being a teacher' 1.57, 'like going to work' 1.57 and 'work is important' 1.86 (based on 7 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

Box 6.3 Example of low teaching activity

The worker was absent of the anganwadi, and the helper just returned from sick leave. However, still acted as being unable to teach the children and was busier with chatting to the family home owner. The children were sitting outside and were barely looked after, only when a child cried or started fighting then the helper intervened. This often entailed that the children were send home to their parents. No toys, educational resources or even a poster were visible in the anganwadi. Putting that together with the low teaching activity, it portrays the sight of a very sad anganwadi.

A remarkable finding is the desire of enhanced education in general by the parents, which is an overarching remark on the general conduct of education in the anganwadi's. This is not merely specific regarding the educators, and includes among others the educational resources. Nevertheless, it also demands some enhancement of the educators in the anganwadi's for increased and valuable teachings. The educators are regarded to put greater emphasize on specific subjects, attain greater teaching activity and provide information on the progress of the children. Disregarding these elements of dissatisfaction, the anganwadi educators overall are highly respected and included in the community. All the workers interviewed have indicated to be treated with great respect by the community of the anganwadi.

The teachers of the balghars are generally valued adequately by the parents regarding the three facets of teachers' qualification, experience and responsiveness³³. Some minor indications of dissatisfaction concerning the teachers have been given by the parents on specific actions, on necessary English skills and the playful teaching method instead of lessons. Moreover, similar to the anganwadi's, the parents of the balghars also indicated to desire an enhanced general education level. The teachers of the balghars recognize the feeling of great respect by the community and no problematic complaints concerning the teachers of the balghars have been presented by the parents. The educators however can do little to nothing without educational resources which are valuable in every aspect of the child's pre-school experience.

6.3.4 Educational resources

The educational resources are seen as a vast predicament by the parents, this can be ascribed to the fact that there are very limited resources available in the anganwadi's. The various resources have subsequently been valued unsatisfying to very unsatisfying³⁴. The highlighted facets of the educational resources desiring improvement include alphabets, benches, blackboard, books, chairs, charts, cycles, fans, games, mats, overall facilities, playground, swing, teaching aids, and mostly toys.

³³ The value given by the balghar parents to the teacher qualification is on average 0.52 (based on 21 cases), to the teacher experience 0.93 (based on 29 cases) and to the teacher responsiveness 0.90 (based on 30 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

³⁴ The anganwadi parents have valued on average the teaching aids -0.78 (based on 40 cases), the toys -1.24 (based on 41 cases), the musical instruments -1.15 (based on 40 cases), art supplies -0.97 (based on 39 cases), posters -0.43 (based on 40 cases), blackboard -0.74 (based on 27 cases) and the overall utilization of resources -0.61 (based on 41 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

The educational resources named include almost every possible resource necessary in a pre-school, indicating that none is regarded to be adequately supplied or available in the anganwadi's. Not merely the quantity of the resources are to be improved, also the quality is lacking according to the anganwadi parents.

The limited educators for over 35 children a class and the accompanying tasks of nutrition, health and registration are a great burden on the two educators in the anganwadi's. The pupil teacher ratio in the anganwadi's is consequentially barely considered satisfying by to the parents³⁵. Several parents have indicated that an additional helper would be desired; the helper would then be able to focus on the children's hygiene and cleanliness. In this case the worker and the initial helper are able to focus more on teaching, and equally divide the time among the large number of children. Currently there are occurrences were parents are called to take their children to the restroom or children are sent home when they cannot to stop crying. These occasions were children need minor additional attention are too overwhelming for the educators to handle, which merely stresses the necessity of an extra helper or worker.

The parents of the balghars have indicated to be pleased with most of the educational resources, merely the teaching aids are not fulfilling nor lacking³⁶. The highlighted facets of the educational resources desiring improvement according to the parents include benches, chalk and slate, garden, improved play area and sitting place, tables, toys, and uniforms. The main elements relate to the manner of sitting in the classroom and the toys are also emphasized by the parents. In general the educational resources are available and there are adequate materials for teaching, which are greatly lacking in the anganwadi's. The pupil teacher ratio in the balghars is considered satisfactory³⁷. The teachers are reflected to handle the children appropriately, at this time no indications of an additional teacher are given by the parents of the balghars. In addition to all these educational resources is the environment and physical space of the anganwadi as is discussed in the subsequent paragraph.

6.3.5 Environment and physical space

The anganwadi's are run from a family house, which brings about several difficulties as indicated in the previous chapter. The parents also consider the fact that the anganwadi is run from a family house a limitation; as the school atmosphere is dampened and the room provides a dismal environment for learning. Instead of a bed and a television in the classroom, there should be appropriate posters and drawings on the walls, mats on the floors and toys to play with for the children. These various elements make a room a classroom, not the mere appointment of a room where children are supposedly taught.

35 The anganwadi parents have valued on average the pupil teacher ratio at 0.19 (based on 42 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

36 The balghar parents have valued on average the teaching aids 0.00 (based on 30 cases), the toys 1.07 (based on 30 cases), the musical instruments 0.56 (based on 27 cases), art supplies 0.59 (based on 29 cases), posters 1.00 (based on 29 cases), blackboard 0.90 (based on 30 cases) and the overall utilization of resources 0.87 (based on 87 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

37 The balghar parents have valued on average the pupil teacher ratio at 0.57 (based on 30 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

The parents of the anganwadi's have also indicated, with 13 out of 42 respondents, that the size of the classroom should increase and the general condition of the room needs to be improved. In various cases the room for all the children is very cramped, entailing that there is no room for the children to play. There are some specific cases where there are complaints about bad smells, drainage and ventilation in the classrooms which make the pre-school less hygienic and perhaps even unhealthy for the children. Again in the quality check-list the size of the building and the classroom are valued unsatisfactory, and the condition of the classroom, the toilets and the kitchen are barely considered satisfactory³⁸. The foremost aspects of the environment and physical space which desire improvement according to the anganwadi parents include the condition and space of the building, together with the need of a private place.

Figure 6.1 Examples of environment and physical space in anganwadi's



The parents of the balghars have gathered that the size of the building and the classroom, as well as the condition of the building to be unsatisfactory. The toilet is regarded as barely satisfactory and the kitchen as generally satisfactory³⁹. Especially the desire of a larger space is expressed by the parents, this for the children to play and sit comfortably. Additionally there is a balghar in which the roof is of bad quality and in another balghar the temperature is a large burden in the summer. The temperatures in the summer can rise to 45°C, resulting in difficulties for all the balghars as well as anganwadi's to create a comfortable climate in the pre-schools. One of the anganwadi's have collectively with the parents arranged for a fan in the pre-school to enhance the comfort of the children during the summer. The fan is a large investment for the parents; however the health and comfort of the children is of greater importance for the parents and the willingness to invest in the educational career of their children is clearly demonstrated by this initiative.

³⁸ The anganwadi parents have valued on average the size of the building -0.17, the classroom size -0.40, the condition of the classroom 0.10 (all based on 42 cases), the toilets 0.15 and the kitchen 0.38 (both based on 26 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

³⁹ The balghar parents have valued on average the size of the building -0.30, the classroom size -0.40, the condition of the building -0.33 (all based on 30 cases), the toilets 0.21 (based on 24 cases) and the kitchen 1.00 (based on 29 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

6.3.6 Health services, infrastructure and a system

The nutritional function of the ICDS scheme was the initial motivation for implementing the program. Various parents of the anganwadi's see this therefore also as the foremost purpose of the pre-school, and there are parents who do not send their children to school on Saturday as then no food is provided. The overall nutrition and the cooked meal in the anganwadi's are valued to be satisfactory by the parents; the snack on the other hand is not⁴⁰. The snacks entail seasonal fruits though often a mere chocolate is provided, which does not support the health information given by the educators. This contradicting action does no good for the image of the scheme and the desired effects of its activities. Several parents do not understand this behavior of inconsistency and are not convinced of the effective workings of the program. It might be that the health and nutritional education provided is therefore considered unsatisfying, as are the health check-up and the referral services. The health and nutritional education for the children is incorporated in class, the families are however provided very limiting information on these matters. The household visits are the only possibilities for the educators to share the knowledge on health and nutrition with the rest of the family. The health check-up performed by doctors should be once a year, however is insufficient according to the parents. The doctors do not come on a regular basis and the competence of the doctor is also considered doubtful by the parents. The referral services of the ICDS program should be elaborate as these are a vital element of the entire scheme; the difficulties related to this are the limited health facilities and resources in Juhapura to successfully implement these services, which results in discontent of the parents. Growth monitoring performed by the educators however is considered satisfactory⁴¹; this is done monthly by measuring the height and weight of the children. The inconsistency in nutritional and health procedures and irregularity of health check-ups of doctors, together with inadequate cooperation within the program to provide referral services constrain the promised services for the families in Juhapura.

The infrastructure and system available and necessary for the ECE programs has not been sufficiently researched for an appropriate discussion at this moment. The general perspective of the anganwadi parents on the infrastructure of the program is not satisfying or unsatisfying. As discussed prior the managerial level is perceived to be very distant to the parents, and are unfamiliar with its processes. The additional services to the parents provided by the ICDS scheme as illustrated in chapter are greatly lacking as merely 11.9% is aware of the services offered to the parents. The services which are offered include making the food packages provided by the ICDS scheme, information on health of children including vaccination and polio, and information on pregnancy. These services are very minimal compared to the supposedly provided services by the ICDS program. In total 88.1% of the anganwadi parents indicated to desire other services, including a detailed report on the children and parent-teacher meetings, guidelines on how to stimulate a child to study, stitching and employment consultation, guidelines and counseling regarding the child's future, stimulate parent literacy and girls rights. Especially guidelines on the future of the child are considered to be of great value.

40 The anganwadi parents have valued on average the nutrition 0.52 (based on 42 cases), the cooked meal 0.35 (based on 40 cases) and the snack -0.17 (based on 41 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

41 The anganwadi parents have valued on average the health check-up -0.68, health education -0.37, nutrition education -0.34 (all based on 41 cases) and referral services -0.08 (based on 40 cases). Growth monitoring is valued on average 0.61 (based on 41 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

The infrastructure of the balghars is valued unsatisfactory, according to the understanding of the parents. There are no additional services for the parents included in the program of the balghars, though 66.7% of the respondents indicated to desire other service offered to them. These services include guidelines on how to stimulate a child to study, stitching, mahndi and (self-)employment consultation, and providing guidelines and counseling regarding the child's future.

The overall nutrition and the cooked meal are valued to be satisfactory by the parents of the balghars, as well as the snacks provided. The nutritional services offered are not the main motivation of the balghars existence; however it is valued greatly by the program and the parents. Especially the fresh cooked meal is considered important and appreciated by the parents, as supplementary nutrition is not redundant in Juhapura. The health check-up, growth monitoring, and referral services on the contrary are not considered satisfactory⁴². Limited health related services are provided, as referral services are not an official element of the balghar program. The supervisor does however provide assistance when possible regarding health, including among others assisting in hospital visits. The health check-up and growth monitoring of the children are seen as points for improvement by the parents; especially the uncoordinated and irregular visits of the doctors. The growth monitoring is performed monthly by the teachers and registered in a well-kept record, making it unclear why this facet is valued unsatisfactory by the parents. The health and nutrition education provided by the teachers is valued satisfactory⁴³ by the parents, as great attention is given to these matters in the balghars. The teachers receive training on health and nutrition, and provide the information to the families through home visits. Greater inclusion of the families in these facets could however enhance a structurally provision of a healthy and appropriate environment for the children.

6.3.7 Partnership with families and communities

The families and local community are few of the major influences on a young child's live. Aligning the routines of these features together with the educational feature, greater effectiveness can be reached for a stable environment and development of the child. One of the methods to include the families in the pre-school element is by parent-teacher meetings, in which 35.7% of the anganwadi parents have participated. The other 64.3% have indicated never to be offered such a meeting or were unable to be present at the time. Of those who have attended such a meeting, the vast majority of 86.67% have enjoyed the parent-teacher meetings, and the same percentage also found the meetings useful. Of the total group of respondents 97.6% are willing to participate more actively in their child's pre-school education. The one case which indicated not to be willing is not allowed to go out of the house often and therefore considered unable instead of unwilling. The main manners of how parents desire to be more involved are by parent-teacher meetings, and to teach the children at home. Enriched involvement of the parents can be of vital influence on the current and future educational attainment of the children, and perhaps even a possibility for education or employment of the parents. Enhanced understanding of the pre-school practices illustrates the importance of education and might strengthen the processes of learning at home.

⁴² The parents of balghars value on average the nutrition 0.97, the cooked meal 1.00, the health check-up -0.47 (all based on 30 cases), the snack 0.79, the growth monitoring -0.17 (based on 29 cases) and the referral services -0.89 (based on 27 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

⁴³ The parents of balghars value on average the health education 0.67 and nutrition education 0.70 (both based on 30 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

Box 6.4 Community involvement

The community participation is valued to be satisfactory, and the community acceptance and overall reputation of the pre-school are very satisfactory according to the anganwadi parents¹. The services offered to the community members of the anganwadi, together with the supervision of the community are the only relations of the community with the scheme. For the reason that the services offered to the community members are not a part of the pre-school element, the linkages between the community and the pre-school component of the anganwadi's are minimal. Though, with the help of community supervision and support an anganwadi can thrive and enhance over time.

Regarding the balghars the services offered to the community are minimal to none-existing, besides some minor referral services to other programs of the NGO itself. The community participation is considered unsatisfactory by the parents of the balghars, due to its non-existence. The community acceptance and the general reputation of the school are both valued satisfactory¹. There is no dismissal of or resistance to the balghars which are generally perceived as suitable pre-schools by the local community.

The parents of the balghars are included in the pre-schools through parent-teacher meetings. Of the balghar parents 86.7% has participated in the parent-teacher meetings, who all enjoyed the meetings and of which merely one case did not find the meeting useful. The reason for this was that the teachers do not provide enough information about the children. All the respondents indicated to be willing to participate more actively in their child's pre-school education. The possibility of greater involvement of the parents according to the balghar teachers however is considered minimal as discussed in chapter 5.

The balghar parents were additionally asked about the willingness to pay more fees, of which 43.3% indicated to be willing to do this. The reasons for the other parents to say no are that the current fee is sufficient in general or according to education level, and mostly because the financial conditions of the household which do not permit it. So, when asked if the parents were able to pay more fees only 26.7% could indicate yes and those who pointed out not being able all gave the same reason that the financial conditions of the household were constraining the possibility of paying more fees. The additional fee specified by the parents to be paid is on average 100 INR a month. The solutions proposed to receive more funds to support the balghar greatly vary and are displayed in table 6.2

Table 6.2 The possibilities of raising funds for the balghars according to the parents

Possibility	Frequency	Percentage
Voluntary contribution	4	13.3%
Government assistance	3	10%
Increasing the fees	3	10%
Committee forming	2	6.7%
Contribution of affluent houses	2	6.7%
Contribution of community	2	6.7%
Contribution of large institutions	1	3.3%
Decrease the teachers' salary	1	3.3%
Increase in contribution by NGO	1	3.3%
Missing	11	36.6%
Total	30	100%

The overall solution of the balghar parents is found in contributions of other stakeholders to the balghar program. The committee forming, voluntary contribution and increase of fees which make up for 30% are the only activities which involve the parents. As the increase of financial support is considered unrealistic, the formation of a committee is the most viable solution for raising funds. Such a committee could arrange fund raisings, children activities or even form as a pressure group towards the management of the pre-schools.

6.3.8 Services for young children with special needs

The balghars do not specifically have any regulations on children with special needs, the anganwadi's however do. The facilities for these young children with special needs do not exist, and it is considered impossible for the educators to manage any children with intense special needs nor in the balghars or the anganwadi's. There is one NGO named Samerth who provides a small class for special needs children in Juhapura, however the satisfaction level of these services is very limited according to two parents sending their children to the class. There are two special needs children in the group of respondents of the anganwadi's and one in the households interviewed of the balghars. Though, with the help of elaborate observation and information it has become clear that a much larger group of challenging children is present in Juhapura. For the reason that the ICDS scheme has regarded these children as their responsibility, improvements are desired regarding the necessary services for children with special needs. A clear demand for such services has been illustrated by the community.

6.3.9 The excluded parents

Next to children attending an anganwadi or balghar there is also the possibility of not attending a pre-school of any form. These children between three to six years old have been or are deprived of ECE, and the positive influences it holds. The magnitude of the children excluded from pre-schools in Juhapura is unknown, though in limited time 11 parents willing to participate were found.

