

# SYNTHESIS REPORT: RESEARCH INTO GENDER IN ECCD IN SIX COUNTRIES

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Early childhood is a crucial time for the development of a child, including girls' and boys' sense of themselves and their place in the world.



## 1. Introduction

This report provides a brief summary of recent research studies undertaken by Plan International (PI) into the gender dimensions of its Early Childhood Care and Development (ECCD) programs in a number of settings. Six studies have been conducted, in Ethiopia, Mozambique, Pakistan and Uganda, Kenya and Bolivia respectively. This report draws mainly upon the first four of the six reports mentioned above and to a lesser extent on the last two; at time of writing the Kenya report was still in draft form, and the Bolivia report was only partially available in English translation.

### 1.1 Plan's approach to ECCD

Plan International aims to take a holistic approach to ECCD. A Global Thematic Review of its ECCD programming defines ECCD as 'the inter-disciplinary series of mutually reinforcing interventions required to support the child's optimum cognitive, social, emotional, language and physical development', and defines early childhood as the years birth-8, in line with authoritative global convention. Program designs vary from country to country, although the recent Review proposed a common framework for Plan. The Community Led Action for Children (CLAC) approach, which is implemented in four of the six countries in which the studies discussed in this report were undertaken (Ethiopia, Kenya, Mozambique and Uganda), is a good illustration of Plan's approach. It includes four components: parenting education; community managed ECCD centres for early learning; support for smooth transition to primary school; and advocacy, partnerships and collective action to help improve ECCD policy and practice. The CLAC approach and its four components align with the *Four Cornerstones to Secure a Strong Foundation for Young Children* of the Global Consultative Group on ECCD<sup>1</sup>. Other countries discussed in this report tend to incorporate various mixes of similar strategies and approaches.

### 1.2 Building a gender-transformative approach to ECCD

Working to achieve gender equality is a core principle for Plan as an organisation dedicated to child rights. Plan's commitment to gender equality and gender mainstreaming are mandated under Plan's global *Gender Policy: Building an Equal World for all Children*. The comprehensive policy sets out clear objectives, twelve Commitments and Standards across five separate areas. The Policy states that Plan believes that 'gender equality is central to achieving our vision for change: a world in which all children, both girls and boys, realise their full potential in societies that respect people's rights and dignity'. Plan is committed to gender transformative programming, which Plan's Gender Strategy defines as follows: "There is an explicit intention to transform unequal gender power relations. The focus goes beyond improving the condition of women and girls and seeks to improve their social position (how they are valued in society) as well as the full realisation of their rights.' The policy states that 'all staff members across Plan... are accountable for the implementation of the commitments' in the policy.

Early childhood is a crucial time for the development of a child, including girls' and boys' sense of themselves and their place in the world. Gender socialisation starts even before birth and continues in subtle and overt ways. Children absorb information from words and actions of those around them, particularly those with whom they have close relationships such as parents and other caregivers; and from what they see in the environment around them and the wider world. This includes messages about socially prescribed gender roles, which delineate and limit opportunities and outcomes for both boys and girls from childhood and throughout their lives. Stereotyped gender norms and inequality are reinforced through structural and cultural means and result in the denial of rights especially for girls and women.

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<sup>1</sup> The Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development, <http://www.ecdgroup.com/about-eccd-2/4-cornerstones/>

Plan's ECCD work provides a crucial, foundational opportunity for gender transformative programming. Without very specific attention being focused to ensure that ECCD programming explicitly addresses gender dimensions, ECCD programs tend to be 'gender-blind' and therefore to reinforce existing inequality and injustice. It is essential that Plan does not miss this opportunity for transformational work at this critical life-stage of children it works with.

Plan provides some guidance for addressing gender inequality in ECCD programming, e.g. Plan's Gender and Child Rights Analysis House, which can be found at Annex 1; and Guide on 'Gender and the Right to a Healthy Start in Life'. The six studies summarised in this report aimed to identify existing gaps and challenges as well as good practices and to develop tools and recommendations that can contribute to strengthening of the existing guidance.

### 1.3 About the studies

The six studies primarily used case study approaches, with small samples of locations and informants, the use of mixed research methods, and an emphasis on qualitative data (with limited quantitative data and/or quantification of qualitative data in some cases). Each study used a different set of research tools and different analytical frameworks.

This has resulted in diverse and interesting findings, but also creates a challenge for comparison. While there is some commonality in the key research questions asked, detailed questions vary widely across the reports. The depth of analysis was uneven in some reports. This report draws out common themes among the findings across the reports and refers to country-specific examples. Assumptions cannot be made whether or not similar findings would apply to the other countries. Therefore, where a finding is attributed to one country and not another, this simply indicates where the available data does or does not provide an evidence base. Some findings (and recommendations) reported in some of the studies were not expressed in terms of a clear relationship with a gender dimension although links might be revealed by further analysis, this is not possible in the present exercise and thus such content has been omitted from this report. Some areas where further investigation may be useful to fill some knowledge gaps are touched upon in the final section of the report.

Methodologies and samples used in each study are summarised in Annex 2.

### 1.5 How to read this report

Summaries of findings from the studies are organised thematically in this report, in line with the areas of consideration described in Plan's **Gender and Child Rights Analysis House**. This provided a useful framework of analysis. There is a high degree of interconnectedness between the dimensions of inequality and the author has had to make decisions about where each area of content fits within these themes.

The first four sections below relate to the areas of 'Gender and Power' from the 'House' diagram, i.e. 'Roles', 'Resources', 'Value' and 'Participation' ('Agents of Change' the fifth area of this part of the House, is discussed separately later in the report.) This is followed by a section on 'Accountability', which is the next level up in the House framework; this section summarises the research findings concerning knowledge, attitudes and practices of key duty-bearers. A section relating to the top level of the House, 'Gender-Based Child Rights Violations' follows. A section on 'Agents of Change' (which is the fifth area of 'Gender and Power' from the House framework) follows, along with discussion of Promising Practice and potential entry points identified through the research. This is followed by a summary of research Recommendations, and finally some suggested 'Key Areas to Address, Monitor and Track in Gender-Transformative Programming' based on the research outcomes.

Findings and illustrative examples from the reports are referenced with a letter indicating the country (e.g. B for Bolivia, K for Kenya etc.) and in most cases a page number reference for the original report (e.g. 'E37' denoting content from page 37 of the Ethiopia report). In the case of Bolivia, findings for this report were drawn not from the full report but from English translations of a PowerPoint summary (denoted as B.ppt'), the Executive Summary ('B.ES') and Recommendations from the report. For Kenya, only an early draft version of the Executive Summary (including recommendations) was available, and thus page references are not given for Kenya.

Although terminology was used differently in different research reports (perhaps reflecting different terms used in different country contexts), throughout this report, ECCD centre staff are referred to as ‘ECCD caregivers’, or just ‘caregivers’, as distinct from primary school teachers, who are referred to here as ‘teachers’.

## **2. Findings**

### **2.1 Gender Roles**

During early childhood, in all the research settings, girls are being prepared for being women and boys for being men within narrow, culturally prescribed gendered roles. This section looks at the ways in which stereotyped gender roles are being reinforced, consciously or otherwise, by influential adults in the lives of girls and boys during early childhood. As it is impossible to understand these roles without looking also at the roles of women and men in those same settings, this section also looks at what the studies found relating to women’s and men’s roles.

#### **2.1.1 Gender roles of women and men**

Across all the studies, women are primarily defined as mothers and wives and are expected to focus on ‘reproductive’ roles of caring for their families and homes. These roles are characterised by hard work and long hours, and a lack of time for engaging in wider activities like income generation, decision-making, leisure. Men are defined as leaders and fathers, with roles described in principle as deciding, providing and protecting. Men, while seen as ‘responsible’ for families within these roles, have more free time and greater mobility and opportunities for engagement in public life. Gender differences in parenting roles were found across all research sites, although the Ethiopia study found this was somewhat less marked in the urban than the rural study site (E36).

#### ***Comparative overview of mothers’ and fathers’ roles in caring for children***

Women’s reproductive labour can be characterised as diverse, repetitive and relentless, whereas men’s contribution to family caregiving is more periodic (U26). Women’s relationship with their children is ongoing, direct and hands-on, whereas men’s relationship to their children is periodic and at a distance. In Uganda, discussion between parents identified 25 caregiving duties undertaken by women and 12 by men (U26). An exercise in Mozambique looking at mothers’ and fathers’ responsibilities for socialising children showed that fathers had no input to their daughters of any kind from birth to age 15 and minimal input to boys, focused mainly on practical skills such as construction, and preparing boys to become household heads and providers. Mothers were responsible for socialising both boys, up to age 7, and girls of all ages, in a wide range of behavioural and practical skills (M65). The Mozambique study found that women provide most health care to children, with men providing financial support or nothing at all (M53); fathers knew nothing about the vaccinations their children had received (M56).

Gendered relationships between children and their mothers and fathers evolve over time. The researchers in the Mozambique study identified clear patterns in this fluctuating relationship. They observed that younger children of both sexes stay physically close to their mothers (M73 and elsewhere), and mothers are considered the main ‘teachers’ of both girls and boys at this age (M64), while it was a common belief in communities that boys at 10-13 become the responsibility of their fathers. A female community leader said that from around ‘7 years, the boy child is out of the hands of the mother and has to be closer to the father or any other male relative... otherwise he will be useless in life’ (M34). In Bolivia, men were found to be largely absent from their boy and girl children’s lives (Bppt2) while mothers are ‘solely responsible’ for children’s upbringing (Bppt4).

#### ***Women’s burden of domestic and caring labour and lack of other opportunities***

Across the studies, women were clearly identified as shouldering a disproportionate share of child and family caregiving. Women’s caregiving duties start early in life, during early childhood and continue into old age (U30). Grandmothers were found to be key caregivers of children, particularly in contexts where children are orphaned or marriages had broken down (M78). Boys and men have far fewer caregiving and childrearing responsibilities than girls and women at all stages of life (U29-31).

A common finding across the studies was that due to women's high burden of domestic labour they lack time for themselves and to contribute to community decision-making, which exacerbates lack of control over their own lives. In discussing their roles, men in Ethiopia included 'societal duties', but women said they have no time to contribute or participate in community activities (E35-36). Mothers in Ethiopia spoke of having no leisure time, while men do, at least on Sundays (E36).

### *Gender roles in the family are reflected in the ECCD centres*

The close association of women with caregiving roles was reflected in the dominance of women in ECCD caregiver positions in Uganda, Kenya and Pakistan. Analysis of available data in Uganda revealed a disproportionate percentage of male caregivers in senior roles relative to women (U85). Management committees across the studies also tended to be male dominated. These imbalances lead to unequal role-modelling, where males as leaders and women as subordinates is seen as normal. The Kenya study notes a lack of defined career prospects and clear terms of employment, which may discourage men, particularly, from becoming caregivers. The Uganda study observed differences in the way male and female caregivers act and dress, which, together with the division of labour between them gave an impression of female caregivers as more like 'a mother away from home' while male caregivers seemed more like teachers.

Different gender roles and differential valuing of women and men are also reflected in attitudes towards male and female caregivers. The Ethiopia study finds that female caregivers may be seen as inferior to male caregivers (E69). The Uganda study found some evidence that female caregivers may have been seen by children to have less authority than male caregivers (U81). Parents in Pakistan prefer to have female caregivers in the centres as they are assumed to be more fit the role for a range of reasons, mostly to do with prescribed gender norms about female traits and behaviour including women being 'sympathetic, soft and polite' and men being aggressive; some also mentioned risk of sexual abuse from men. Some felt that girls should have female caregivers and boys, male caregivers (P59).

#### **2.1.2 Girls to women, boys to men: intergenerational reproduction of gender roles**

All studies found a strong sense from adults that children must learn their gendered adult roles early in life, e.g. girls must learn their domestic roles (e.g. U53), and boys must learn leadership, independence, a strong work ethic and skills related to construction, managing resources (U53-4).