The main reasons why these children are not attending any pre-school are the costs, no desire of the child to attend, disability or illness, and considered to be too young for going to school. Those who indicated that costs are a major problem still prefer to send their children to a private pre-school when the costs were no longer an issue. An increase in income is the single possibility recognized by the parents for them to send the children to pre-school, as even for sending children to an anganwadi certain costs of proper clothes and a slate are involved. One of the respondents indicated that transport to and from the pre-school is an obstacle for the children to attend. Of the group excluded parents 100% intend to send their child to a primary school. The parents have valued education in general and pre-school education in specific to be very important to the children's' development⁴⁴. This opinion illustrates the desire of the parents to send their children to pre-school and continue education afterwards. The greatly deprived financial circumstances of the parents do not lend the possibility of sending the children to school. The reasons of these harsh situations vary from alcohol abuse, divorce, illness, and prison of one or two of the parents. It remains to be that a large group of children is excluded from ECE services and additionally to the earlier mentioned reasons; the lack in provision of ECE is considered a disturbing predicament in Juhapura.

⁴⁴ The excluded parents value education in general 1.18 and pre-school education 1.09 (based on 11 cases) (in this being -2 extremely low to +2 extremely high).

6.3.10 Possibilities for improvement

One of the main objectives of the study entailed uncovering improvements in the provision of public ECE in Juhapura. Besides by the preceding quality measurement of the complete ECE process, specific challenges and improvements within the anganwadi's are indicated by the parents. These however, remain rather general and will need broad elaboration concerning specifics of the matter before interventions can be formulated. Nevertheless, an indication of the specific elements and main components desiring improvement according to the parents is presented. As the parents could indicate three improvements and two questions are combined, the total comes up to 252 possibilities. The variety in possible improvements is elaborate; including major elements as educational resources, environment and physical space, teaching activity, nutrition, and the educators of the pre-school (see table 6.3).

The three main fields of improvement in the anganwadi's are the educational resources, environment and physical space and the teaching activity in the pre-school. It is regarding these components that interventions can be of tremendous use for the enhancement of the anganwadi's. Especially toys, blackboards and charts are currently considered missing in the pre-schools, and the limited space available in the anganwadi's is valued as a foremost constraint on the possibilities and teachings in the pre-school. The general education level and explicitly the teaching of writing are activities desiring improvement. Finally a key element that was emphasized is the general nutrition level provided, which is experienced as insufficient in quality and quantity.

A notable answer given in the table 6.3 is 'no fees', as these answers relate to the anganwadi's were no tuition fees apply. The inexplicable answer was clearly given by one respondent, and the other parents of the same anganwadi indicated no fees were required. This demonstrates some irregular and incorrect behavior of a worker or helper in the ICDS scheme.

The parents of the balghars have not demonstrated any surprising elements of improvement or specific features for improvement. The main improvements indicated encompass benches, limited space in the balghars, teachers who should be more attentive, enhancement in the supplementary nutrition and some features of the physical environment which desire improvement. When the parents were asked for more specific elements an additional feature came about, which entailed the educational practices in the class. The general educational level should increase, up to the level of primary education and especially writing practice needs to be emphasized. Overall, no new insights for the anganwadi's are gained from the comments of the parents of the balghars.

Table 6.3 The major improvement in the anganwadi's

Variable	Frequency
Educational resources total*	47
<i>Toys</i>	30
<i>Blackboard and charts</i>	7
<i>Teaching aids</i>	5
<i>Benches and mats</i>	3
<i>Cycles</i>	1
<i>Swing</i>	1
Environment and physical space total**	28
<i>Space</i>	12
<i>Private place</i>	5
<i>General facilities</i>	4
<i>Proper seating arrangements</i>	3
<i>Outside playground</i>	2
<i>Fans</i>	1
<i>School like atmosphere</i>	1
Teaching activity total**	26
<i>Education level</i>	13
<i>Teach writing</i>	8
<i>Increase playtime</i>	2
<i>Language skills</i>	2
<i>Teach numbers</i>	1
Nutrition total**	14
<i>General nutrition level</i>	7
<i>ICDS packages</i>	3
<i>Drinking water</i>	2
<i>Snacks</i>	2
Educators total**	7
<i>Teacher attention</i>	3
<i>Knowledge educators</i>	2
<i>Extra helper</i>	2
Other variables total**	7
<i>Cleanliness and hygiene</i>	2
<i>Information on the children/ parent-teacher meeting</i>	2
<i>Attendance sheet</i>	1
<i>Discipline</i>	1
<i>No fees</i>	1
Missing	123
Total	252

*Lack of the educational resources

**Lack of or inadequate provision

6.4 Conclusion

The level of accountability, the communication and cooperation between stakeholders is considered to be agreeable in the anganwadi. Nevertheless, specific criticisms were given by the parents on these matters; including the communication towards them to be minimal, and parent-teacher meetings that are not made available to all parents. The parents overall feel uninformed on the processes in the anganwadi's and the progress of their children. By uniting the parents could enforce greater influence on the ICDS programs conducts and demand for certain changes in the anganwadi's. The possibilities for the parents to be involved in the pre-school process is considered minimal, with the help of forming a committee this might be overcome. Another issue stressed by some parents is the need for services for young children with special needs. This is a part of the ICDS scheme, however no such services are currently provided.

The physical space is another critical point for the parents, as the limited possibilities that are currently provided by the environment of the anganwadi's is considered to be very poor. The need for a private place, enlarged space and enhanced conditions are the initial steps towards an appropriate environment for teaching young children. The health services provided are moreover inadequate, disregarding the supposedly offered services by the ICDS scheme. The supplementary nutrition given in the anganwadi's is important according to the parents, however the current provision is unsatisfactory and contradicting the nutritional values the educators teach. Beside the serious fact that the educational resources are earnestly lacking, desires the education level also pronounced improvement according to the anganwadi parents. The educators should increase the educational activities and be more attentive towards the children in class. Moreover, a high level of absence in class is of issue in the anganwadi's. The various predicaments indicated together endanger the effectiveness of the pre-school's intentions.

The group of parents who are excluded from ECE services have a few specific characteristics; the household income is considerable lower as for the other households and the rate of children attending pre-schools is worrying low. The main predicaments for the parents to send their children to a pre-school are the financial conditions of the household and the lack of provision of pre-schools in Juhapura. All the parents together have displayed a wide range of necessary enhancements in the anganwadi's. The major elements included are the nutritional values, teaching activities, educational resources and facilities, and the physical environment of the anganwadi. Overall it is established that there is tremendous room for improvement in the anganwadi's.

Chapter 7 The stakeholders and societal predicaments

"Coming together is a beginning; keeping together is progress; working together is success." Henry Ford

7.1 Introduction

The quality of Early Childhood Education (ECE) is not merely dependent on the features directly relating to the pre-school, a wider environment and network needs to be considered for an accurate evaluation of such quality. This already has been elaborately discussed in the theoretical framework, as from both theory and practice the importance of a proper infrastructure and system for education surfaced. It is within these two facets that various stakeholders operate and function as beneficiaries or implementers, or both. The broader network of actors is of sizeable influence on the ECE services. It are the following two research questions that are answered in this chapter and partially in the conclusion and recommendations;

In what manner are public early childhood educational providers in Juhapura in Ahmedabad and SAATH currently cooperating and is there possibility for enhanced cooperation?

What are the government policies regarding public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad?

The other feature discussed in this chapter entails various societal predicaments experienced by the population of Juhapura. It are these difficulties which are also of influence on the ECE services offered in the area, and therefore need to be considered for an overview of the current situation.

The chapter starts with discussing the stakeholders; including cooperation and communication, and finances linked with the policies of the ECE program. Subsequently a range of societal predicaments ranging from basic amenities to child labor is presented. Another feature included in the chapter are educational push and pull factors for the children to attend ECE, or better said for the parents to let their children attend ECE. The chapter is finalized with a short conclusion.

7.2 The stakeholders

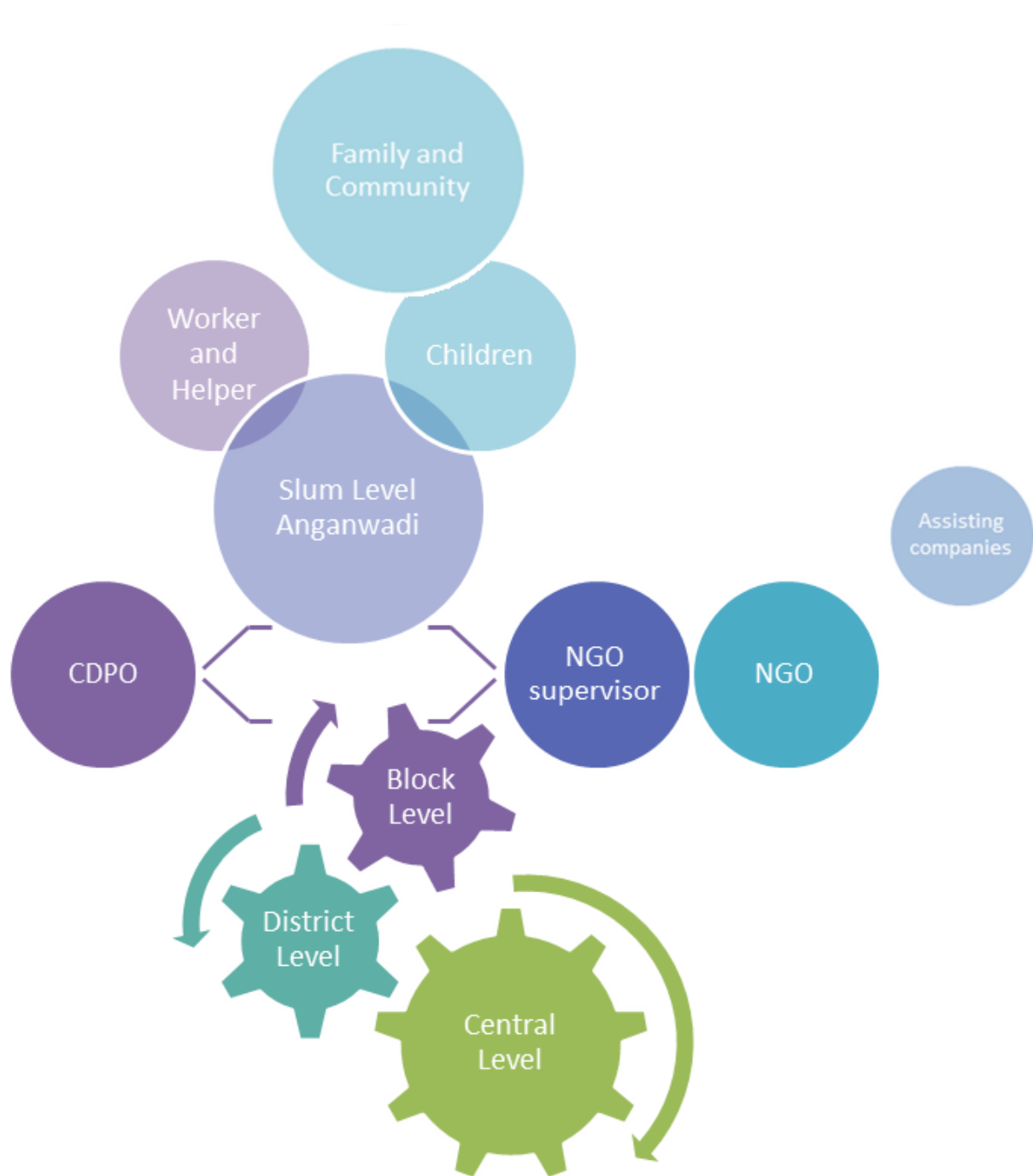
7.2.1 Cooperation and communication

The overall network of the public Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) scheme consists out of five levels, ranging from the central level to the slum level of employees. The network is however more extensive as the mere employees of the scheme. In addition the children, families, communities and assisting companies make up for the remaining parts of the network. The assisting companies might entail NGOs, public institutions or private organizations. Which in the case of the anganwadi's in Juhapura is merely the NGO Maktampur Sewa Samaj; no further companies are currently involved in the direct operations of the ICDS scheme in Juhapura.

As has been discussed prior, the cooperation and communication between the local based stakeholders and centralized bodies of the scheme is limited. The distance between the NGO supervisor and the Child Development Project Officer (CDPO) at block level is perceived to be a great obstacle for them to accurately work together. The distance can be interpreted as geographical, concerning understanding and the difference in accountability. The geographical distance derives from the fact that the local supervisor is operating in the slum area itself, and the CDPO mainly works out of office outside the area with an occasional visit to the blocks he or she is managing. The understanding of the two stakeholders differs in level of education and socio-economic characteristics. The local supervisor is from Juhapura itself, entailing limited resources and possibility of education for her. The fact that the supervisor is a woman is an advantage on local level where low educational attainment is not considered a difficulty, in cooperation and communication with administrative bodies this might result in an imbalanced work environment. Lastly the responsibility for the local supervisor lies with the anganwadi, as for the CDPO the priority of accountability is put towards the higher administrative bodies. The gap between these two stakeholders is the primary uphold of further cooperation and communication in the ICDS scheme. Understandable are the differences in perspective and priority between the various levels, however incomprehensible is the unwillingness in recognizing the potential of greater alignment of the various levels to make the ICDS scheme more successful. The stubbornness of theoretical knowledge that it knows all, and the distance between the local supervisor and the CDPO is simply the start of the administrative ladder that needs to realize the opportunity of success that is currently missed. Any authority that the implementing NGO had, has gradually been stripped away by the ICDS program. By reinstating some of the decision making power for the NGO, the current cooperation and communication gap might be closed and accountability can be ensured throughout the entire organization of the ICDS scheme.

Even though the ladder of predicaments concerning these aspects goes much further, little is known on the perspectives and intentions of these higher administrative stakeholders. Therefore, this cannot be correctly discussed at this point. The roles of families and communities in the network on the contrary can be elaborated on. The current cooperation and communication of the families is between them and the teachers of the anganwadi's as well as on a rare occasion with the local supervisor. The administrative bodies in the ICDS scheme are largely unknown and unreachable for the parents and the community members. The existing cooperation and communication is mostly regarding the children attending the pre-schools, as the additional services which are a part of the ICDS scheme are very scarcely offered. As stressed in the previous chapter, parents desire greater inclusion and information on the children's progress. Moreover, some trainings or teachings are also indicated as a potential service for the parents. The involvement of families can be greatly beneficial for the program, for continuing a stable routine and educational activities as well as health and nutritional safeguarding. Not merely the parents are considered as viable stakeholders, other household members and especially siblings can bring great value to educating and caring for the young children. For the reason that family is and always has been the primary care unit for a child in the Indian and the Muslim community, it is of great importance to make use of such an influential stakeholder in a child's life. Currently this possibility in the network is not used to its full potential for providing a high quality ECE program.

Figure 7.1 Stakeholder mapping of the anganwadi's in Juhapura



In figure 7.1 three stakeholders have been emphasized, including the central level of the ICDS scheme, the slum level and the family and community. The central level of the ICDS is of great significance in the program as it holds the decision making power of the entire scheme, the slum level entails the local anganwadi which encompasses the actual delivery of the services and the families and the community are stressed do to possibility of influencing the process by this vital stakeholder. The central level and the families and community are however greatly distanced to each other, as well as the CDPO and the NGO supervisor in the block level. With the help of this figure it has been clearly illustrated that the hierarchy of the ICDS scheme is greatly dispersed.

7.2.2 Finances and policies

The complete finances of the ICDS scheme are covered and managed by the administration of the program. There are no fees required from the parents or the community, and any additional funds of the implementing NGO or another NGO are not accepted. Because it is a national and costly operation in a developing country, the financial resources are spread thin. Asking for fees from the parents is not considered an option, as the government has committed itself to providing ECE services to all children and not all families are able to bring up financial support for a child to attend ECE. Though voluntary contributions, additional funds of the ICDS scheme or support from the community or affluent organizations are possibilities to be considered. The major implications of the lack of finances are the scarce resources made available and the drain on the financial resources of the workers and helpers salaries. The latter is a difficult matter, as the appreciation of these educators is important and needs to be expressed. However, the financial compensation provided is considerably more compared to the teachers of in the private sector; and reflected by NGO's as Samert and SAATH to be too much.

The expenditures on educational resources are greatly lacking and the nutrition provided is minimal due to this lack of funds. Investments in a program as the ICDS can positively sustain its success, or critically limit its effectiveness. The funds provided are a vital spill in the course of the anganwadi's in Juhapura, as currently the lack of those funds prominently obstructs the pre-schools to function properly and the other services of the ICDS scheme to be realized.