An exercise in the Uganda research that asked adults to define culturally-held norms of an 'ideal man' and 'ideal woman' gave insight into expectations of girls and boys as they grow into women and men (U34). Ideals for women included domesticity, reproductive labour and subservience to men; for men, provider, protector, leader, engagement in economic and material realms and responsibility to community.

In Pakistan and Uganda, gendered roles expected for girls and boys as they grew up were illuminated through discussion of parents' aspirations for their children. Parents mentioned both traditional and non-traditional career aspirations for their daughters, but no non-traditional roles for sons. Although some parents in Pakistan stated an intention to respect their daughters' own future aspirations, this was three times more likely for sons (P56). Children's own aspirations also reflected traditional gender roles, with boys less likely than girls to aspire to non-traditional gender roles (U90). In Uganda this was much more marked among primary school-aged than ECCD centre-aged children, with some of the younger girls but none of the older girls mentioning aspirations such as being a mechanic or doctor (U83-84).



Having male caregivers, like this one in Mozambique, opens up opportunities to engage men as positive change agents.



While mothers particularly wish for better lives for their daughters than they themselves have enjoyed, and fathers also aspire for their daughters to move into non-typical gender roles, expectations for girls' future prospects are dampened by a range of factors. This includes lack of visible positive role models or examples of women who have taken non-traditional options. The harsh reality of mothers' and female caregivers' own experiences also contributed to adults' pessimism and low ambition for girls. Perhaps the strongest limiting factor in adults' ambitions for girls relates to risks of unplanned pregnancy or HIV (U41, M72), relevant also to boys but rarely mentioned as obstacles for boys' life achievement.

Thinking about daughters' futures seems to be attended by lack of confidence for the future, in particular, by much fear about unplanned pregnancy and attendant shame, and to a lesser extent the risk of HIV (U41 and elsewhere). This seemed to lead to mothers in Uganda 'hedging their bets': while hoping that their daughters might break out of the confines of narrow domestic roles, at the same time mothers were keenly aware of the risks to a girl and her family if she grows up failing to comply with socially prescribed norms, and thus still focusing heavily on ensuring they would have the skills and subservient attitudes to succeed as wives and mothers (U41).

Mothers in Pakistan also expressed little hope for their daughters achieving higher positions, as their education was likely to be curtailed in favour of boys' education due to poverty or family values (P62). Parents in Pakistan also expressed concern for their daughters' future: 'we are worried about the unpredictability of our daughters' future; they have to move away from the family after marriage and we are not sure how the in-laws will behave towards them' (P57).

### 2.1.3 Gender roles of girls and boys

#### *Traits and tendencies*

Very clear and stereotyped differences were evident across the studies in terms of traits associated with and expected of boys and girls, with many commonalities across the studies. Some typical findings are summarised below with a selection of examples from specific studies, drawn from responses from adult respondents and to some extent from girls and boys themselves:

Girls are associated with and valued for:

- Being cooperative, kind, respectful, polite, caring/ sharing, disciplined, obedient (P33), creative, respectful of teachers, positive thinkers, good listeners (E47-8)
- Showing respect and deference (expressed in culturally specific ways, e.g. in Uganda expected to kneel to greet elders, U52; sitting correctly, U52)
- Showing humility (U57, E47-48) and subservience (U57)
- Being less likely than boys to bully younger children because they 'sympathise' with them (U68)
- Being ('naturally') attracted to particular tasks: e.g.:
  - Dancing, singing (U56)
  - Dolls (U56, B:ES, P32 and elsewhere)
- Enjoying:
  - Playing indoors and playing peacefully (P32)
  - Games associated with domestic roles (K3): e.g. kitchenette, helping their mothers at home (B:ES)
  - Some outdoor games such as hide and seek (P48)

- Enjoying and self-identifying with stories about Barbie, with girls as the main character (P48) and/or characters conforming closely to female stereotypes such as Cinderella, Snow White and stories about princesses (P58).

Boys are associated with and valued for:

- Being action-oriented, outgoing, showing leadership, practical, innovative, 'superior', strong, competitive
- Showing respect (expressed differently from girls, i.e. in Uganda kneeling not required)
- Being (assumed to be) physically stronger (U47, Bppt2, K36)
- Being ('naturally') attracted to particular tasks and actions: Blocks, football etc. – U56; football, jumping and pushing (P32), playing with cars, trains, playing police, science corner
- Not liking dolls or Barbie stories (P47-8)
- Enjoying and self-identifying with stories about bravery, fighting (P47-8), action-heroes, princes (P58)

Academically, girls are widely thought to outperform boys (U47), and to be more studious (U57). In Pakistan, Kenya and Uganda, girls were thought to be good at and have needs relevant to language-based skills e.g. writing, and boys, science and maths (U56-57, P37, E41). When asked what they valued in girls' and boys' behaviours in the centre, caregivers in Uganda were much less likely to value or focus on boys' academic achievements relative to girls (7 responses for boys compared with 21 for girls; U60). In Pakistan a small majority of caregivers felt that girls outperform boys in learning as they apply themselves and are more responsible. Others also said there was no difference between girls and boys academically (P37). Interestingly girls and boys in Uganda ECCD centres felt that boys and girls are equally good at academic learning.

Boys are thought to be selfish, not good at sharing (U67); naughty (P32, U68), wild, aggressive and unruly (U58-60). They are associated with fighting (P32, U63) and using bad language (P33, U63). These traits are felt to be problematic in some settings, e.g. caregivers in Uganda said they appreciate boys who are able to curb such tendencies (U59), but are expected and to some degree accepted in that they fit with other aspects of normative masculinities.

### ***Behavioural standards expected of girls and boys***

The Mozambique study notes that gender differences in expectations of girls and boys begin to emerge around the age of 3-6, at which age girls must stay close to home and help their mothers, while boys begin to be freer to roam further afield (e.g. E66, M43 and others). From around 6yo, boys are expected to be near their fathers and learn masculine behaviour (M43). The studies note that girls' freedom to move far from the house is limited from a very early age.

Differences in gendered behavioural expectations become more marked as children become older, most particularly from adolescence. At this age, moral standards and strictures for girls also become much stricter relative to boys. In Mozambique, parents and guardians expressed their views on good behaviour by older girls and boys. Descriptions of a 'good' girl included 'does not get pregnant'; 'dresses well and not in skimpy dresses'; 'keeps quiet when adults are talking to her and does not look sharply in the eyes of the elders' (M42-3); she is also expected to 'talk kindly, softly' (M61). Boys at this age 'should not play with girls as this makes him fail to be a good leader' (M42-3). Among these comments from Mozambique informants, boys were also said to be responsible for not getting girls pregnant; however, in most studies, girls alone seemed to be held accountable for unwanted pregnancies.

### ***Differences usually understood in biological or 'natural' terms***

Gender roles are not widely understood to be socially prescribed, but rather thought to be 'natural' and directly related to biological differences between males and females (e.g. U47, U44, B.ES). For example, in Mozambique, community leaders stated that women are 'naturally' responsible for cooking and care-giving, one saying 'they are better skilled that way' (M34), and in Bolivia adults explained the roles of women as home-makers and carers of children as 'natural' (Bppt1). These beliefs translate into differential treatment of girls and boys by caregivers. Girls' and boys' play choices are seen as 'free' (U61), where in fact certain activities and aptitudes are actively

cultivated by duty bearers such as caregivers. In Uganda, where the curriculum was on the surface 'gender neutral', caregivers reinforced stereotypical gender roles particularly in interactions outside the curriculum e.g. corner-play, informal play-times, tasks assigned to girls and boys (e.g. U44 and elsewhere).

### *Beyond stereotyped gender roles – adults' perceptions*

While expectations of distinct gender roles for boys and girls were evident among adults, there were variations. Some non-stereotypical perceptions were expressed by adults: some caregivers in Uganda said they like to see girls being confident and having self-esteem particularly relative to boys (U57); almost half of the caregivers in Pakistan said that girls have better leadership skills than boys (P33); one parent (sex not given) said 'a daughter has to be strong as she is a nation-builder' (P54).

A 'same but different' attitude was expressed by some caregivers in Uganda, where girls and boys are seen as equal and at a young age essentially the same, but at the same time needing to learn different things, often along traditional gender lines (U50). Some parents however reported that children as young as 3 are becoming aware of things that are not accepted for boys or girls, e.g. certain clothing choices (P57). Some adults across the studies expressed the view that children in early childhood are too young and thus somewhat exempt from gender 'rules' at this age, with the implication that gender roles will be more strongly enforced as they grow older. One mother of daughters in Pakistan said 'Sadly, very soon, society will begin putting gender barriers in their path and they will have to perforce conform' (P57). In Uganda, caregivers seemed to tolerate some fluidity of gender norms because the children were too young for it to matter, or they were considered ignorant and had yet to learn proper gender behaviour (U46, E40).

### *How young children understand gender and gender difference*

Among very young children, awareness of gender exists but is understood mostly in superficial ways. E.g. a very common and for some children primary way of understanding gender difference was in terms of biology (E24) or different clothes: girls wear dresses and underpants, boys wear shorts (U82, E24, Bppt5). In Ethiopia, boys saw the distinction mostly in biological terms (E24). Behavioural differences were also mentioned. In Bolivia, both boys and girls associated boys with being dirty, strong or naughty (Bppt5); and girls with playing at princesses and being intelligent, studious and responsible (Bppt5). Girls in Bolivia also said that boys fight and are rude (Bppt5) and that girls are clean and polite (Bppt5); while boys felt that boys are stronger and more intelligent and responsible than girls (Bppt5).

In Bolivia, boys were much less likely than girls to see girls as different from or unequal with themselves; the boys noted that girls have different play preferences including cooking and playing with dolls, but do not generally associate girls with housework (B.S). Girls in Bolivia were much more aware of labour-related differences, being specific and detailed in listing the things girls do to help their mothers (Bppt5). In Ethiopia, too, girls, but not boys associated housework with girls (E24); but boys did associate childcare with girls. Girls, but not boys, also identified differences in behavioural norms and constraints on freedom to play and enjoy leisure time for girls as distinguishing girls from boys (E24).

### *Children's awareness of gendered prohibitions on certain activities/ behaviours*

Children showed strong awareness of prohibitions on girls and boys behaviour.

Girls across the studies named things they are not allowed to do because they are girls e.g. not allowed to do farming, climb trees, build houses (U82-83). Girls in the rural location in Ethiopia said that girls are not allowed to wear trousers (E28). Girls were very aware that their mobility is more restricted than boys' (e.g. P50). In discussing prohibitions on girls, girls focused on the level of control over their behaviour, particularly over spaces girls are not allowed to occupy. Boys also focused strongly on control over girls, including sexual prohibitions that girls are subject to (E28). Girls said they would love to do certain things they are not allowed to do, e.g. climbing trees (U83); more time to play and freedom to roam more freely (E30); playing with boys (E31); wearing trousers and shirts (P56-7).



Things boys said they are not allowed to do included wearing dresses, doing domestic tasks (e.g. cooking, washing clothes), dressing babies (U83). In Ethiopia, boys and girls said boys are not allowed to cook; girls said that boys have no restrictions, only girls do (E28). Few boys, in contrast with girls, were able to name things they would like to do that they are not allowed to do, except a few who said they would like to make coffee or cook (E30). In Pakistan, some boys expressed liking cooking or other household duties, and some to wear clothing associated with women (P56-7).



Five and six year old children were involved in the research in Uganda. Although very young to engage in discussions about gender, they gave valuable insights into how much they had absorbed about gendered expectations of girls and boys, women and men.

### *Girls' burden of domestic and caring labour*

Girls are expected to take on domestic tasks from a very young age (Uganda, Bolivia, Ethiopia, Mozambique). The Mozambique study reports that girls from 4yo start to learn babysitting, and by 7-8yo are put in full care of children (M32). Boys at the same age are spared similar responsibilities, sometimes explained as being because 'boys are too weak'; they are exempted from responsibility and thought unprepared or unsuited for it, while it is expected of girls at the same age. The Uganda study demonstrates how the load of labour expected of girls steadily increases. Boys at comparable ages have far greater freedom to roam further from home, mix and play with friends, and engage in more adventurous and physical activities. Among all age groups, adolescent boys have the least burden of responsibility for labour (U29).