The policies implicated on the implementation of the anganwadi's are influencing the actions of the NGO supervisor and the educators. The policies allocating to the operation of the pre-schools are extensive, and make the implementation of innovative initiatives by the local stakeholders impossible. Ranging from curriculum, to physical environment, nutrition and educators; every aspect of the anganwadi's is controlled through policies by the administrative bodies of the ICDS scheme. The possibility of diversification or adaptation to local circumstances is constrained by this extensive range of procedures. For the reason that Juhapura is such a unique community, the adaptation to local circumstances would be appreciated and can enhance the inclusion of the anganwadi's in society. It would be easier for parents to relate to a program which shares their norms and values, as well as enhanced support from the community can be expected. Moreover, as has been illustrated by the EFA in the theoretical framework; the same inputs of a system, does not ensure the same quality outcomes in different localities. Three further rules inflicted by the scheme which are of significant influence on the anganwadi's in Juhapura are the restriction of renting or buying a private building, the restricted educational resources and the limited funds for the nutritional services. The paperwork accompanying the policies of the ICDS scheme are a tremendous task to be uncovered, however by doing so the scheme might be hold accountable for failed delivery of services according to their own policies. Though, for this to occur there has to be a stakeholder to hold the scheme accountable.

7.3 Societal predicaments

7.3.1 Basic amenities

In the area of Juhapura there are various social issues of concern, of which one is the basic amenities that are required for adequate living standards. Overall there is a lack of such services in the area, including safe drinking water, proper housing, drainage and other disposal services. The services named are all offered in some manner to the local community; however the quality of these features is disappointing. Not only the physical space and hygiene of the anganwadi's is of influence on the educational achievements of the children, also the home environment is important to consider as this is of impact on the health of the young children. Moreover, the basic amenities enjoyed by the local community or lacking for that matter, are also shared by the anganwadi's. The structures of the buildings in Juhapura are generally unsettled, with some exceptions there. Ventilation, space, and solid construction are mere examples of problems in the local houses as well as the anganwadi's.

Experience Box 7.1 Teacher of anganwadi: the drainage system

"The drainage system in Juhapura is of low quality, and during the raining season it only becomes worse. The streets are flooded, waste is not disposed of and horrible smells lingers in the houses. Though, not only in the houses problems of smells are experienced. Also in the anganwadi the smells taunt the children, due to a cluttered gutter close by."

The drinking water, drainage and other disposal services are additional problems constraining the area of becoming an appropriate setting for children to grow up in. The responsibility of delivering these basic amenities lies with the local governmental bodies, such as the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC).

7.3.2 Backward area treatment

Juhapura can be defined as a developing neighborhood, which greatly desires improvement on various levels such as the previously discussed amenities. Sources from the local community and the NGO SAATH indicated that Juhapura is receiving a backward treatment as an area by governmental bodies. According to these sources, subsequent to the riots of 2002 this Muslim community is not considered under jurisdiction or the responsibility of the AMC. The lack of basic amenities which are the duty of the AMC are a result from this conduct. However, it needs to be remarked that due to advocacy of various NGOs steps were taken towards actions for enhanced amenities in the area with the help of the AMC. Improvements have been made for some issues, though it remains to be that the current provision of services as health, education and basic amenities are inadequate.

Another worrying factor is the danger of internal and external corruption in the area. The sheer volume of people living in a slum causes them to be obvious targets for politicians desiring to increase their percentage of the vote. Slum inhabitants are often promised various kinds of support and improvements in return for political commitment, though the trust of these communities is regularly abused. It is important that governmental institutions recognize that the urban poor are active agents and can contribute to the regional growth, and are not merely there to be exploited.

Due to long exclusion from social services and basic amenities Juhapura continues to suffer from insufficient infrastructure, and remains to be treated as a backward area worthy of less investment as other areas in Ahmedabad. This does not only result in the visible effects in Juhapura, however also in the moral of the community who keeps fighting back from disappointment and endure unnecessary struggles.

7.3.3 [Mindset and gender inequality](#)

A mindset is an important tool which needs to be considered in the future evolvement of the education system and the ECE services in Juhapura in specific. The moral of the teachers need to be kept high for an active teaching level in the anganwadi's, it is important to stimulate and provide incentives to motivate these educators. The anganwadi workers are vital spills in the operation and success of anganwadi's. In this case the teachers can motivate and guide the parents towards a vigorous attitude towards ECE. The parents are the foremost decision making actors in the young children's lives (Dréze and Sen, 1995), and despite investments of teachers a belief in the effectiveness of education or ECE is not shared by all parents. There are families which start to value educational attainment only from the primary level of education, or who do not at all consider education as a necessity.

Experience Box 7.2 A mother's story: educational attainment

"My daughters are allowed to study till tenth standard by their father, however no further as they are not going to use it in later life. My two sons are attending the Madressa here in Juhapura, and are only permitted to study till seventh or eighth standard. As then they have to go and help their father in construction all the way out in Dolhka."

The male children are seen as a blessing and indulged in many areas of Indian society. Girls are however seen as a drain on family resources as they will one day get married and their support towards the family will end as their responsibility now lies with her family. With that kind of start in life it's difficult for women within the slum to find a voice, additionally to the specific area of Juhapura is the fact that it is a Muslim community. In this community the position of women is considered to be relatively backward to some other social groups. Nonetheless, the young boys in disadvantaged families also carry a great burden as demonstrated in box 7.1. The responsibility of the men of the house to provide for his family starts at a young age of mere 13 or 14 years old as in the interviewed family. This feature leads to the following matter of issue.

7.3.4 [Unemployment and child labor](#)

Unemployment is one of the major quandaries families in developing areas need to face, which upholds the circle of poverty. The inability of parents to provide for their children does not stimulate to invest in the educational careers of the children. Even when desired this is not always possible, as there are always costs connected to sending children to any school. Situations in which parents are desperate and pushed to drastic measures leads to the existence of child labor.

It are not only the circumstances that the parents encounter that are forcing the continuation of these unacceptable practices, the traditional dependence on sons supporting their families from a young age on is another influencing factor. The issue of child labor is however not clearly visible in the community of Juhapura, often children enter the workforce outside of their comfort zone and not given a choice of a different path. Child labor is of issue in ECE as it sets a negative example for young children, influences the mindset of the children in a manner that this is the single option in their future and it limits the motivation of children as well as parents to invest in ECE services. Moreover, unemployment and child labor are two negative externalities which are intended to be prevented with the help of ECE.

7.4 Educational push and pull factors

The problems relating to ECE services are complex, large and in some cases appalling with various causes at the beginning of each child's story. It is impossible to subscribe one singular cause to this universal issue. The various factors influencing the children of attending or on the contrary being excluded from the ECE services can be divided up into push and pull factors. The push factors drive parents from outside the program to all kinds of measures to provide their children with ECE or steer them in the opposite direction. The pull factors draw the children to the pre-school from the educational services itself or the positive allocations of the ECE services. The factors indicate different reasons for the children to attend a pre-school or not, meaning both positive and negative factors are of issue. Certain causes are interrelated, nonetheless can be individual influences on children as well. In this paragraph an overview of the foremost factors of influence on ECE in Juhapura is given.

Push factors

Family is important for a child because of social protection, financial support and a well-developed mindset. However, when a family casualty, breakdown, unemployment, disablement or death of a parent occurs, the responsibility of caring for the children's education is pushed aside when other pressing matters arise. The difficulty of providing shelter and food for the family becomes priority over the optional ECE, though obligatory primary education is another matter. It is not only the family issues pushing children away from ECE, parents can also greatly value education and see ECE as an excellent start of their children's educational careers.

The *mindset* of parents can impede them to offer or use the possibilities given to their children, such as an education. Encompassed in the mindset are the willingness of change in lifestyle and dangerous habits. For the reason that family is the major decision maker during the early years of a child's life, this push factor of mindset is closely related to the factor of family. In the push factor *family* other reasoning is applicable; mindset is a very different factor due to specific characteristic of choice. However, as indicated by several parents is the mindset of children that also is of tremendous influence on attendance and participation in class. On several occasions during the research period children missed class due to stubbornness and unwillingness to attend.

The difficulty and confusion concerning the *policies and legislation* on education in general and the ICDS program in specific, pushes children in Juhapura for unnecessary or for wrong reasons away from ECE. Clear, strict and enforced legislation lessens the confusion on the services offered by the ICDS program and sustains equal provision of quality ECE. Even though the ICDS program is formalized and extensively defined on paper, it is difficult for the local community to make the administration of the scheme held accountable for its (in)actions. A great asset would be the formalization and inclusion of ECE in the obligatory education legislation of India. The failure to act of the uninformed community and the unwilling governmental institutions that are capable of maximizing the impact of ECE, could be of prominently supported or obligated by strong policies and legislation.

Tradition is very important in many regions of the world, and especially in India. The family and life expectations are different for children from a less fortunate family than for a fortunate family. This indicates differences in ambition and motivation for the children to exploit the possibilities to develop themselves. In certain cases it is tradition that children follow their parents' footsteps and completing an education is not recognized as important for development by the parents. The reason for this is that the parents most likely did not follow an education either and still managed to survive. Of course also the possibility of positive reinforcement of tradition can be the case, when children are granted new opportunities of education on the contrary to their parents or follow a similar path of education and became a vibrant individual of the labor force.

The portion of the population of Juhapura living in *poverty* is sizeable and of significant influence on the attendance of children in ECE. The phenomenon results in the inability of parents to provide for their families due to different reasons, and limits the financial resources available for sending children to obligatory school let alone optional education. The causes of poverty might vary greatly, though the influence on ECE is overall similar. There is a difference in influence on ECE between sudden poverty, structural poverty and temporary poverty. Sudden and temporary poverty might indicate a short period of children being unable to attend ECE, though might continue due to the remaining lack of financial means. The structural poverty on the contrary leads to the persistent inability of providing for sufficient resources to afford ECE or any other education form. Disregarding what form of poverty, the issue itself remains a constraint on sending children to school.

Various *social problems* such as conflicts, being orphaned, various diseases and other emergency situations obstruct possibilities for children to develop their capabilities. Juhapura is a developing area which needs to cope with such problems, and due to a lack of basic amenities and social services these problems can be of devastating effect on a family's or child's life. Every child involved in social problems holds a story with unique circumstances, making generalization a difficult task. The solutions for such problems are therefore difficult to define. Though there is great community dependence in Juhapura, this is not enough to ensure the possibility for all children to attend ECE.

Pull factors

The *anganwadi's* operating in Juhapura and the other ECE services offered, present an option for the parents to send their children to school. The educators of the *anganwadi's* can provide information on the objectives and the value of an ECE through home visits and informal conversations with mothers from the community. These motivational investments might pull the families and mindsets of community members towards a positive attitude towards ECE. Additionally, it might pressure parents into sending their children when other community members do send their children to a pre-school and demonstrate the positive effects ECE has had on the children.

The *aspiration for a better life* from the parents for their children is a major pull factor for sending their children to pre-school. Education can be of significant impact on the future well-being by starting in the early years of a child's life. In this case, the parents recognize the struggles they have had to experience and the possibility of a different path for their children.

The other *community members* that do send their children to pre-school might give other parents a sense of obligation or provide information regarding the options an *anganwadi* offers. This pull factor is linked to the provision of the pre-schools themselves. However, social pressure is of major influence in Juhapura where extended families often intervene in household decisions. Additionally the demonstrated effect of ECE and reliable sources for the local community can be considered a tremendous pull factor for parents to send their children to pre-school.

The male children are considered a viable *labor force* for in the future, and on the contrary no major usefulness of educating girls is recognized. For neither the boys nor the girls investing in pre-school seems a reinforcing action, as both do not desire a large educational base in later life in Juhapura. The unmotivated mindset for educating children is reinforced by the labor market, where boys at a young age are considered to provide larger revenue as educated boys. In this manner, the desires of the labor market draw away the investments in the education of young children.

7.5 Conclusion

Various issues are discussed in this chapter; one is the distance between the NGO supervisor and the CDPO at block level which is perceived to be a great obstacle for them to accurately work together. An additional actor between these two stakeholders is considered of use for an enhanced collaboration. Moreover, the parents and other household members can bring great value to educating and caring for the young children. Not only concerning the stakeholders changes need to be made, as due to the lack of funds the *anganwadi's* are struggling to stay operational. Moreover, the detailed policies are working restrictive on innovative actions and on adaptation of the pre-schools to local circumstances. The various societal predicaments are making the possibilities difficult for the *anganwadi's* to flourish. It is impossible to subscribe one singular cause to the universal problems in ECE. The various factors influencing the children of attending or on the contrary being excluded from the ECE services can be divided up into push and pull factors.

Chapter 8 Discussion

"Discussion is just a tool. You have to aim; the final goal must be a decision." Harri Holkeri

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter the empirical data of the research is linked to the theoretical data used as demonstrated in the theoretical framework. This study gave a detailed illustration of a specific local situation of the quality of public Early Childhood Education (ECE). Although it does not necessarily provide prominently new information in general, it does support some of the already existing body of knowledge and discourse on this topic. The findings however do offer new information on the specifics of the research area and support the proceedings towards action in improving the quality level of public ECE services provided in Juhapura. The following research question is to be answered in the chapter;

What are the strengths and weaknesses for public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad?

A Strengths-Weaknesses-Opportunities-Threats (SWOT) analysis of both the private and the public pre-schools in Juhapura is included in the chapter. The main focus is on public ECE, though with the help of relating this to the private ECE services a different perspective can be gained and lessons can be learned. The enhanced collaboration possibilities in the public ECE network are also underlined. Furthermore, a discussion on how this study has contributed to development studies is provided towards the end of the chapter and followed by the finalizing element of a conclusion.

8.2 Quality of early childhood education

The quality of ECE is a multifaceted phenomenon as illustrated in theory and practice throughout this thesis. This is however not only the case in the context of Juhapura, though in the global environment in which ECE is operational. Deducted from the theory a range of overarching components were formulated to guide the research. These encompassed the following eight categories *environment and physical space, curriculum content and pedagogy, early childhood educators and caregivers, partnership with families and communities, services for young children with special needs, accountability, supervision, and management of programs for children, educational resources, and health services, infrastructure and a system*. In each category more specific elements are of issue and need to be considered. These components cover the broad scope of the quality of ECE in the case of Juhapura, and every other known provision of ECE worldwide. For understanding the quality of ECE better, this can be placed in the framework of the EFA UNESCO in which specific details on the locality and the learners' characteristics can be uncovered. It was in this setting that the quality of ECE in Juhapura is discovered and analyzed for formulating interventions for enhanced ECE services. Moreover, this approach is suitable to be implemented in other circumstances and functions as a universal method of researching the quality of ECE programs.

The history of ECE is relatively short to date; nevertheless ECE has been implemented in a great variety of countries and localities. As is often the case, the services have in general flourished in the developed part of the world and desire improvement in still developing countries. The local predicaments of a developing country are additional to the problems that public ECE services in general experience. Moreover, there is general difference between public and private ECE; the theory of Aggarwal (2000) and Kingdon (2007) are mere two sources indicating that private schools are of higher quality than public schools. The overall characteristics of public ECE that downplay its effectiveness include the unreliable image and inferior quality of the service, the lack in resources and financial means, and high unit costs at public pre-schools. The superiority of the private ECE services in Juhapura is clearly found as is demonstrated in the following subparagraph.

When looking close up at the current practices of the public ECE services in Juhapura one could get dispirited of the sight. The pre-schools are undersupplied of educational resources and supplementary nutrition, the educational space is too small, teachers are overworked which results in low teaching activity, and these are merely some examples of the so obviously present weaknesses of public ECE in Juhapura. However when taking a step back and overlooking the possibilities that are already present in the area, one can consider Juhapura a progressive area in the field of ECE. Despite the fact that the neighborhood is a slum area, lacks even basic amenities and had to overcome great cultural shocks; pre-schools were initiated not long after the communal riots. Even now, ten years after the devastating occurrences there are 22 functioning public pre-schools and 20 private pre-schools in the area. In the city itself and many other localities around the globe communities have not been as strong and active in working for a better future as Juhapura, especially for the youngest of the community. When one would look up close an extensive range of faults and desired improvements become visible, though on a larger scope the current steps in the provision of ECE services are a well-founded start for a prosperous future.

What the future might bring for the youngest in Juhapura remains an unanswered question. However, the willingness of improving the circumstances in which the children are growing up and being educated has surfaced from several corners of the community. Not denying it remains a long road to high-quality public ECE services, though the first actions are taken and by proceeding on this path abundant accomplishments can be made. The major trend in the current education system is the rise of private suppliers, in both prosperous and backward areas. A dual system of education arises from the provision of public and free of charge, and private fee-charging education, and creates a competitive and economic environment in which the education system needs to operate. The advantages and disadvantages of this development are both debated; the increase of competition might stimulate a higher quality of services, and on the contrary it is immoral to demand fees for a basic need and human right as education. It is happening even if one would object; the private pre-schools are mushrooming everywhere as well as in Juhapura. Though another option might be considered, that within this dual system new partnerships might arise for enhanced ECE.