## **2.2 Resources**

The studies found highly differentiated access and control of resources among women and men. For example, the Mozambique study highlighted that while women may have day-to-day use of household resources, they do not have ownership or control (M36-7). Similar patterns of access and control were reflected in the studies in terms of resource allocations for girls, often related to ways that girls are valued differently from boys, as explored in the next section of this report.

This section focuses on three specific resource issues: ***allocation of basic needs such as nutrition, access to and use of space***, and ***resource allocation within the ECCD centres***.

Where resource allocation within households in terms of nutrition and other basic needs may well be different for boys and girls, the study reports mostly did not discuss this in detail. Some studies did analyse issues of resource allocation but not from a gender perspective. An exception was the Bolivia study. It found no evidence of differences in relation to feeding (quantity and quality) of children 0-3 years of age. It appears that the fact of being *wawas* (babies) position girls and boys at the same level in relation to feeding, and so both are breastfed, receive care, affection and protection from their families (mainly from their mothers). Gender differences became more evident at the stage when girls and boys begin to communicate, play with different toys and perform other actions and tasks within the household. In a third of the municipalities (in the Andean and Valles Areas) it was evidenced that boys older than five years may receive more food than girls. Mothers explain this by saying that boys need more because they are more active and playful.

Considerable discussion is reported within the studies to the ideal way to allocate space to boys and girls in relation to each other in ECCD centre classrooms. In Ethiopia it was observed that girls sitting near 'restless' boys were put in the position of acting as *de facto* assistants to teachers, detracting from those girls' own learning (E44). In some classrooms boys and girls were seated opposite each other, some together (E71). In some settings, such as Uganda, girls tended to sit near the front of the classroom, closer to the caregiver. This may disadvantage boys, as those sitting closer in crowded classrooms may receive more of caregivers' attention (U82). On the other hand, girls in Uganda were observed to be constantly on guard against boys' disruptive behaviour. Boys were observed pinching and hitting girls. Caregivers did not necessarily intervene to keep the class environment safe and conducive to learning for both boys and girls. Lack of disciplining of boys also disadvantages boys' learning as they are not being guided and encouraged to focus on learning (U81).

Caregivers in some settings felt that boys and girls need to be separated in class or during certain activities, as boys' behaviour can be disruptive to girls. Keeping boys and girls separate was often presented as in the interests of protecting girls: boys are seen as tending to dominate mixed space (e.g. U59), or to be rough. However this also has the effect of limiting girls' and boys' opportunities to interact as equals and develop ways of cooperating.

Observation exercises in the Uganda study highlighted differentiated use of play equipment inside and outside the centres. Girls tended to use and be encouraged to use materials and equipment related with traditional gender norms, such as dolls and cooking equipment inside the centres. Outside, girls were much more likely than boys to play with skipping ropes; girls also played on the swings but only with other girls, not together with boys (U78). It was clear that girls also wanted to use outdoor climbing equipment but could do so only on boys' terms; boys were seen actively pushing girls away from climbing equipment, so that girls could use it only when boys were not using it (U78). Caregivers did not appear to notice this or see it as an issue requiring their intervention.

Boys used and were encouraged to play with building blocks inside. Outside they used climbing equipment and played with balls and tyres (U78). The Uganda study highlighted ways in which boys take up more space in the playground compared with girls, whose use of space was very limited. (U78). The nature of boys' play in these wider spaces is fast and boisterous, in effect further limiting girls' ability to move into wider areas of space. This pattern of gender differentiated usage of space mirrors the pattern in life beyond the centres, where boys enjoy much greater spatial freedom and access to different kinds of space, and spaces further from home.

The Uganda study also highlighted a further issue of girls' use of space, as illustrated in their use of paper in a drawing exercise that was part of the research, in which girls tended to draw tiny pictures and use very little of the paper provided, whereas boys' drawings were larger and took up more of the paper (U90). This may be linked both with girls' lower level of confidence in expressing themselves, as well as a more limited sense of entitlement to taking up space.

The Pakistan study also highlighted interesting issues for girls wishing to access space within the ECCD centres. Among things children named that they did not enjoy about coming to the centres, girls mentioned being pushed around by older children on the stairs and in the playground, and being teased by boys, whereas boys did not (P45). Interestingly, a majority of both boys and girls expressed enjoying the playground more than the room, however, many of the girls feel constrained in using the playground (P45). Boys also mentioned being pushed around by older boys in outdoor spaces (P47) but this appears to be less a deterrent for them in accessing the space and activities they wish to pursue.

Boys, due to their relative freedom, are more likely to be able to establish some kind of petty enterprise through which to earn some income for themselves, which brings increased independence, or their families, which can reward them with recognition for their economic contribution, which is associated with male gender roles.

### 2.3 Value

The different roles assigned to women and men are problematic in a number of regards, most significantly the lower status and value attached to girls and women relative to boys and men, and the disadvantage that comes with that. The studies clearly identified ways in which boys and men are valued differently from girls and women, and unequal status between them associated with these values.

### ***Hierarchies of value among girls and boys, women and men:***

The lower status of women was highlighted in the studies. The Mozambique study stated that women are considered higher status than children but lower than men. Caregivers in Ethiopia reflected that women and girls are culturally valued less than men and boys (E41). Some fathers in Uganda expressed outright that men are superior to women and that therefore boys are more desired than girls (U40). Related to both the value placed on boys and the concentration of power in the hands of men, the Uganda and Mozambique studies found that considerable pressure can be put upon women to give birth to boys (U35 and M34).