At this time ECE is not formally included in legislation of obligatory education; or in the universal human rights or in the national enforcement of India. This could however be of great support towards ensuring the provision of these services and demanding high-quality ECE. The undefined and loose commitments which are currently made are the only official statements related to ECE services, on this though one cannot build a strong network of ECE provision.

The usefulness of formalizing ECE is demonstrated in the lack of accountability presently of issue, though it is expected to be a long time before any structural changes are made on this remark. The already outsized population of India is projected to increase over time, providing a continuous flow of pre-school aged children and perhaps even a growth in quantity of these children. Together with the development of the economy creating more wealth, this results in an increase in the demand for ECE services. With more money to spend and an evolving labor market with demanding higher educated employees, ECE becomes an important facility for society.

This sketch provides the overarching notions with some attention to detail concerning the processes in the quality of public ECE in Juhapura. With the help of a universal method of researching the quality of ECE programs and the EFA UNESCO framework, the specifics of ECE in Juhapura are better understood and differences between private and public are once again illustrated. Though the specifics of public ECE might not encourage one to believe in the workings of anganwadi's, one can remain confident in the promise of the area when recognizing what it already has accomplished. The upcoming trends of a dual education system, changing legislation and stakeholders, and population growth are the facets which will determine the future of the ECE services.

8.3 SWOT analysis of early childhood education

The SWOT analysis is of use in the thesis as the identification of SWOT's is regarded as essential for the subsequent steps in the process of planning in achieving formulated objectives, which might derive from the SWOT's. For the quality of the anganwadi's to be improved one must elaborately consider the uncovered SWOT's of this study. The SWOT analysis includes the various strengths the pre-schools experienced, including the characteristics of the schools that give it an advantage over other providers. The weaknesses are characteristics that place the pre-schools at a disadvantage relative to other players. These two internal features are different to the opportunities, which are external chances to improve the performance of the pre-schools in Juhapura. The final features of the analysis are the threats, and are also external elements in the wider context that could cause trouble for the pre-schools.

The importance of reflecting the balghar's in this study lays in the many strengths the pre-schools hold and can be used in giving assistance to the anganwadi's. With this help the already existing pre-school program of ICDS could improve in a practical manner. A durable point is that the anganwadi's are free of tuition, and by improving the quality of the public pre-schools the poorest of the poor can benefit.

The foremost strengths that in this case SAATH could teach the ICDS program are high accountability in the various levels of the program, the provision of a private building and respectable education activities, and the involvement of the parents in the pre-school program (see table 8.1). Though the program might seem an excellent example of ECE, various weaknesses and threats surfaced that accompany the private program. The exclusion of the poor, the lack of a formal certificate and the high operational costs together with the sustainability of the program are tremendous difficulties arising in SAATHs program. With the help of additional funds, the formalization of ECE and greater inclusion of families and community members the threats are foreseen to be overcome.

Table 8.1 SWOT analysis of private early childhood education

	Supportive	Destructive
Internal origin	Strengths <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – High accountability – Involvement parents due to fees – Nutritional program – Private building for pre-school – Respectable education activities – Use of local teachers 	Weaknesses <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Exclusion of the poor – Lack of outdoor playground – Lack of space – Difficulties in teaching activities – Formal certificate
External origin	Opportunities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Additional funds – Formalization of pre-school – Inclusion low-income families – Inclusion families and community in pre-school processes – Lower tuition fee 	Threats <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Lack of parents and community understanding of balghars – Operational costs – Student target – Sustainability of the program

The main focus is however on the functioning of the anganwadi's in Juhapura, of which the SWOT analysis is displayed below in table 8.2. The specific strengths the ICDS program experiences are that it offers ECE for everybody in society and does not exclude any child of the possibility to attend. With the help of the large network and a strong founded national program different services can reach populations in backward areas. The weaknesses of the program are however more extensive and vary from parent involvement to resources and physical environment provision, the organization of the program, and the difficulties experienced by the teachers. Much room for improvement has been uncovered in this study and different opportunities for making a change are presented.

Table 8.2 SWOT analysis of public early childhood education

	Supportive	Destructive
Internal origin	Strengths <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Education for all – Large network base – National program – Use of local teachers 	Weaknesses <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Lack of parental involvement – Lack of resources – Lack of space and private building – Lacking cooperation and communication – Low teaching activity and disrespect of timings – Overworked teachers – Poor implementation of nutritional program – Weak accountability
External origin	Opportunities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Children with special needs – Effective monitoring and evaluation to ensure quality – Inclusion parents and community in pre-school processes – Partnership with an institution – Provide adequate resources – Provide private building – Publicity of the ICDS scheme – Solid infrastructure and system – Use widespread network 	Threats <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – English-medium/ private schools – High teacher's salary and limited financial resources – Lacking of basic amenities – Lack of parents and community understanding of ECE – Image ICDS program – Inconsistency in provision – Student target

Before coming to the opportunities for the ICDS scheme, there are also several threats which need to be considered. The upcoming of English-medium and other private pre-schools together with the possibility and desire of families enrolling their children in high quality schools endangers the continuing existence of the anganwadi's. An increase in provision might cause a lower student enrollment which leads to fewer funds for the pre-school or even closure of the pre-school. The ICDS scheme is a governmental initiative, and it thus depends on the financial resources of the government. India remains to be a developing country and therefore is not considered an affluent country with sufficient means for overflowing the ICDS program with financial support. The lack of resources can be remarked by the high teacher's salaries, which are a drain for the expenditures on additional necessities in the pre-schools. The local context of Juhapura and the environment in which the anganwadi's need to function is another threat to the quality of the pre-schools, as the basic amenities in the area are lacking these are also underperforming in the anganwadi's. Not only the services of the area, though also the population and the opinion they share concerning the ICDS scheme can be considered a difficulty. The elaborate promises made by the scheme which remain undelivered resulted in an untrustworthy image clouding the ICDS program.

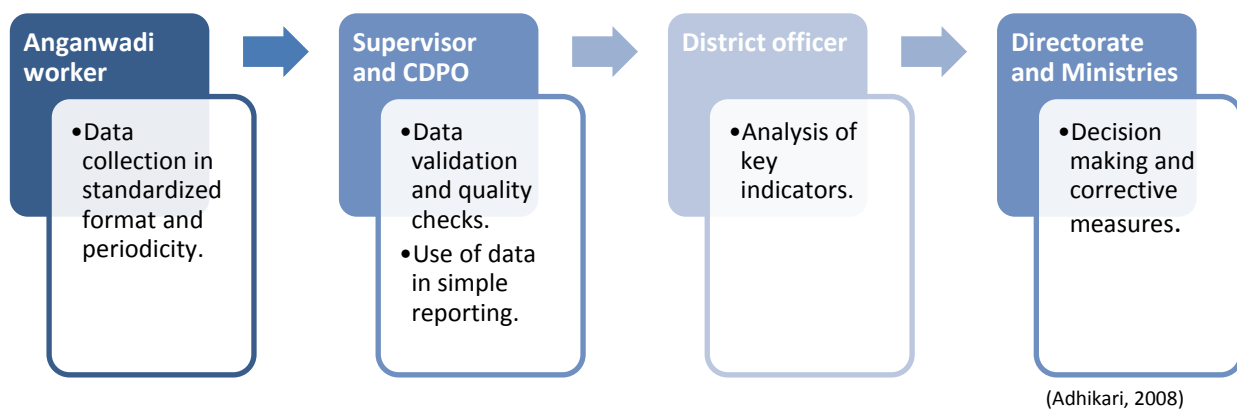
The antidotes for these extensive threats can be found in some opportunities as displayed in table 8.2 above. With the help of effective monitoring and evaluation the quality of the anganwadi's can be ensured, and the image can be boosted by actual improvement and propaganda for the ICDS scheme. The promises made by administrative bodies and the clearly formulated program on a national scale can be secured by independent monitoring and evaluation groups. In this manner the accountability level for various stakeholders can be improved. This can be done for example by the use of a community council or a parent committee, which immediately enhances the inclusion of families and community members in the processes of the pre-schools. Moreover, not all can be done by the ICDS scheme as resources are spread thin and local assistance is greatly desired. It is therefore considered an opportunity to form a partnership with a local institution or organization. The already existing network should not be ignored however expanded and reinforced with the help of supplementary stakeholders, this because the infrastructure and a system are of great importance for a program. The promises which need to be kept are among others concerning the services for young children with special needs, sufficient resources and the need for a private building. The limited financial resources however remain a great predicament for the continuation and enhancement of the public ECE services in Juhapura. By creating improved efficiency financial losses might be limited and new partnerships can provide innovative revenues of financial means, nevertheless the substantial amount of money which is needed remains a difficulty.

8.3.1 Enhanced collaboration in the ICDS scheme

For the reason that a change in the collaboration and new stakeholders is stressed to be an opportunity for an enhanced functioning of the ICDS scheme, this is more elaborately discussed. These modifications can be of positive influence on different elements of the operating of the ICDS scheme. Various companies or more specific local NGOs need to be considered as viable partners of the ICDS program, as well as the community of Juhapura who can support the enhancement of the ECE services.

Depending on the predicaments occurring in the anganwadi's or the relating networks, different viable prospects of collaboration are of issue. To overcome the current cooperation and communication difficulties between the local supervisor and the Child Development Project Officer (CDPO), the help of a professional organization as mediator can sustain an enhanced working environment. The organization should be capable and knowledgeable for intervening in the process, and can create greater accountability as a pressure medium and inflict influence on the practices of the anganwadi's. Moreover, such an organization can help to enhance the monitoring and evaluation of the program. With the help of accurate information that can be correctly passed on to higher administrative levels, suitable actions can be taken towards the development of ECE services. The current processes take place as illustrated in figure 8.1, the step from the anganwadi worker to the NGO supervisor and the CDPO is too large for them to accurately comprehend. Therefore, an additional step or stakeholder would help to overcome this difficulty. A suitable actor for this position might be an NGO experienced in the area Juhapura and with the workings of the ICDS scheme. This however cannot be done by the current implementing NGO, as the organization is prominently bound to the scheme and is not able to operate on an independent basis. Though, more critically in this evolvement of the program is the willingness of the ICDS scheme to accept a partnership.

Figure 8.1 The processes of monitoring and evaluation in the ICDS scheme



The community of Juhapura has not been involved as an organized group in the processes of the anganwadi's at this moment. Though it is here that another feasible collaboration can be found by connecting the community to the anganwadi's. This can be by the formation of two groups including a community council and a parent committee. The community council function entails a support group for the anganwadi's to function, by means of financial aid, additional resources or an influence tool for imposing demands relating to the ICDS scheme. It would be possible for every community member to actively participate in the council. The parent committee on the contrary is only for the parents of children who are attending an anganwadi in the allocating area. The committee's main role is to function as a pressure group in ensuring quality ECE, and other services as promised by the scheme. Both groups depend on voluntary contributions and abundant commitment of community members for being able to reach the desired goals. For creating a stronger position of this council and committee assistance should be offered by the implementing NGO or another independent partner organization of the ICDS scheme. As these professional organizations are able to provide the council and committee with accurate information on which their claims can be based.

Close cooperation and incessantly communication, together with a high level of trust will strengthen such a network of stakeholders in the processes of ECE. The prior describe possibilities of collaboration are however ideal and desire ample cooperation and effort of all stakeholders. The likelihood of such a network to prevail is however disputable, and is a long term goal instead of a direct accomplishment. Nevertheless, these actions are preferred for an enhanced provision of ECE.

8.4 Contribution to development studies

Development studies are a wide notion encompassing an extensive range of issues, of which one is education. In this study the specific subject has been public ECE, and the provider of this service the governmental ICDS program is another particular element of the subject. The currently existing base of knowledge on the explicit matter is rather narrow, there are however several reports on the success of the overall program. The specific study of public ECE in Juhapura serves as an example case study for the entire ICDS scheme, and additionally can also be used in a wider context. It needs to be stressed that the study is concerning public ECE services, as there is a distinction between public and private services.

The first contribution of the research is supporting the already existing body of knowledge and discourse on this topic. The study has confirmed that there is a difference between public and private ECE services, and that regarding certain features the quality of public ECE is inferior to that of private ECE services. The projected features include among others the major lack of educational resources, the fragile line of accountability and communication, and the depraved nutrition provided in the public ECE program. The requisite for assistance and improvement in the public ECE sector is illustrated by the weak position it currently holds. The enlarged base of studies endorsing these findings helps to stress the importance of supporting and investing in the public ECE services for all children in order for them to enjoy an education. With the help of the EFA UNESCO framework, the sustainable livelihood approach, the quality measurement mechanism for ECE of the ACEI and mostly the human development index it is appealing to demonstrate these findings to influential stakeholders and to demand action from their part. The importance of ECE has been stressed and the commitments have been made; now it is time for action to be taken.

The practical side of the study is illustrated in the usefulness of the gathered data concerning this locality in specific and the supporting function it holds in the international community. The unique character of Juhapura desired an explicit revision of the ECE services in the area, as there are distinctive influences of issue. With the help of this study feasible interventions are to be formulated and implemented for an enhanced quality of public ECE.

8.5 Conclusion

With the help of a universal method of researching the quality of ECE programs and the EFA UNESCO framework, the specifics of ECE in Juhapura are better understood and differences between private and public are once again illustrated. Though the specifics of public ECE might not encourage one to believe in the workings of anganwadi's, one can remain confident in the promise of the area when recognizing what it already has accomplished. The upcoming trends of a dual education system, changing legislation and stakeholders, and population growth are the facets which will determine the future of the ECE services. The SWOT analyses have illustrated the strengths of the private pre-schools which can be used for enhancing public ECE, and sketch the characteristics of the anganwadi's for the subsequent steps in the process of improving these pre-schools. The formation of a parent committee and a community council are local initiatives that might ensure high-quality ECE services. Moreover, the collaboration with a partner organization might assist on various levels.

Chapter 9 Conclusions and recommendations

“Reasoning draws a conclusion, but does not make the conclusion certain, unless the mind discovers it by the path of experience.” Roger Bacon

9.1 Introduction

It has come to the final chapter of the thesis; including the headlines of the research concerning the quality of public Early Childhood Education (ECE) in Juhapura. The combination of an extensive literature study and an active empirical revision has assisted in formulating the final conclusions and recommendations. The objective of the research entailed answering the central research question as given subsequently and also the firstly stated final research question is incorporated in this chapter.

What are the opportunities for SAATH to implement for an enhanced quality of public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad?

What are the opportunities for improving the quality of public early childhood educational programs in Juhapura in Ahmedabad and how can constructive interventions regarding quality improvement be implemented?

Despite the fact that the research was conducted in a unique locality, the conclusions and recommendations provide additionally support towards similar localities as well as the international context of ECE. The novel perspective and illustration of the current situation of ECE in Juhapura arranges for an insight in the opportunities for ECE services available globally.

9.2 The prospected situation of early childhood education services in Juhapura

The future of the children in Juhapura and the ECE services is contingent on various factors and influences as discussed in the thesis. The children rely on the actions taken by and the mindsets of the current stakeholders, the progress in the education sector, the economic developments and on socio-cultural changes of issue in the locality. The future is relatively unpredictable due to a range of variables; including among others the further development of the education system and the prosperity of families in Juhapura. It is expected that the development of ECE gradually proceed towards a more reliable and enhanced system of services. Tangible endeavors in this field are however not foreseen in the near future, though it is rather a long term consideration.

The government is a respectable initiating stakeholder for providing ECE services; the question however remains if the government is capable of fulfilling the task individually or should seek assistance of other actors. As the private and non-profit sector have already engaged in the task of providing ECE services, one can remark that the public sector is not able to take the full responsibility for the national provision of these services. The privatization of the education sector including the ECE services is a fact, and can no longer be denied. It is therefore desirable to create partnerships between the public and private actors; this collaboration creates a stronger provision of ECE services.

Both the public and private suppliers hold strong characteristics in running the programs, the combination of those strengths could bring forward an excellent ECE scheme. The impending developments in the ECE sector however depend on the willingness of all stakeholders to communicate and cooperate for an enhanced delivery of ECE services. Beside the public and private actors also the community and NGOs need to be considered as viable partners for support in the developing context of Juhapura. Time investments of voluntary contributions, support by means of finances and local initiatives are merely a few of the potential investments from these stakeholders contributing to the development of ECE services. Once again, by using the various strengths of diverse partners the best result can be accomplished for the youngest of society.

Next to relying on the stakeholders in ECE, the prospected happenings concerning the provision of ECE in Juhapura greatly depends on the financial means that are made available for investment in these services. The government as foremost provider of such educational services is expected to put forward the majority of financial investments; however these means are not guaranteed to be available for the sole purpose of ECE. The economic wealth of India as well as realizing the opportunity of formalizing and obliging ECE for children between three to six years of age are of impact on the time and financial commitments of the government to the ECE developments. Another option that needs to be incorporated as a possibility for financial means is the population increasing financial investments regarding their children's education. Juhapura is an area full of potential and expected to develop economically in the outlying future. These are the recognized major influences on the prospected situation of ECE services.

9.3 Conclusions

A country can be impressively promising and shoot for the moon, though when it does not face its internal predicaments there is no use in believing in the potential it portrays. India is experiencing difficulties regarding equality of prosperity among its citizens, continuing mass poverty, inadequate provision of services, and numerous more disparaging encounters. Education is a feature which can greatly assist in realizing the potential future of thriving India including its entire population. It is however also regarding this type of service that prominent investments are desired before actual accomplishments in development can be reached. By starting at the beginning of the educational system pronounced results can be grasped in various groups of society and in all sectors of the country. Investing in the early stages of a child's life is particularly important due to vital developments that occur during this time. It is therefore that the focus within this thesis is on the quality of public ECE in Juhapura and especially on how this quality can advance.

Over the years abundant international attention regarding educational progress has presented itself and mostly the focus has been on primary education. However, ECE for the youngest in society has become more visible in the international context as well. May it be as a tool to obtain the UDHR or to reach the MDGs, the importance of ECE has widely been stressed. Though, it can be regarded as not having the greatest impact at present day, in the long run the impact of education and ECE is considered to be significant. The influences are regarding a more successful educational career, a healthy workforce, the capacity to thrive economically and as a society, and limiting social risk factors. The positive effects relating to ECE are inordinate for the future of India's society.

The multifaceted context of Juhapura is difficult to capture in few words. The context can however be considered of great influence on the processes of the ECE services. This as the bureaucratic systems controlling every facet of society function as a facilitating and as a limiting structure for general development and as well as for ECE. The restricted decision making power in the area and the restraints on innovative actions are inordinate predicaments resulting from the extensive bureaucratic organization in Juhapura. The current image and treatment of Juhapura as an economic deprived and backward area, with a dangerous Islamic population confines the opportunities of employment and inclusion in the city for the locals. Additionally, the provided services of health, infrastructure and education within the area remain limited as are the involvement and investments of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation. All together these characteristics portray a rather difficult situation for Juhapura to blossom in, despite the promising future the area holds. Religion, history, culture and mindset are together of significant influence on the decisions taken by an individual; including also the choices of parents regarding the educational paths for their children. Moreover, these facets help to determine the underlying motivations for participating in ECE and necessary alterations in the ECE scheme for reworking to the specific context of Juhapura.

From the reflection regarding the quality of public ECE in Juhapura various remarkable interpretations came about. The infinite bureaucratic system of the public ICDS program is regarded to be a restraint on the potential of the pre-school element; as the extensive policies inflicted by the program restrict innovative processes of enhancement and adaptation to local circumstances. Moreover, the communications as well as the cooperation between the various levels within the program are inadequate and imbalanced due to detachment of stakeholders. The distance between the NGO supervisor and the CDPO at block level is perceived to be a prodigious obstacle for them to accurately work together. An additional actor between these two stakeholders is considered of significant use for an enhanced collaboration, and the actor could help to ensure a greater sense of accountability within the ICDS program towards and from the administrative bodies. Next to this difficulty the various means of monitoring and evaluation are deficient, and mostly an objective quality measurement mechanism is missing for assuring shared and equal pre-school services enjoyed by all Indian children.

The parents and other household members can add value by educating and caring for the children; it is however so that these viable stakeholders are scarcely used in the ICDS scheme as partners in educating the youngest in society. By including the families in the ECE process the continuation of schooling at home and the provision of a healthy environment is stimulated. Moreover, motivation for further educational attainment of the children can be warranted. The formation of a parent committee and a community council are local initiatives that might ensure high-quality ECE services. These ingenuities can additionally assist in overcoming the predicaments experienced by the parents whose children are excluded from ECE, which is overall due to the financial conditions of the household additionally to the lack of public pre-school provision in Juhapura. The prominent goals of the committee and council however are ensuring superior accountability, equal quality and provision, and enhanced involvement in ICDS practices by the community and families of the children.

It is important that the educators of the anganwadi's need to be valued accordingly to their work efforts, and not be rewarded with a high salary without considering teaching activity and efficiency. This can be done by offering incentives upon a competitive salary. Moreover, the elaborate range of tasks put on the educators confines the time of teaching, which is already scarce as various educators act disrespectful towards the timings of the pre-school. The additional responsibilities are mostly regarding register filling and survey conducting which encompass a great deal of time. The educational level defined by the activities in class and the attentiveness of the educators desires pronounced improvement for the pre-school to be of positive influence on the future of the children. Actual teachings are considered minimal in the anganwadi's, which diminishes the usefulness of the pre-schools. The quality of teaching additionally depends on the provided funds and resources also including the nutritional services available to the pre-schools, these resources are critically lacking in quantity and quality. The foremost predicament regarding the physical space of the pre-schools of the ICDS scheme is the deficient of a private place; with that including the available space, the inability to create a school like atmosphere and in some cases the condition of the building.

It has been proven that the quality level of the anganwadi's currently offered in Juhapura is saddening due to various components of the pre-schools. The opportunities for enhancing the quality or the ECE program differ in the required time, finances and effort by the stakeholders involved. The opportunity can be found in new partnerships and improved collaborations for securing a steady flow of resources, accountability, inclusion and quality. However, there is a need of a multilayered approach to reach the greatest impact of augmentation in the quality of public ECE services in Juhapura. For instant one can focus on one component of the pre-school scheme; this however does not sustain the continuing enrichment of for example educational resources or curriculum. By developing a stable and responsible infrastructure and system for the ICDS scheme, the various components will indirectly improve according to the scheme's design. Though for the ultimate result for the quality of the ECE services this needs to be done together with supplementary, direct investments regarding resources as well as creating enhanced partnerships.

Initial steps of both the ICDS scheme and a partner organization towards local implementations in directly increasing the quality of the anganwadi's need to be taken; this can be done by starting with supplying more and high-quality resources. Even though an excessive range of aspects in an ECE program are severely insufficient for the pre-school to function in a constructive manner, it is not always the most effective manner to focus on these components directly. For structural change in the processes of the pre-schools alterations need to be executed at other levels than the local anganwadi's. Not merely the pre-schools themselves are of influence on the workings in the classroom, the overarching infrastructure and system are vital elements in this as well. Changes in these two elements do not directly enhance the local circumstances, though help in making the ECE program sustainable and ensure its quality.

Although the specifics of public ECE in Juhapura might not encourage one to believe in the workings of anganwadi's, one can remain confident in the potential of the area when recognizing what it already has accomplished. The upcoming trends of a dual education system, fluctuating prosperity and stakeholders, and socio-cultural changes are the facets which will determine the future of the ECE services. How the future will come about can however only be answered by experiencing it; until then interventions can steer the happenings concerning the ECE programs in the desired direction.

9.4 Recommendations

The recommendations illustrated here are overall specific for the provision of public ECE services in Juhapura; there are however some remarks that can be made on the global development of ECE. The ACEI theory and the EFA framework can be considered to be of pronounced use in every assessment of ECE and for encouraging added progress to the service. With the help of these theoretical instruments an all-encompassing approach is used and the larger context of ECE can structurally be understood. It is within this framework that also the local context of the ECE service in question was uncovered, which leads to the second global recommendation. The larger scheme implementing the ECE services is advised to adapt the program to the local circumstances of the locality, for an enhanced suitability and connection with the community. In this case one can overcome cultural differences and language barriers which else might be experienced. The final main recommendation is to make use of partnerships with a wide range of stakeholders from various sectors; by doing so the strengths of these actors can be used to the fullest and the preeminent ECE services can be delivered to the user population.

The specific opportunities ascribed for improving the quality of public ECE services in Juhapura are not to be taken lightly or considered easy to implement; every necessary intervention holds its difficulties and desires great investments of both time and effort. Together the chances make up for a multilayered approach. The lesson learned from the history of ECE is once again demonstrated in the evaluation of public ECE in Juhapura; this as the infrastructure and a system of the overarching scheme are of vital importance for final results at the local level. The fundamentals of the ICDS scheme desire changes regarding the concentrated decision making power, excessive regulations, limited resource allocation and the scheme needs to aspire for a formalization of ECE to oblige children at the age of three to six years old to participate in pre-school. These ultimate predicaments are however not easily overcome, and demand pronounced investment of time, finances and effort of various stakeholders. The ICDS scheme is the foremost actor needed for these changes to occur; though when no initial steps are taken by this actor advocacy impulses can be put forward by NGOs, the local community or private initiatives. These actors need to organize themselves into pressure groups and seek support in powerful stakeholders for making a grander impact on the ICDS scheme.

Therefore it is considered sustainable to implement interventions relating to collaboration modifications and new partnerships for the ICDS scheme. The options of a partner organization, founding of a community council and a parent committee are seen as viable initiatives for enhanced public ECE in Juhapura. A partner organization needs to be recognized, who is familiar with the area and the public ECE program. The organization can support with financial funds, share expertise, create collaborations with other ECE programs and guide the subsequently explained community council or parent committee. The organization can build a trust relationship with the anganwadi educators for ensuring a constant partner in its endeavors towards improved quality of the public ECE services. Moreover, an important facet for the partner organization is the advocacy impulses towards the fundamental changes in the ICDS scheme. By advocating essential improvements in the ICDS scheme, enhanced pressure is put on the administrative bodies. The partner needs to be a professional and independent organization with considerable power for creating awareness and accountability in the ICDS scheme. One of the tasks of such a partner entails the implementation and use of an objective quality measurement mechanism which is currently prominently lacking.

With the help of the independent partner organization a community council can be formed; existing out of a male and female discussion group with mere community members of Juhapura. The creation of two discussion groups is necessary in a Muslim community to overcome cultural difficulties and to enhance inclusion of all groups in society. In the end however these two groups form one council, therefore some collaboration needs to be realized; which can be done with the help of an external partner. The external partner can be a representative of a partner organization invested in the area. The primary objective of the community council is to support the pre-school component of the ICDS scheme, however also to ensure the other elements of the ICDS scheme directed at the community such as the health services. Moreover, when the partner organization invests in more widespread advocacy of ECE, the community council can encompass on local advocacy engagements regarding the importance of ECE participation.

A parent committee should be comprised out of mere parents with children attending an anganwadi; including both a male and a female discussion group. This group of committee members is greatly devoted to the function of the pre-schools, and has a right to make demands regarding this service. With the help of regular parent-teacher meetings offered by the educators, the parents are more aware of the happenings in the anganwadi and can recognize any difficulties. The parent committee can clearly formulate such difficulties and demands, and present this to the educators or the administration of the ICDS scheme. The parent committee operates in this manner as a pressure group for superior accountability and an enhanced quality of the educational component. The partner organization of the program can be of assistance for formalizing the committee and for ensuring that the committee is regarded as a viable actor in the ECE process.

Overall with the council and committee heightened accountability, equal quality and provision, and enriched involvement of stakeholders including the excluded families can be guaranteed on a local level. Boosted inclusion of the families can be done by an intergenerational approach, when not only the parents though also the siblings are included in the care and education of the ECE participants. Parental education, child-to-child programs and home visits are examples of interventions increasing the involvement of families. Interior of the ICDS scheme there is another vigorous element in need of improvement; namely overcoming the distance between the local NGO supervisor and the CDPO of the ICDS scheme. Here again there is room for a partner organization to intervene as a mediator for enhanced communication and collaboration. Additionally to the monitoring and evaluating function, the partner organization can invest in the progress of the ICDS scheme to function in a united manner and align the priorities from the top of the system to the local anganwadi's.

The various indicated interventions are necessary to sustain the indispensable changes regarding the local resources in the anganwadi's. It is expected that direct investments of merely finances on these missing resources are ineffective and unconstructive for enhancing the quality of the public ECE services in Juhapura. Nevertheless, there are some features of the anganwadi's which need to be highlighted. The specific enrichments of the educational components however differ for each anganwadi; together with the educators of the anganwadi's an inventory of the desired enhancements needs to be made prior to investing. In general the educational resources are critically lacking, including toys and teaching materials, and the physical environment requires change regarding the provision of a private place and increased space. Moreover, the quality of the educational level and the supplementary nutrition provided need to improve significantly.

Though the services for children with special needs are included in the ICDS scheme, these are completely none-existing despite the demand for these services in Juhapura. Finally, the specific feature of the enforced responsibilities for the educators need to be restricted and shared by other actors in the ICDS scheme to increase the teaching time in the anganwadi's. For these detailed resources to enhance, excessive investments of time, finances and capital need to be made.

Particularly an organization as SAATH could embark on the previous indicated actions of a partner organization in the ICDS scheme. Though these involve an extensive range of activities which are elaborated, and it is not considered feasible to carry out all tasks at once. Therefore, it is regarded as a step-by-step plan which can be implemented by an organization such as SAATH and the partner needs to be committed to this long term strategy for improving the quality of public ECE services in Juhapura. The specifics of an action plan in which these recommendations are to be explored cannot be given at this time, as this needs to be done by the ICDS scheme or a possible partner organization that is able and willing to vastly invest in the ECE program in Juhapura. Only then a specific time frame, the resource allocation and objective, the strategy and division of tasks can be formulated.

Bibliography

- About. (2012). *Early Childhood Education*. Retrieved 01 20, 2012, from <http://k6educators.about.com/od/educationglossary/g/earlychildhoode.htm>
- Adhikari, S. K. & Kak, M. (2008). *Indicators and Monitoring Arrangements. Monitoring in ECE*. India Habitat Center, New Delhi.
- Aggarwal, Y. (2000). *Public and private partnership in primary education in India*. New Delhi: National Institute of Education Planning and Administration.
- American Montessori Society. (2011). *Montessori*. Retrieved 06 21, 2012, from <http://www.amshq.org/Montessori%20Education/Introduction%20to%20Montessori.aspx>
- Anderson, L. M. (2003). The effectiveness of early childhood development programs. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*. Vol. 24, 32 - 46.
- Arora, S. (2006). Evaluation of non-formal pre-school educational services provided as Anganwadi centres (urban slums of Jammu City). *Journal Social Science*, 135-137.
- Barnett, W. a. (2003). Preschool: the most important grade. *Educational leadership*, 54-57.
- Barrett, A. J. (2000). Poverty reduction in India: Towards building successful slum-upgrading strategies. *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems (EOLSS) Vol. 1*, 326-333.
- Berlinski, S. G. (2006). *The effect of pre-primary education on primary education performance*. Michigan: The William Davidson Institute.
- Bremer, R. (2003). Policy development in disaster preparedness and management: lessons learned from the January 2001 earthquake in Gujarat, India. *Prehospital Disaster Medical No. 18. VOL. 4*, 370-382.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. Cornell University. *American psychologist*, 513-531.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1986). Ecology of the family as a context for human development: research perspectives. *Development Psychology Vol. 22. NO. 6*, 723-742.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1993). Ecological models of human development. *International Encyclopedia of Education Vol. 3. NO. 2*, 37-43.
- Chandhoke, N. (2009). *Civil society in conflict cities: the case study Ahmedabad*. Delhi: Destin development studies institute.
- Chauhan, C. (2009). Education for all in India: A second look. *International journal of lifelong education Vol. 28. NO. 2*, 227-240.
- Choudhary, R. S. (2002). Building for the future: influence of housing on intelligence quotients of children in an urban slum. *Health policy and planning VOL 17 NO 4*, 420 - 424.