Hierarchical values were evident in gendered division of labour. In Uganda, boys are expected to carry some caregiving responsibilities while they are younger and still lower in status. As they move towards adolescence and closer to entering the realm of male superiority, they are no longer expected to share in such work (U31), unlike girls, whose status remains low into adulthood, of whom lowly tasks are expected at all life stages. Boys in Ethiopia showed a distinct awareness that tasks associated with boys and men are more valued and seen as more important and difficult and demonstrated that boys believe themselves superior to and more powerful than girls (E38). The Mozambique study demonstrates that superiority of boys is emphasised from an early age (M65). This is connected with gender roles, with childcare activities, associated with girls and women, not considered 'serious' work (M33). Boys are considered 'true members of clan' and therefore entitled at a certain age to 'take charge' (M65). One parent in Mozambique said: 'Boys, by (the age) of 12-15, start looking down upon their mothers/ female guardians' (M61).

In Bolivia, boys are valued for carrying on the family name and as company for fathers in work and play activities; girls are seen as company for their mothers and are considered a blessing, bringing 'balance' to the family (Bppt1). But informants said that it is thought better to be a boy as girls and women 'suffer in life' (Bppt1).

Interestingly, in reflecting on their own gendered childhood experiences, adult males in Uganda recalled feeling that the 'tough love' shown to them as boys felt at the time as if they were less valued than girls; as they grew up they understood that this treatment was part of a process of preparing them for men's roles, which were clearly valued more highly and of higher power and status than women's roles.

### ***Different valuing of fathers' and mothers' roles and contributions***

Men's role as providers and leaders is valued more highly than women's roles as caregivers. In Uganda, even when research participants admitted that men often fail to fulfil their roles, it was noted that the inputs that men make into their children's upbringing, although intermittent, is seen as having superior value to the inputs made by mothers every day (U32). Women therefore participate in significant decision-making concerning their children's education and other matters on an unequal basis, if at all. In Mozambique, while the 'direct and heavier' responsibility for child rearing fell to women, children are considered to 'belong' to men (M41).

The Uganda study explored an important conceptual difference between being 'responsible' in terms of *having authority* (men), i.e. having the right to decide, and in practice stepping in only occasionally and being responsible for actually *getting things done* on an ongoing basis (women) (U32). Similarly in Ethiopia, women's parenting responsibilities comprised concrete caring duties and managing relationships, while men's were to 'control' and 'support' (E35). The distinction can be illustrated by a discussion in Uganda about whose role it is to encourage children in their education: men and women agreed that day-to-day support is from mothers, while fathers only become involved if there is problem e.g. with late payment of school fees (U32). Uganda participants explored a belief that fathers take their children to the centre or school; after much discussion it was agreed that this role was in principle only, but in reality men rarely do so (U33). In Ethiopia, men's role in children's education is mainly to monitor school attendance (E35).

### ***Men's privilege, women's subordination***

The Uganda study finds that men's privileged status allows them to get away with being negligent in their roles, while women have 'little choice but to fulfil what is expected of them' within their socially determined roles. (U34). While there was clarity and agreement in all countries about gendered roles of men and women in raising

families, women tended to express unhappiness with the extent to which men fulfil their side of the bargain. Women in Uganda were prompted to comment that ‘men have lost responsibility for children’, and ‘men are no longer real men’ (U70). Neglect and abandonment by men of women and children was a common theme including in Kenya, Uganda, and Mozambique. Across the reports it is clear that women often have no choice but to take up sole responsibility for their children.

Men’s greater power and status affords them greater say in decision-making than women have, at family and community levels. Fathers in all studies are seen as the head of the household and have authority over the women and children. The Mozambique study found that men have more power over key household resources (M33), and that even absent husbands enjoy the superior and dominant position in relation to control over resources and decision-making concerning children (M78), and were considered the ‘best disciplinarians’ in the household (M58).

Women’s subordinate value also results in women being subjected to violence from men. Children in Pakistan frequently reported violence against their mothers by their fathers (P49). Girls and boys both expressed fear associated with living with family violence (P51). Informants to the Bolivia study report that family violence is increasing, under-reported, and considered ‘natural’ (Bppt3). Witnessing violence against women gives girls clear messages that they are of lower worth and can be expected to be treated this way in adulthood and give boys the message that they are superior and can expect to use violence over others in their adulthood.

### *The value of boys relative to girls*

In some settings, boys are seen as the inheritors of family wealth (e.g. U38, K). Related to this, boys are raised with a firm sense of belonging to the clan and place, whereas girls will be expected to marry into a different family and move away. This influences decisions about resource allocation: investment in girls’ education may be seen as a potential waste as she will inevitably move away. Some parents may feel that a more educated girl may fetch a higher bride price, but this may not result in sustained investment in her education if resources become strained (U40). Fear of unplanned pregnancy can outweigh hope of investment in girls’ education being repaid in material terms, i.e. if she gets pregnant she will have lower value despite any investment made.

### *Values revealed through differential forms of punishment for girls and boys:*

Findings concerning different norms of punishment for girls and boys highlighted interesting issues of values. In one study location in Uganda, girls were punished by being made to play with puzzles, an activity thought to be disliked by girls (U67).

In Ethiopia, girls are more likely than boys to be punished when girls and boys become close (49). Girls arriving late to school due to home duties may be punished by being made to continue similar duties at school. This underlines the menial and unvalued nature of this work, reinforcing the low status of women, who are associated with this kind of work (E52). In Pakistan, boys were reportedly much more likely to be beaten for disobedience than girls (P57).

## **2.4 Participation**

Issues concerning gendered roles, values and resources outlined above clearly have implications for gendered participation in community life, personal opportunities and in particular decision-making. This section looks particularly at findings across the studies in relation to barriers to women’s and girls’ participation in decision-making, and to girls’ participation in education.

### *Gendered participation in early learning and school education*

Participation in education entails being enrolled and attending and issues of the quality of participation enabled in the centres and in schools. From information available in the study reports, it appears that attendance at the centres visited in Mozambique was balanced between girls and boys; in Pakistan boys dominated at a ratio of approximately 53 to 47; in at least one of the classes observed in Kenya girls were outnumbered by boys 7 to 3; and in Ethiopia boys dominated by a few percentage points. In Pakistan, researchers observed that boys

outnumber girls in private school compared with government schools, indicating that parents place more importance on boys' education, as the educational quality is generally thought to be higher in private facilities (P39).