- Cleghorn, A. (2003). Contrasting visions of early childhood education: examples from rural and urban settings in Zimbabwe and India. *Journal of early childhood research* Vol. 1, 131-153.
- Currie, J. (2000). *Early childhood intervention programs: What do we know?* Canada: Brookings Roundtable on Children.
- Cypher, J., & Dietz, J. (2009). *The process of economic development. Chapter 12.* New York: Routledge.
- Das, A.K. & Takahashi L.M. (2009). *Evolving institutional arrangements, scaling up, and sustainability: Emerging issues in participatory slum upgrading in Ahmedabad, India.* Journal of Planning Education and Research. Sage. 213-232.
- Desai, V., & Potter, R. (2006). *Doing development research.* London: Sage.
- Desai, V., & Potter, R. (2008). *The companion to development studies.* London: Hodder education.
- Development, I. F. (2012). *The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach.* Retrieved 01 20, 2012, from <http://www.ifad.org/sla/index.htm>
- Drèze, J., & Sen, A. (1995). India economic development and social opportunity. In J. a. Drèze, *India, Economic Development and Social Opportunity* (pp. 9-26). Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Dutta, S. S. (2000). Partnerships in urban development: a review of Ahmedabad's experience . *Environment and urbanization. Vol. 12 NO. 1, 13 - 26.*
- Freeman, G., & King, J. (2003). A partnership for school readiness. *Educational Leadership, 76-79.*
- Heckman, J., & Klenow, P. (1997). *Human Capital Policy.* Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Human Development Report. (2011). *Human Development Index.* United Nations.
- Jalongo, M. R. (2004). Blended perspectives: a global vision for high-quality early childhood education. *Early childhood education journal* Vol. 32. NO. 3, 143-155.
- Jin-Qinghua. (2005). A survey of current pre-school education of/for children from urban low-income families in Beijing. *International journal of early years education* Vol. 13. NO. 2, 157-169.
- Kagan, S., & Neuman, M. (2003). Integrating early care and education. *Educational leadership, 58-63.*
- Kendall, J. (2003). Setting standards in early childhood education. *Educational leadership, 64-68.*
- Kingdon, G. (1996). The quality and efficiency of private and public education: a case-study of urban India. *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics. Vol. 58 NO. 1, 57 - 82.*
- Kingdon, G. G. (2007). The progress of school education in India. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* Vo. 23. NO. 2, 168-195.
- Levine, M. H. (2005). Take a giant step: investing in preschool education in emerging nations. *Phi Delta Kappan* Vol. 87. NO. 3, 196-200.
- Majumard, R. C. (1950). *History India.* London: Macmillan.

- Ministry of Human Resources. (2011). *The ICDS scheme*. Government of India.
- Ministry of Women and Child Development Government of India. (2007). *National report: 'A world fit for a child'*. Government of India.
- Mohan C.R. & Tellis A. J. (2011). The great Indian contradiction: Internal crisis and external dynamism. Retrieved 06 22, 2012, from <http://carnegieendowment.org/2011/11/14/great-indiancontradiction-internal-crisis-and-external-dynamism/6uv2>
- Nair, M. (2007). Early childhood development in deprived urban settlements. *Indian pediatrics - Environmental health project Vol. 41*, 227-237.
- Nath, S. R. (2007). Children's access to pre-school education in Bangladesh. *International journal of early years education*, 275-295.
- National Informatics Center. (2012). Retrieved on 07 19, 2012, from <http://bijnor.nic.in/cdpo>
- Nianli, Z., & Jiazong, Z. (2005). A survey of current Shanghai early childhood education through kindergarten directors' self-assessment. *International Journal of Early Years Education Vol. 13. NO. 2*, 113-127.
- NIC. (2005). Retrieved on 07 08, 2012, from <http://www.india.gov.in/citizen/education.php>
- Pattnaik, J. (1996). Early childhood education in India: history, trends, issues, and achievements. *Early childhood education journal Vol. 24. NO. 1*, 11-16.
- Prochner, L. (2002). *Preschool and playway in India*. London: SAGE.
- Rajput, J., & Walia, K. (2001). Reforms in teacher education in India. *Journal of Educational Change Vol. 2*, 239-256.
- Raman, S. (1999). Caste in stone. *Harvard International Review*, 30-34.
- Rao, N. (2005). Children's rights to survival, development, and early education in India. *International journal of early childhood Vol. 37. NO. 3*, 15-31.
- SAATH. (2008). *SAATH. Creating inclusive cities*. Retrieved 01 20, 2012, from www.saath.org
- SAATH. (2010). *Activity Report*. Ahmedabad: SAATH.
- SAATH. (2011). *Annual report 2010 - 2011*. Ahmedabad: SAATH.
- Saito, M. (2003). Amartya Sen's Capability Approach to Education: a critical exploration. *Journal of Philosophy of Education. Vol. 37. NO. 1*, 17-30.
- Serrat, O. (2008). *The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach*. Manila: The Asian Development Bank.
- Sharma, D. (2000). Infancy and childhood in India: a critical review. *International journal of group tensions Vol. 29. NOS. 3/4*, 219-251.
- Sinha, S. (1996). Child labour and education policy in India. *The administrator Vol. XLI*, 17-29.

- Target Informatics. (2012). Education problems in India. Retrieved 07 20, 2012, from <http://targetstudy.com/articles/education-problems-in-india.html>
- Taylor and Francis Group Ltd. (2005). Kindergarten educational reform during the past two decades in mainland China: achievements and problems. *International journal of early years education Vol. 13. NO. 2*, 93-99.
- The Free Dictionary. (2012). *Bureaucracy*. Retrieved on 07 09, 2012, from <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/bureaucracy>
- The Free Dictionary. (2010). *Mindset*. Retrieved 01 22, 2012, from <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/mindset>
- The Galilean Library. (2005). *Introducing Philosophy 11: ethics*. Retrieved 01 20, 2012, from <http://www.galilean-library.org/manuscript.php?postid=43789>
- The National Government of India. (2005). *Right to education act*. Retrieved 01 20, 2012, from <http://india.gov.in/citizen/education.php?id=38>
- The Times of India. (2010). *Special children in India*. Retrieved 07 09, 2012, from <http://www.educationtimes.com/educationTimes/CMSD/SpecialNeeds/77/2010051120100511115211236fcb52d37/Special-children-in-India.html>
- The Times of India. (2012.) *India recalls 1991 economic reforms*. Retrieved 06 21, 2012 from <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/business/india-business/India-recalls-1991-economic-reforms/articleshow/11919567.cms>
- The United Nations. (1948). *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Retrieved 01 20, 2012, from <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>
- The United Nations. (2010). *The Millennium Development Goals*. Retrieved 01 20, 2012, from <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>
- The Word Press. (2011). *Metaphysical Ecology Reformulated*. Retrieved 01 20, 2012, from <http://geopolicraticus.wordpress.com/2011/03/22/metaphysical-ecology-reformulated/>
- The World Bank. (2004). *Education notes; Getting an early start on early child development*. Washington D.C.: the World Bank.
- The World Bank. (2011). *Early Childhood Development*. Retrieved 01 20, 2012, from <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTCY/EXTECD/0,,menuPK:344945~pagePK:149018~piPK:149093~theSitePK:344939,00.html>
- The World Bank. (2012). *Data*. Retrieved 01 20, 2012, from <http://data.worldbank.org/>
- Tooley, J., & Dixon, P. (2003). *Private schools for the poor: a case study from India*. London: CfBT Research and Development.
- UNDP. (2011). *HDI*. New York: UNDP.
- UN-Habitat. (2003). *The challenge of slums*. Nairobi: Earthscan publications ltd Londen and Sterling.

UNICEF. (2012). *India*. Retrieved 01 20, 2012, from <http://www.unicef.org/india/>

Wiebenga, J. (2011). *A comparative impact study of the public and private pre-school educational programs in Juhapura Slum, Ahmedabad*. Utrecht: UU.

Appendices

Appendix ONE: Code of Conduct

International Development Studies, Internship 2011-2012



Codes of Conduct

We, students of the 2011-2012 master course *International Development Studies*, are aware of the fact that carrying out our research implies a number of responsibilities, for which we decided to draw up "*Codes of Conduct*". For ourselves, and for our host organizations, counterparts and research populations, to be able to hold us accountable for our acts and our behavior.

Throughout our internship period, we shall:

1. Never claim the truth, though be modest, realizing we do not know everything
2. Leave as much as possible our 'western' attitudes behind, and adapt to local norms and behavior
3. Be honest about our interests, and the aim of our research
4. Develop an understanding attitude, and show compassion with our research participants
5. Recognize our research participants' needs, and connect to these as much as possible
6. Ask permission to conduct our research, and accept it when people do not want to participate
7. Be aware of the time limits of our research participants, and not bother them unnecessarily
8. Be aware of the fact that our research can positively and/or negatively affect people
9. Therefore always respect anonymity and confidentiality of our respondents
10. Be sensitive to local norms and values, and take into account existing power relations
11. Never abuse our own power position
12. Try to be as neutral as we can, and try to avoid having too much of an activist attitude
13. Apply the principle of informed consent at all times, but especially when we work with children
14. Adapt our research methods, attitudes and behavior to the abilities and interests of our research participants, especially when we work with children
15. Create an open, equal and stimulating environment when working with our respondents
16. Be aware of safety issues regarding our research participants, and ourselves
17. Continuously share our findings to our host organizations (NGO, government, company)
18. Provide our host organizations with a full report of our activities, research findings and results
19. Do no harm to our research participants, our host organizations, or other members of society
20. Do no harm to your own research, or to any future researchers in the area

IDS, Utrecht, December 2011

Appendix TWO: List of Anganwadi's in Juhapura

No.	Ward	Address	Worker	Helper
1	Vejalpur	21, Ketdiso Nahid Balvadi	Nahid S Mirja	Manisha Chavda
2	Vejalpur	Moin park, Jhalak- 1	Pravinaben	Farjanaben
3	Vejalpur	Alfa Duplex, Jhalak- 2	Mayurikaben	Hemlataben Parmar
4	Vejalpur	A Ward, Juhapura	Mumtazben	Rashidaben
5	Vejalpur	C Ward, Juhapura	Hamidaben	Kureshi Shayraben
6	Vejalpur	Yash Complex	Alkaben Shah	Najma Ansari
7	Vejalpur	Azim park, part- 2	Anjanaben Parmar	Reshmaben
8	Vejalpur	Azim park, part- 1	Ushaben Parmar	Aashiyana Dhobi
9	Vejalpur	E Ward, Juhapura	Jamilaben	Arunaben
10	Vejalpur	E Ward, Juhapura	Shahin Saiyad	Yasmin Sagri
11	Vejalpur	Ronak park, Juhapura	Yasmin Sagri	Vinalben Vaidya
12	Vejalpur	Anjum park	Dinaben Patil	Nafishaben
13	Vejalpur	G Ward, Juhapura	Lataben Mahoriya	Nasrinben
14	Vejalpur	B Ward, Juhapura	Hansaben Sonara	Ashaben Parekh
15	Vejalpur	D Ward, Juhapura	Dakshaben Rathod	Tejalben Kher
16	Vejalpur	Jagruti Balvadi	Salma Maniyar	Yasmin Ajmeri
17	Vejalpur	Maktampura- 1	Rumanaben	Hamida Kureshi
18	Vejalpur	Maktampura- 5	Farjanaben	-
19	Sarkhej	Maktampura- 4	Urviben Mistry	Rehanaben
20	Sarkhej	Maktampura- 2	Ushaben Vaghela	Masumaben Sahikh
21	Sarkhej	Maktampura- 3	Jahedaben	Jaheraben
22	Sarkhej	J Ward	Anjumben	Kausharbanu

Appendix THREE: List of NGOs in Juhapura

AAMWAA/ EMWA
Aashray Foundation
AICMEU
Aman Sanuday
ANHAD
Baiturmal
HIV center
Mahila
Niswa
Parvaz
Red Cross Society
SAATH URC
SAATH Bachat
SAATH General
Safar in Sarkhej
Samerth
Sarjan
Sergeon
Talim
UNNATI
Utthan

Appendix FOUR: Newspaper articles kidnappings

Edgy parents see abductor in a helpful neighbor

Ahmedabad Mirror Bureau Posted On Monday, March 26, 2012 at 12:24:07 AM

A sudden rise in the incidents of children's disappearance and kidnappings seems to have made some city residents suspicious even of those living in their neighbourhood. Forty-five-year old Praveen Vankad, a resident of Jethabhai ni Chali in Behrampura, bore the brunt of his overcautious neighbours who mistook him to be a kidnapper. Child-lifter or well wisher! Drama unfolded at around 1 PM on Sunday when, Vankad noticed three and a half year old Faiz playing alone by the side of road, frequented by the speeding vehicles. "I was returning from the temple, when I saw this child playing alone on the road. Fearing, any vehicle may hit him, I lifted the boy to drop him at a safer distance away from the road. Suddenly I heard people shouting at me. Soon I realised that they were presuming me to be a child lifter. Too scared to face them, I left the child and ran away fearing they may beat me up," said a visibly disturbed Vankad, who was later nabbed by the neighbours and handed over to Danilimda police. The alert relatives of boy, however, had their own version to narrate. "Finding that the child was playing alone, this man was trying to abduct him. He left the boy, only when he saw people charging at him," said Faiz's father Zakir Hussain, who was insisting on filing a police complaint against him.

Cops' dilemma

With both the sides remaining adamant on their versions, cops at Danilimda police station had difficulty in convincing the angry relatives, who were not willing to give even benefit of doubt to Vankad. It was only after intervention of a few other residents of the locality, that Faiz's father and other relatives decided against filing a case of kidnapping.

Beware and inform cops

Inspector G P Chauhan of Danilimda Police station confirmed that a compromise was reached but only after heated exchanges from both the sides.

Police officials meanwhile maintained that the residents should remain vigilant and immediately inform police if they come across suspicious people in their locality.

However, it was important that residents live in harmony. "It's good to remain alert but at the same time it's important that there is trust and confidence among the neighbours," said a senior police official.

Fatehwadi kidnapping attempt 'Woman may be part of kidnappers' gang'

Zahid.Qureshi Posted On Saturday, March 24, 2012 at 01:54:48 AM

The mystery behind the woman who attempted to abduct a four-year-old boy from Fatehwadi deepened on Friday. After reading the report in local newspapers, a TV shop owner recognised the woman Saleha Mondal and contacted the Aslali police.

Shopkeeper Mohsin Ansari said, "A few days ago, I saw the woman visit A-One photo studio near my shop. She was sitting outside the studio, waiting for the photographer to open the studio. When I read the reports of a woman trying to abduct a child from this area, I recognised her picture."

On the basis of the information provided by Mohsin, Aslali police went to A-one studio where the photographer confirmed that the woman had been there to get her pictures clicked.

Photographer Ashraf Baig Mirza said, "The woman came to my studio for the first time and got four pictures clicked. She picked up the photographs the next day. On March 13, she again visited my studio and got one postcard-sized picture and four passport-sized pictures clicked of herself.

She spoke only Bangla. As we didn't understand each other's language, I didn't get her name." The police investigation has revealed that Saleha begged on the roads to make a living. However, she never stayed at one particular place for more than two months. The cops also recovered some chocolates and chewing gums from Saleha's possession. "We strongly suspect that she is part of a gang that kidnaps children and makes them beg on the streets," police source said. The eatables have been sent to the Forensic Science Laboratory for further tests.

Deposited Rs 5,600 in son's account

A SIM card and a cellphone was also recovered from her possession. They are now trying to get details of the calls made by Saleha. A paying slip of Union Bank of India was found on Saleha which revealed that she had deposited Rs 5,600 in her son's account. Aslali police also interrogated Saleha's neighbours at Adalaj. DySP (Ahmedabad Rural) R K Patel confirmed that Saleha had got her pictures clicked at a studio in Fatehwadi. "We are investigating as to why she got her pictures clicked. Once we get the reports from FSL and her call list details, there will be a lot more clarity in the case." Saleha, 55, was caught red-handed on Thursday while she tried to kidnap Ishaan Pileja from Fatehwadi. Hearing the alarm raised by Ishaan's mother Hamidabanu, people apprehended Saleha and beat her up. They rescued Ishaan and handed over the woman to Aslali police. It was later found that she was a native of West Bengal and couldn't speak any language except Bangla.

A woman tried to kidnap 7-year-old Aarifa Malik on Friday when she was on way to school

Ahmedabad Mirror Bureau Posted On Saturday, March 24, 2012 at 01:40:47 AM

A day after Juhapura residents thwarted an attempt to kidnap a four-year-old boy, a seven-year-old girl from the same neighbourhood alleged that a woman tried to abduct her on way to school on Friday. A class 3 student of New Age School, Aarifa Banu Malik and her friend Masiba left for school around 10 on Friday morning.

"As we walked down to school, we felt a woman clad in white salwar kameej following us. We started running as were close to the school. But the woman chased us and attempted to drag me. She had held my hand very tightly. I mustered courage and asked her to free me but she tried to pull me. However, I managed to free myself and escaped," said Aarifa. A frightened Aarifa narrated the incident to her teacher.

People launch hunt for 'kidnapper'

"The school authority called us to school and briefed us about the incident. We got scared because just a day ago a kidnap attempt was foiled in the locality. We and a few others launched a hunt for the woman in the area. We also visited the place where illegal Bangladeshi migrants live in shanties. We tried to look for the woman as described by Aarifa but couldn't find her," said Aarifa's aunt. The girl's father Mohammed Hanif is a daily wage earner. He approached Vejalpur police who filed a non-cognizable complaint in the case.