### *Factors that impact on girls' participation in education*

Some different attitudes to girls' and boys' education were evident across the studies. Although in general parents in Mozambique were in favour of education for children, girls who attend school were seen as at risk of becoming pregnant and wasting the investment made in their education. In contrast, educated boys were seen to have greater chances of being able to travel and get better jobs to 'enrich themselves and their families' (M66). It was perceived that a girl has learned all she needs to know to be successfully married by age 13, boy by 17 (M65); these views are likely to influence the degree to which adults value and invest in education.

The Uganda report among others notes that girls' retention in school begins to diminish greatly in later primary years (U88). Factors mentioned include: puberty and menstruation (schools not equipped); unplanned pregnancy; lack of commitment to and investment in girls' continuing education among parents as girls approach marriageable age; high labour demands especially domestic labour expected of girls; times of economic crisis that force parents to prioritise which children to continue to invest in educating, usually decided in favour of boys (U88-9).

The labour expected of girls is clearly detrimental to their opportunities for learning relative to boys. Boys are also disadvantaged at certain times of year due to seasonal tasks (E38). Parents and caregivers have some level of awareness of the demands placed upon girls but do not necessarily see this as problematic. The Uganda study found mothers more likely to see the cost of domestic labour to girls' educational opportunities and feel conflicted by it, whereas fathers were less likely to admit it is unfair to girls (U31). In Mozambique, one mother said 'we women have so much to do... sometimes we have to leave some of the responsibilities to the young girls which are too heavy for their age' (M34). In Ethiopia, mothers and fathers both acknowledged that girls are disadvantaged by the division of tasks (E37), causing girls to be late for school and unable to complete homework (E37). The Ethiopia study found a shared opinion among duty-bearers at different levels that girls miss school often, and more often than boys, due to domestic duties at home; and that girls suffer more than boys from a range of harmful traditional practices (E60).

### *Girls' and women's participation in decision-making*

Children in general across the studies were found to have little voice or participation in decision-making concerning their own lives. In Mozambique some mothers had sometimes interacted with their children to seek their views (M58), but felt that 'female children are brought up to be wives of men who are decision-makers (M58) and hence did not need to be involved in decision-making. The Mozambique study also found that that boys are given more access to participation in decision-making than girls because they will grow up to 'be leaders and household-heads in future', and that older boys participate in decisions concerning their sisters' marriage negotiations (M58).

The Bolivia study found that women now have increased access to participation in decision-making spaces but only within patriarchal structures; that women participate in spaces related to children's education while men participate in issues relating to production; and that the responsibilities women carry in relation to child-rearing and education are undervalued (Bppt4).

## **2.5 Accountability**

This section focuses on key attitudes, beliefs, knowledge and actions of male and female parents, ECCD caregivers and others in leadership positions and how they either reinforce or challenge gender inequality. Other related observations can be found throughout the report, including a summary of positive attitudes and actions in the Agents of Change section.



## Primary duty bearers: the importance of strong policies and practice

The studies incorporated varying levels of focus on primary duty bearers including analysis of existing policies. Some of the reports do highlight the importance of a strong policy environment as a basis for leverage and advocacy. The Bolivian report notes a lack of legislation supporting children's rights and the absence of a gender dimension in education and health policies relevant to children (B.ES2). The Ethiopia report summarises some of the key policies and guidelines at national level and finds little that explicitly addresses gender inequality. The importance of strengthening data collection, Pakistan).



Women and men meet in an ECCD centre in Bolivia.

### Mothers and fathers

#### *Parents' attitudes to education of girls and boys:*

In Uganda, mothers and fathers expressed no overt preference for educating sons over daughters, but their decisions in other ways effectively limited girls' access to education and chances of succeeding and continuing in their education. Mothers stated they were more likely to be encouraging to their daughters than fathers (U32). Mothers in Uganda could see the protective value education has for girls. One mother said 'If all of us (women) had completed education we would not be having any of our problems' (U31).

The Pakistan study found that parents generally give priority to boys' needs (P57). Some parents in Pakistan felt it was important for girls and boys to have the same educational and development opportunities (P54).

Reasons why parents in Pakistan felt the ECCD centre was important for boys included setting them up for good career opportunities, possibly partly in relation to parents' dependence on sons' income in their own old age (P55). Responses indicated that career options were thought less important for girls, except 'in case the need arises at some time in her life' (P55). Other reasons given for boys were for them to have something useful to do, and access to discipline. For girls, other reasons were to develop social skills and cultural values. Reasons parents in Pakistan gave for not sending daughters to the centre included poverty, girls as young as 3yo being needed at home to look after younger siblings and education of girls being against family traditions. Poverty was also given as a reason for not sending boys but parents spoke much more positively about giving boys, compared with girls, an early start in education (P61).

Mothers in particular are appreciative of ECCD centres, both for the things their children learn there (including both formal learning and social skills), as well as for the opportunity it allows women to spend time on productive work (M69).

#### *Parents' participation in parenting classes*

Parenting classes are attended predominantly by women (U92, K). In Kenya, while women express appreciation for the parenting sessions, men, who are in a minority as participants, appear to be vocal in their expectations concerning the implementation of policies which seemed to imply that men had disproportionate voice in the sessions relative to women. Close analysis of parenting class content was conducted only in Mozambique, where the sessions reportedly appear to have no content relating or responding to gender inequality (M68-9).

### *Parents' participation in ECCD centres*

Mothers are generally more actively engaged with ECCD centres than fathers (e.g. M69). In Pakistan, only a few centres regularly invite parents. Caregivers' interaction with families is mainly incidentally, at drop-off or pick-up (P35). Mainly mothers or grandmothers, and sometimes fathers, pick up children (P43). Mothers had more interaction with the centres than fathers, except where women's mobility is particularly limited by gender norms, and fathers are more likely to attend meetings at the centres (P35). The Bolivia study found that fathers do not attend meetings or events at centres (Bppt2).

### **ECCD centre caregivers**

#### *Awareness of gender inequality*

The level of awareness of gender inequality and commitment to gender equality among caregivers varied greatly between countries.