Miscreants set afire hutment

Some miscreants from the group that was trying to trace the alleged kidnapper set afire hutment of Bangladeshi migrants in Juhapura. "More than 20 huts gutted in the fire but fortunately none was injured. Since people were in a group, it was difficult to identify who torched the huts," said a source in the police.

Appendix FIVE: Newspaper article strike of anganwadi workers

TRANSLATION ARTICLE by Darshini Gokhli

Divya Bhaskar 26.03.2012

Narendra Modi (Chief Minister of India) does not have time to meet the workers of the Anganwadis.

To draw governments' attention, the workers would protest in Gandhinagar (Government of Gujarat).

Their demands;

- Minimum salary of workers and helpers.
- Age of retirement; 60 years.
- Minimum amount of pension-gratuity.
- Regular payments of the bills of snacks and fruits.

Bhaskar News, Gandhinagar

The workers and helpers of anganwadis are in great difficulty in one of India's most prosperous states, Gujarat. Compared to other backward states of the nation, workers and helpers of anganwadis are paid less in Gujarat. They are facing many problems, in last two years, and are trying to talk to the Chief Minister, though all their efforts are in vain. So finally, to make the government aware about these problems, 10,000 ladies of anganwadis will protest in Gandhinagar on Monday.

The Chief of Gujarat anganwadi worker committee, Niruben Aahir Said; "according to the family-health-survey, the level of malnutrition and infant deaths is higher in Gujarat compared to many other states. The helpers and workers are asked to perform many other duties apart from the ones for malnutrition in children, which directly affects the development of these children". These workers and helpers are not even paid their minimum salary.

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

આંગણવાડીની બહેનોને મળવા માટે મોટી ભાઈ સમય આપતા નથી

<p>સરકારના બહેરા કાને અવાજ પહોંચાડવા ગાંધીનગરમાં આજે ઘરણાં ભાસ્કર ન્યૂઝ. ગાંધીનગર</p> <p>દેશના સમૃદ્ધ ગણરાજ્ય ગુજરાતમાં આંગણવાડીઓની બહેનો પરેશાન છે. અન્ય પછાત રાજ્યોની સરખામણીમાં ગુજરાતમાં સાવ ઓછા પગાર અપાય છે. છેલ્લાં બે વર્ષથી આ પરેશાન બહેનો મુખ્યમંત્રીની ખુરશીમાં બિરાજમાન નરેન્દ્ર મોદીને મળવા માટે અને પોતાના પ્રશ્નોના ઉકેલ માટે સમય માગી રહી છે પણ આશ્ચર્યજનક રીતે તેમને મળવા માટેનો પણ સમય આપતો નથી. છેવટે આંગણવાડીની બહેનોએ સરકારના બહેરા કાને સુધી પોતાનો અવાજ પહોંચાડવા માટે ગાંધીનગરમાં સોમવારે આંગણવાડીની ૧૦૦૦૦ બહેનો ધરણાં કરીને આવેદનપત્ર આપશે. ગુજરાત આંગણવાડી કર્મચારી સંગઠનનાં પ્રમુખ નીરુબહેન આહિરે</p>	<h3 style="text-align: center;">વિવિધ માગણીઓ</h3> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » વર્કર-હેલ્પરને લઘુત્તમ વેતન » નિવૃત્તિ વયમર્યાદા 60 વર્ષ કરવી » નિવૃત્તિ સમયે પેન્શન-ગ્રેટ્યુઇટી લમસમ રકમ આપવા » બાળકોના પોષણ માટે ગરમ નાસ્તા-ફ્રેશ ફ્રૂટનાં બિલો નિયમિત ચૂકવવાં » દિવાળી બોનસ લમસમ ચૂકવવો » કુપોષણ-માતૃમંડળ સિવાયની કામગીરીમાંથી મુક્તિ આપવી. <p>જણાવ્યું છે કે, ફેમિલી હેલ્થ સર્વે મુજબ ગુજરાતમાં કુપોષણ અને બાળમરણ અન્ય રાજ્યોની સરખામણીમાં વધારે છે. આંગણવાડીના વર્કરો-હેલ્પર પાસેથી કુપોષણ ક્ષેત્રે લેવાની કામગીરી ઉપરાંત અન્ય પ્રકારની કામગીરી પણ લેવાય છે, તેનું નુકસાન બાળકોને ભોગવવું પડે છે. એટલું જ નહીં તેમને લઘુત્તમ વેતન પણ અપાતું નથી.</p>
--	--

Appendix SIX: Field inventory Juhapura

Inventory data collection	Quality
Name city	
Administrative zone	
Name slum/ settlement	
LAND	
Total area (km2)	
Land type/ usage	
Slopes/ Unused terrain	
Total number of land	
Eviction threat	
Nature	
POPULATION DETAILS	
Total population (est.)	
Total number of	
Adult to children ratio	
HOUSING	
Total number of structures	
Average number of rooms	
Building materials	
Structure/ type of housing	
General condition	
Rent structures	
Price structures	
FACILITIES	
Water source	
Number of water points	
Price	
Ownership of water points	
Toilets and sewer	
Ownership of toilets	
Street drainage	
Type of drainage	
Threat of flooding	
Electricity availability	
Price	
Accessibility household	
Ownership of electricity	
Health facilities available	
Waste collection	
INFRASTRUCTURE	
Street lights	
Roads	
Traffic lights	

Traffic signs	
Parking spaces	
Sidewalks	
Park/ square	
Playground	
Public infrastructure	
SERVICES	
Pre-school; Balghar	
Pre-school; Anganwadi	
Primary/ secondary school	
High school	
Madressa	
School bus	
Daily market	
Weekly market	
Shops number and types	
Tailors	
Hairdresser	
Laundry services	
Internet café	
Newspaper stand	
Police department	
Firemen department	
Bank	
Post office	
Government offices	
Business offices	
Real estate offices	
Restaurant	
Street restaurants	
Street vendors	
Visible economic activities	
Hotel	
Bar	
Tourist sights	
Cultural sights	
Religious buildings	
CBOs	
NGOs	
COMMUNITY	
URC	
Community center	
Security	
Fences/ Walls/ Gates	
Trash/ Weeds	
Vandalism/ Graffiti	

Appendix SEVEN: Quality Check-list ECE

NO: DATE: NAME:

Subject	Very Satisfactory ++	Satisfactory +	Not Good / Not Bad +/-	Unsatisfactory -	Very Unsatisfactory --	Not applicable
<i>Environment and physical space</i>						
Physical buildings; size						
Physical buildings; cond.						
Classroom; size						
Classroom; cond.						
Outside playground; size						
Outside playground; cond.						
Library; size						
Library; cond.						
Toilets (separate); size						
Toilets (separate); cond.						
Drinking water						
Kitchen						
Electricity						
Fans						
Lights						
Utilization facilities						
<i>Educational resources</i>						
Teaching aids						
Toys						
Musical instruments						
Art supplies						
Books						
Posters						
Blackboard						
Notebooks and paper						
Pens and pencils						
Utilization resources						
Nutrition						
Cooked meal						
Snack						
Hygiene						
Health kit						
<i>Curriculum content and pedagogy</i>						
Teaching methods						
Curriculum availability						
Curriculum utilization						
Teaching language						
School readiness						
Extra-curricular activities						
<i>Educators and caregivers</i>						
Number of teachers						
Number of helper						
Number of worker						

Subject	Very Satisfactory ++	Satisfactory +	Not Good / Not Bad +/-	Unsatisfactory -	Very Unsatisfactory --	Not applicable
Teacher qualification						
Teacher experience						
Teaching activity; time						
Teaching activity; effort						
Teacher responsiveness						
Acc. to headmaster						
Acc. to parents						
Acc. to employer						
Time capacity						
Work capacity						
<i>Partnerships with families and communities</i>						
Parent involvement						
Community participation						
Community acceptance						
<i>Children with special needs</i>						
Adaptable facilities						
Qualification educators						
<i>Accountability, Supervision, and Management</i>						
School acc. to parents						
Pupil-teacher ratio						
Cost-effectiveness						
Fees						
Headmaster						
Reputation school						
Recognition school						
Certification						
<i>Health services, infrastructure and a system</i>						
Nutrition						
Immunization						
Health check-up						
Growth monitoring						
Referral services						
Health education						
Nutrition education						
Location						
Transportation						
Communication between stakeholders						
Cooperation between stakeholders						
Infrastructure						
Evaluation						

Thank you very much for your time, effort and contribution! Do you have any additional questions or comments? Contact: Elle de Jong, e.dejong4@students.uu.nl

Appendix EIGHT: Questionnaires parents ECE

Parent Questionnaire	Code: [] [] [] [] []	Date: [] [] [2012]
<p>Thank you for participating in my research. I am a student from Utrecht University in the Netherlands (Holland). The research is regarding the quality of pre-school education in Juhapura and in what manner it can be improved. With the help of the following questions a clear illustration of the current situation can be made. Confidentiality of the respondent will be maintained by the researcher. The questionnaire will take about 45 minutes to complete.</p>		

(1) What is the name of the respondent? _____

(2) What is the age of the respondent? (years) _____

Male Female

(4) What is the relation of the respondent to the child in pre-school? _____

(5) Name of living area and (6) community? _____

(3) Sex?
(circle)

(7) How long has the respondent lived here? (years) _____

(8) Does the respondent feel safe in the community?
 Yes No

(9) If no, why not? _____

Respondent (tick box)

	Married	Divorced	Separated	Widow/ Widower	Never Married/ single			
(10) Marital status	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			
	Indian	Pakistanis	Nepalese	Afghan	Other, namely;			
(11) Nationality	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			
	Muslim	Christian	Hindu	Buddhism	Zoroastrianism	Sikh	Jainism	Other, namely;
(12) Religion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	General	SC	ST	OBC	NA	Other, namely;		
(13) Caste	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			

Education (tick box)

	None (illiterate)	Literate	Primary	Secondary	Bachelor	Master	PHD	NA
(14) Highest attained diploma: Respondent?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(15) Highest attained diploma: Partner? (if applicable)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Household composition (tick box)

	(age)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	>18			
(16) How many children are living in the household?																								
(36) Total number of children living at the household? (0-18 years)	(37) Total number of girls?										(38) Total number of boys?													
(39) How many of the girls in the household attended pre-school?	Public;	Private;	(41) How many of the boys in the household attended pre-school?																		Public;	Private;		
	Public pre-school	Private pre-school	Public primary school	Private primary school	Public secondary school	Private secondary school	High school	Higher Education															High school	Higher Education
(43) Number of children living at home currently in school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			

(51) Are there children between the ages of 3 to 14 out of school? Yes No

(52) If yes, why? Costs Distance Dangerous Poor quality of education
 No desire to attend Work Unable to get into school
 Disability/ illness Other, namely;

(62) Explain more elaborately;

(63) Number of adults in the household? (<18)

Males	Females
-------	---------

Males	Females	Males	Females		
(64) Number of literate adults in household? (>18)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(66) Number of earning adult household members? (>18 years)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Males	Females	
(68) Number of earning non-adult members in household? (<18 years)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(70) What languages are spoken at home? Gujarati Hindi English Other, namely;

Employment (tick box)

	Self-employed	Employed	Unpaid family-work	Unemployed (active)	Not working	Pensioner	Other, namely;
--	---------------	----------	--------------------	---------------------	-------------	-----------	----------------

(74) What is the current employment status respondent?

(75) What is the current employment status of partner?

(76) Number of hours working a day respondent? (77) Number of hours working a day partner?

(78) Average income per day of household (INR)? (79) Average expenditure per day of household (INR)?

(80) Does the income cover the monthly costs? (tick box) Yes No

(81) How much has the household spent on education for the child in pre-school in the past 12 months? (INR)

Tuition;	Clothing;	Books and materials;	Transport;	Tutors;	Other, namely;
----------	-----------	----------------------	------------	---------	----------------

(1=very poor 5=average 10=very good) (tick box) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(87) How would you rate the quality of the pre-school education your child is attending?

(88) Why have you chosen to enroll your child in this particular pre-school? (tick box, give one main reason) Low costs. Distance. Quality. Other, namely;

(89) Why have you chosen to enroll your child in an anganwadi and not in a balghar? (tick box, give one main reason) / (89) Why have you chosen to enroll your child in a balghar and not an anganwadi? (tick box, give one main reason) Low costs. Distance. Quality. Other, namely;

(90) Was it difficult to have your child enrolled into the pre-school? Yes No

(91) If yes, why? (give one main reason)

(92) Did your child have any say in choosing a pre-school? (tick box)

Yes No

(93) How often does your child miss class a month? (days)

(94) What is the main reason for the child to miss class? (give one main reason)

(95) What feature do you value the highest concerning your child's pre-school education? (tick box, give three answers max.)

Curriculum. Reading. Writing. Mathematics.

Play. Health. Nutrition. Educators.

Accountability. Parent participation. Infrastructure.

Other, namely;

(98) What type of development do you value the highest concerning your child's pre-school education? (tick box, give three answers max.)

Mental development. Social development.

Body development. Language development.

Emotional development. Creative development.

Mathematic development. Science development.

English development. Other, namely;

(101) What elements concerning your child's pre-school education desires the greatest improvement in your opinion? (give max. three elements)

1.

2.

3.

(104) Why?

1.

2.

3.

(107) Are there any other specific improvements elements in your opinion? (give max. three elements)

1.

2.

3.

(110) Why?

1.

2.

3.

(113) Are there any parent-teacher meetings?

Yes No

(114) Do you enjoy the parent-teacher meetings?

Yes No

(115) Do you find the parent-teacher meetings useful?

Yes No

(116) If no, why not?

(117) Would you be willing to participate more actively in your child's pre-school education? By means of more parent-teacher meetings, a parent committee, etcetera.

(118) If no, why not?

(119) Are there any services offered for you as parents?

(120) What services are offered for you as parents? (name max. three)

(123) Do you wish to be there any or any other services offered for you as parents?

(124) If yes, name two maximum.

(126) If it would be possible, disregarding any limitations, to send your child to another pre-school would you do this? (tick box)

(127) Why? (give one main reason)

(128) What type of school? (tick box)

(129) Do you intend to send your child to primary school after pre-school? (tick box)

(130) If no, why not? (give one reason)

(131) Which level of education do you wish your child to attain? (tick box)

(132) Do you prefer public or private education? (tick box) Why? (give main reason)

Yes Yes, though only limited time No

Yes No

1.
2.
3.

Yes No

1.
2.

Yes No

Anganwadi Balghar KG Other, namely;

Yes No

Pre-school Primary Secondary Post-secondary
 Other, namely;

Public Private Main reason:

Statements (tick box, to what extent you agree with the statement)	++	+	+/-	-	--
(133) Education is important for my child's development.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(134) Pre-school education is important for my child's development.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(135) The pre-school my child is attending has a good reputation.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(136) The hygiene in the pre-school is good.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(137) The nutritional services in the pre-school are good.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(138) The teachers in the pre-school are good.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(139) Pre-school has a positive influence on the quality of life of my child.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(140) Education in general has a positive influence on the quality of life of	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(141) Can you please fill out the following check list? (To what extent are you satisfied with the various features of the pre-school?)

Thank you very much for you time, effort and contribution! Do you have any additional questions or comments?

Contact: Elle de Jong, e.dejong4@students.uu.nl

CODE; NO [] [] [] []

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1; the person who fills it out; | 1=Elle
2=Teacher
3=Family member
4=Sandjida
5=Translator |
| 2; type of pre-school; | 1=Balghar
2=Anganwadi |
| 3; the number of the school; | # |
| 4; the number of the questionnaire; | # |

These questions are included when parents of the Balghar's are questioned; "If SAATH is not able to provide the funds anymore";

<p>(1) Are you willing to pay higher fees for sending your child to the Balghar? (tick box)</p>	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
<p>(2) If no, why not? (give one main reason)</p>	
<p>(3) Are you able to pay higher fees for sending your child to the Balghar? (tick box)</p>	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
<p>(4) If no, why not?</p>	
<p>(5) How much more fees are you able to pay for your child to be able to attend the Balghar? (INR a month)</p>	
<p>(6) Do you see any other possibilities for raising funds to sustain the Balghar? (tick box)</p>	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
<p>(7) If yes, give three examples max.</p>	<p>1.</p> <p>2.</p> <p>3.</p>
<p>(10) Are you willing to participate in a parents committee to advocate in the community to raise funds to sustain the Balghar?</p>	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No

Appendix NINE: Questionnaires excluded parents ECE

Parent Questionnaire	Code: [] [] [] []	Date: [] [] [2012]
-----------------------------	------------------------------	-------------------------------

Thank you for participating in my research. I am a student from Utrecht University in the Netherlands (Holland). The research is regarding the quality of pre-school education in Juhapura and in what manner it can be improved. With the help of the following questions a clear illustration of the current situation can be made. Confidentiality of the respondent will be maintained by the researcher. The questionnaire will take about 45 minutes to complete.

(1) What is the name of the respondent? _____

(2) What is the age of the respondent? (years) _____

Male Female

(4) What is the relation of the respondent to the child in pre-school? _____

(5) Name of living area and (6) community? _____

(3) Sex?
(circle)

(7) How long has the respondent lived here? (years) _____

(8) Does the respondent feel safe in the community?
 Yes No

(9) If no, why not? _____

Respondent (tick box)

	Married	Divorced	Separated	Widow/ Widower	Never Married/ single			
(10) Marital status	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			
	Indian	Pakistanis	Nepalese	Afghan	Other, namely;			
(11) Nationality	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
	Muslim	Christian	Hindu	Buddhism	Zoroastrianism	Sikh	Jainism	Other, namely;
(12) Religion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	General	SC	ST	OBC	NA	Other, namely;		
(13) Caste	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			

Education (tick box)

	None (illiterate)	Literate	Primary	Secondary	Bachelor	Master	PHD	NA
(14) Highest attained diploma: Respondent?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(15) Highest attained diploma: Partner? (if applicable)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Household composition (tick box)

(16) How many children are living in the household? (age) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 >18

(36) Total number of children living at the household? (0-18 years) _____

(37) Total number of girls? _____

(38) Total number of boys? _____

(39) How many of the girls in the household attended pre-school? Public; Private;

(41) How many of the boys in the household attended pre-school? Public; Private;

	Public pre-school	Private pre-school	Public primary school	Private primary school	Public secondary school	Private secondary school	High school	Higher Education
(43) Number of children living at home currently in school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(51) Are there children between the ages of 3 to 14 out of school? Yes No

(52) If yes, why?

Costs Distance Dangerous Poor quality of education
 No desire to attend Work Unable to get into school
 Disability/ illness Other, namely;

(62) Explain more elaborately;

(63) Number of adults in the household? (<18)

Males		Females	
(64) Number of literate adults in household? (>18)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(66) Number of earning adult household members? (>18 years)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

(68) Number of earning non-adult members in household? (<18 years)

Males	Females
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(70) What languages are spoken at home? Gujarati Hindi English Other, namely;

Employment (tick box)

	Self-employe			Unemployed			
	Employed	Unpaid family-work	(active)	Not working	Pensioner	Other, namely;	
(74) What is the current employment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(75) What is the current employment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

(76) Number of hours working a day

(77) Number of hours working a day partner?

(78) Average income per day of household (INR)?

(79) Average expenditure per day of household (INR)?

(80) Does the income cover the monthly costs? (tick Yes No

(81) Why have you chosen not to enroll your child in pre-school? (tick box, give two main reason)

Costs. Distance. Dangerous. Poor quality of education. No desire to attend. Work Unable to get into school. Disability/ illness. Other, namely;

(83) If costs would not be a problem, would you enroll your child in pre-school?

Yes, public pre-school Yes, private pre-school
 No

(84) If no, why not? (tick box, give one main reason)

Distance. Dangerous. Poor quality of education.
 No desire to attend. Work Unable to get into school.
 Disability/ illness. Other, namely;

(85) What would make it possible for you to enroll your child in pre-school?

Main reason:

(86) What would make it more attractive for you to enroll your child in pre-school?	Main reason:
(87) What would you regard as the most important aspect of pre-school for your child? (give two main reasons max.)	1. 2.
(88) Do you intend to send your child to primary school after pre-school? (tick box)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
(89) If no, why not? (give one reason)	
(90) Which level of education do you wish your child to attain? (tick box)	<input type="checkbox"/> Pre-school <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary <input type="checkbox"/> Post-secondary <input type="checkbox"/> Other, namely;
(91) Do you prefer public or private education? (tick box) Why? (give main reason)	<input type="checkbox"/> Public <input type="checkbox"/> Private Main reason:
Statements (tick box, to what extent you agree the statement)	++ + +/- - --
(92) Education is important for my child's development.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
(93) Pre-school education is important for my child's development.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
(94) The pre-school my child is attending has a good reputation.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
(95) The hygiene in the pre-school is good.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
(96) The nutritional services in the pre-school are good.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
(97) The teachers in the pre-school are good.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
(98) Pre-school has a positive influence on the quality of life of my	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
(99) Education in general has a positive influence on the quality of	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

(141) Can you please fill out the following check list? (To what extent are you satisfied with the various features of the pre-school?)

Thank you very much for you time, effort and contribution! Do you have any additional questions or comments?

Contact: Elle de Jong, e.dejong4@students.uu.nl

CODE; NO [] [] [] []

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1; the person who fills it out; | 1=Elle
2=Teacher
3=Family member
4=Sandjida
5=Translator |
| 2; type of pre-school; | 1=Balghar
2=Anganwadi |
| 3; the number of the school; | # |
| 4; the number of the questionnaire; | # |

Appendix TEN: Questionnaires teachers ECE

Teacher Questionnaire	Code: [][][][]	Date: [][][][][]
<p>2012]</p> <p>Thank you for participating in my research. I am a student from Utrecht University in the Netherlands (Holland). The research is regarding the quality of pre-school education in Juhapura and in what manner it can be improved. With the help of the following questions a clear illustration of the current situation will be made. Confidentiality of the respondent will be maintained by the researcher. The questionnaire will take about 45 minutes to complete.</p>		
(1) What is your name?	(2) How old are you? (years)	M F
(4) In what area and (5) city do you live?	(6) What is the name of the pre-school? (7) Type pre-school?	(3) Se
(8) How long have you been teaching? (years)	(9) How long have you been teaching at pre-school level? (years)	
(10) Have you worked at a pre-school before? (tick box)	(11) Type of pre-school previously employed?(tick box)	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Balghar <input type="checkbox"/> Anganwadi <input type="checkbox"/> Other, namely;	
(13) How long have you been teaching at this pre-school? (years)	(14) What is your average wage? (a month, INR)	
(15) Current position?(tick box)	<input type="checkbox"/> Headmaster <input type="checkbox"/> Teacher <input type="checkbox"/> Worker <input type="checkbox"/> Helper <input type="checkbox"/> Other, namely;	
<input type="checkbox"/> Assistant		
Respondent (tick box)		
(16) Nationality	Indian <input type="checkbox"/> Pakistanis <input type="checkbox"/> Nepalese <input type="checkbox"/> Afgh <input type="checkbox"/> NA <input type="checkbox"/> Other, namely;	
(17) Religion	Hindu <input type="checkbox"/> Muslim <input type="checkbox"/> Christian <input type="checkbox"/> Sikh <input type="checkbox"/> NA <input type="checkbox"/> Other, namely;	
(18) Caste	General <input type="checkbox"/> SC <input type="checkbox"/> ST <input type="checkbox"/> OBC <input type="checkbox"/> NA <input type="checkbox"/> Other,	
Respondent (tick box)		
(19) Highest attained	None (illiterat <input type="checkbox"/> Literate <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary <input type="checkbox"/> Undergraduate <input type="checkbox"/> Graduate <input type="checkbox"/> PHD <input type="checkbox"/>	
(20) Study specification?	Pre-school <input type="checkbox"/> Prima <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary <input type="checkbox"/> Healt <input type="checkbox"/> Educatio <input type="checkbox"/> NA <input type="checkbox"/> Other, namely;	
(21) Number of years of		
(22) Any additional training offered by the pre-school? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No (23) If yes, what kind of training? (name max. 2)		
(25) Any additional training next to that offered by the pre-school? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No (26) If yes, what kind of training? (name max. 2)		
(28) Spoken languages;	Hindi <input type="checkbox"/> Gujarat <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Urdu <input type="checkbox"/> Other, namely;	
(33) Teaching language;		
(38) Main objective of pre-	School readiness <input type="checkbox"/> Suppl. Nutritio <input type="checkbox"/> Day care <input type="checkbox"/> Education <input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Other, namely;	
(39) Substitute available	Yes, always <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> No, never <input type="checkbox"/> Other, namely	
(40) Why have you chosen to be a pre-school teacher? (name 2 reasons max.)	1. <input type="checkbox"/> 2. <input type="checkbox"/>	

	Salary	Children	Job security	Importance of education	No	Social status	No reason	Other, namely;
(42) What was your main motivation for becoming a pre-school teacher? (tick one)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(43) What are your future employment aspirations?								
(44) When you are offered the possibility for another job, would you take it?							<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	
(45) Why?								

	Respected	Supported	Authorized	Stressed	Appreciated	
(46) How does the community view upon you as	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	
Teacher attitude:	++	+	+/-	-	--	NA
(52) I like being a teacher.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(53) I like going to work.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(54) I believe my work is	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(55) I attain high teaching	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Accountability:	++	+	+/-	-	--	NA
(56) As a teacher I feel accountable to the	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(57) I feel accountable to the ICDS supervisor.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(58) I feel accountable to the parents.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Time: (agree/disagree)	Yes	No				NA
(59) I feel overworked because of the amount of	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				<input type="checkbox"/>
(60) What are the main tasks that consume the most time? (name max three)						
(63) I feel overworked because a lack of time.	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>				
(64) Is there an overall capacity overload in the pre-	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	(65) If yes, with what specifically?			
(66) Do you believe there is a possibility to attain more students?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, many	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, some	<input type="checkbox"/> No, none	(67) What would make it possible to attain more students? (name max.3)		

Class composition (tick box)

	Age 0	Age 1	Age 2	Age 3	Age 4	Age 5	Age 6	Age > 6	Total
(70) What is the number of children in	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(79) Attendance: do children miss class?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, often		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, sometimes		<input type="checkbox"/> +/-		<input type="checkbox"/> No, almost never		<input type="checkbox"/> No, never
(80) What is the rate of the dropouts?	<input type="checkbox"/> Very	<input type="checkbox"/> High	<input type="checkbox"/> Moder	<input type="checkbox"/> Low	<input type="checkbox"/> Very	(81) Number of children who			

Quality check (tick box) (to what extent agree/disagree)

	Very satisfactory	Satisfactory +	Not good/ Not bad	Unsatisfactor	Very Unsatisfactory	Remarks;
(82) Physical space: buildings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(83) Physical space:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(84) Physical space: kitchen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(85) Physical space: toilets	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(86) Physical space: drinking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(87) Resources: curriculum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(88) Resources: teaching aid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

(89) Resources: self-made teaching aid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(90) Resources: toys	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(91) Resources: utilization	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(92) Resources: nutrition	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(93) Resources: snacks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(94) Resources: cooked meal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(95) Health: hygiene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(96) Health: immunization	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(97) Health: check-ups	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(98) Health: referral services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(99) Educators qualification	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(100) Educators training	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(101) Workload	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(102) ICDS supervisor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(1=very poor 5=average 10=very good) (mark box) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(103) How would you rate the quality of the pre-school?

Additional features (tick box)

(104) Do you believe the school readiness of the children attending the pre-school is better than of children not attending the pre-school? Yes No NA

(105) How do you test the school readiness of the children attending the pre-school? (explain)

(106) Is the pre-school a Yes No (107) Does the pre-school provide certification? Yes No

(108) What does the

(109) What is the main focus area of the children's development? (tick box) Physical health Cognitive development Motor development Language development Emotional development Social development Behavioral development

(118) Who decided upon this focus? (tick box) Teacher Headmaster Government Parents Communal agreement NA Other, namely;

(119) What activities do you partake in the pre-school? Unplanned indoor activity Unplanned outdoor activity Outdoor play Story telling Free play with materials Circle games-indoor Guided activities on specific topics Free/ guided conversation Rhymes and Songs Teaching of reading Teaching of writing

(133) Is there cooperation between stakeholders? Such as other pre-schools or NGOs? Yes No

(134) If yes, with whom? (135) For what purposes?

Extra-curricular activities

(136) Does the pre-school provide any possibility of extra-curricular activities? (tick box) Yes No (137) Which activities? (name three max.)

(140) Are there any other extra-curricular activities desired to enhance primary school readiness in your opinion? Yes No (141) (If yes, name three max.)

(144) Next to the educational services provided, are there any additional free services offered for the children? (tick box) Health-checkup Supplementary nutrition Immunization Referral services Health and nutrition education Other, namely;

(150) Next to the services provided for the children, are there any additional free services offered for the parents? Yes No

(151) (If yes, tick box) Health education Nutritional education Parenting education Health services Immunization Referral services Nutrition Social services Employment assistance Other, namely;

(161) How many households does the pre-school serve?

Parent-teacher meetings

(162) Are there parent-teacher meetings? (tick box) Yes No

(163) How often in 12 months? (tick box) 0 1 2 3 4

(164) Do parents actively participate in the meetings? (tick box) Yes No NA

(165) Are there any other possibilities for parents to participate in their child's education? (tick box) Yes No

(169) Can parents influence the activities undertaken in class? (tick box) Yes No

(170) Are there any other manners in which parents are included in their Child's education? Yes No (171) If yes, name max. 3 examples.

(174) Are there visits by the teachers to the homes of children?

(175) How often a month to one household? (tick box) 0 1 2 3 4 5

	++	+	+/-	-	--	NA
(176) What is the level of parent	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(177) What is the level of community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(178) What is the level of community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(179) How often are there home

Improvement features

(180) What are the major challenges in teaching at this particular pre-school? (name max. three)

(183) What are in your opinion necessary improvement aspects for enhancing this pre-school? (name max. four issues and

(187) What are specific elements necessary for an enhanced pre-school education in this particular pre-school? (name max.

(191) How should the direct problems be solved? (By who and what specific elements name max.

(194) Do you believe that this pre-school can improve their quality? Yes No (195) If no,

(196) What specific aspects in the ICDS program are in need of improvement in your view? (name max. 3 examples)

(199) What do you value greatly regarding pre-school education and is not included in the ICDS program? (name max. 3 examples)

(201) What is your general thought on the ICDS program?

(202) What do you regard as weaknesses of the ICDS program?

(203) Time schedule: please lay out a general time planning of your pre-school class? (please

Free Play	Group time (teacher led)	Small group time (not teacher led)	Routines
-----------	--------------------------	------------------------------------	----------

11:00 –

11:30 –

12:00 –

12:30 –

13:00 –

13:30 –

14:00 –

14:30 - 15:00

Thank you very much for you time, effort and contribution! Do you have any additional questions or comments? Contact: Elle de Jong, e.dejong4@students.uu.nl

Appendix ELEVEN: Structured interviews set-up

NGO officials

1. What is your name?
 2. What is the name of the NGO?
 3. Can you please give a description of your job?
 4. How many years have you worked at your current job?
 5. How many anganwadi's does the NGO run?
 6. Can you name them and give their location?
 7. Can you please describe the task of the NGO in the ICDS program/ anganwadi's?
 8. Is there any flexibility in changing the program?
 9. Are there any specific inputs you have as an NGO? Specific elements?
 10. Do you invest any financial capital in the Anganwadi's?
 11. Do you invest any other capital in the Anganwadi's?
 12. Do you have an outline with the specific regulations and budget information on the Anganwadi's?
 13. Can you please describe the problems in the Anganwadi's?
 14. How would you describe the level of quality in the Anganwadi's?
 15. What are the most important features/ goals of the Anganwadi's?
 16. How is the cooperation with the AMC?
 17. How is the cooperation with the community? In Juhapura?
 18. How is the cooperation with the Anganwadi's directly? In Juhapura?
 19. Can you please elaborate on the communication chain within the ICDS system regarding the anganwadi's?
 20. Do you see any possibility of improving the Anganwadi's?
 21. Do you see any possibility of the AMC enhancing their services in Juhapura? Or regarding the Anganwadi's?
 22. Can you elaborate on the future plans regarding the Anganwadi's? Yours and AMC?
- Do you have a list of all the Anganwadi's in Ahmedabad? Or specifically in Juhapura?
 - Do you have a list of all the NGO's working with Anganwadi's in Juhapura?
1. *Do you make any money on the Anganwadi's?*

Supervisor ICDS

1. What is it your job entails?
2. Can you please describe the overall functioning of the Anganwadi's?
3. What are the overall problems you encounter?
4. Do you believe the Anganwadi's can absorb more students?
5. What are the major necessary improvements regarding the Anganwadi's?
6. Who should do this?
7. Would there be the possibility of cooperation? s
8. Do you feel overworked?
9. What are your overall experiences working together with the Anganwadi's?
10. What are your overall experiences working together with the NGO?
11. Do you have any direct experience with the AMC?
12. Are there any future plans regarding the Anganwadi's that you know of?
13. What do you believe the future of the Anganwadi's to be?