In Uganda, caregivers' understanding of gender inequality was mostly very limited. In practice, most caregivers either consciously or unconsciously reinforce existing gender inequalities. Most saw training girls to be women and boys to be men within narrow culturally prescribed gender roles as part of their role (e.g. U52). One caregiver said girls should not feel inferior to boys but then stated that girls are naturally weaker than boys and not able to do things boys can do (U54). Some caregivers genuinely try to treat boys and girls equally when following the formal curriculum but differently during indoor and outdoor play times (e.g. U77-8).

In Ethiopia, caregivers showed awareness that girls have special education needs due to having been treated as inferior (E40); however the report recommends more awareness-raising.

The Kenya study appears to indicate that ECCD caregivers studied were quite aware of gender inequality and were reported to make conscious efforts to ensure equal opportunities for girls and boys in the centres; though the report also recommends that caregivers need more gender training.

In Pakistan, gender blindness was revealed when caregivers struggled to understand questions concerning how they might treat girls and boys differently, yet clearly identified gender-stereotyped perceptions on differences between girls' and boys' behaviour and preferences (P34). Gender awareness may be higher among head caregivers, as some cases were mentioned of them providing feedback to other caregivers on the importance of child rights and gender equality (P37).

### **Adults reproduce the gender socialisation they received as children**

It is evident across the studies that adults (caregivers and parents) reproduce the gender socialisation practices they themselves experienced as children (e.g. Mozambique, Pakistan, Uganda). Primary school teachers in the Uganda study were aware that absenteeism and drop-out rates among girls increases as they progress through primary school (U91), but at same time teachers reproduce the attitudes and treatment of girls that contribute to this outcome.

Women in Uganda reflected upon their childhood socialisation prepared them for domestic roles, while men's prepared them for providing and leading, learning economic and leadership skills (U71). Men reflected early learning of an association of masculinity with power and violence (U72). It was evident that relationships between males and females was poisoned from an early age, e.g. boys interpreted differential treatment of girls as 'favouritism' and learned to resent girls (U72), while girls envied boys their freedom (U73). In Pakistan, female caregivers recalled childhood experiences of yearning for their fathers' attention as priority was given to male siblings (P28). Many of the female caregivers had experienced physical violence when young (P28). Female caregivers in Pakistan and Uganda recalled experiencing restriction on their freedom to play and move around and being married off at an early age or by force. As a result of this reflection, mothers, fathers and male and female caregivers realised that as adults they have been unconsciously reproducing unfair and unequal treatment of girls and boys.

## ECCD Centres

### *Representation of gender roles in ECCD materials*

Across the studies, materials available in centres tend to largely reinforce traditional gender roles. Twelve of 24 caregivers in Uganda said that girls learn domestic roles from materials in centres whereas boys receive messages about potential paid work roles, physical prowess and leadership. Most felt these were the right messages for them to receive (U76). A line-by-line analysis of Plan Pakistan's ECCD manual found several areas in which the manual reinforced narrowly prescribed gender roles but also found some positive gender-compensatory content (P78-83). In Ethiopia, caregivers report having access to some materials that give positive and diverse messages to girls and boys (E58), including messages against sexual abuse, early marriage and other harmful practices. It is unclear whether the researchers verified the availability, appropriateness or use of these materials in the centres (E58-9).

Little gender disaggregated data is kept by the ECCD centres. In Pakistan and Uganda the only sex-disaggregated data were enrolment and attendance records (P35, U)

### ECCD Centre Committees

Committees visited in the Uganda research were headed by men (U86), again reinforcing the idea that the work of child-rearing is women's role but men have the authority. Committee members largely expressed very traditional gender norms and seemed to feel that the centres had a responsibility to reinforce these norms (U87). From available information, committees appear to also be male-dominated in Ethiopia and Kenya.

## 2.6 Gender-based Child Rights Violations

It is clear from the issues already discussed that rights of girls and women particularly and in some ways also boys and men are being denied. For example, girls are being denied their rights to participation and to education. This section outlines specific violations of rights and rights issues highlighted in the reports.

### **Gender-based violence and other violations of women's rights**

In Ethiopia, caregivers listed a number of rights violations as reasons for girls' absenteeism and dropping out of school, including, *inter alia*, early marriage, abduction and forced marriage; female genital mutilation; sexual abuse and harassment; family favouring boys' education over girls; girls having less time to study; 'bodily changes'. Of these, boys were said to be affected by only one, early marriage (E53).

Gender-based violence and other rights violations were common experiences among adult women responsible for care of children in the studies. In the Uganda study, where some women had experienced very serious violence and abuse, men did not seem to appreciate, or were unwilling to acknowledge, the gravity of these experiences. (U70). It was clear from the studies that men learn from an early age to associate masculinity with violence, and that men have an entitlement to be violent against women. In Uganda, men recalled having been ordered by their parents to administer beatings to female siblings as punishment. They also recalled having suffered violent punishments and witnessed their fathers' violence towards their mothers and other family members (U72).

### *Girls' and women's bodies are seen as public property*

Girls' bodies are subjected to scrutiny and control in ways that boys' bodies are not.

While boys from an early age are being shaped for independence, freedom for girls is considered risky to them in ways that it is not for boys, and thus girls' behaviour is regulated and monitored in a multitude of ways. An example from Uganda was the strict enforcement of the requirement for girls to wear dresses and underpants and never to allow their genital area to be seen even when clothed, leading to restriction of girls' freedoms (U50).

In the Uganda study, men's descriptions of an 'ideal woman' demonstrated that women's bodies are not considered to belong to themselves but are the property of men, the clan and the community (U38). Conflict

emerged between women and men over how many children it is desirable to have, with men wanting more children, particularly to ensure the birth of at least one boy. Women wanted fewer children, partly to spare their own health and to ensure that all children could be adequately cared for (U35). This conflict of opinion extended to fathers wanting their daughters to have more children than they wished their sons to have (U38).

Across the studies, responsibility for avoiding unplanned pregnancy, and the weight of its consequences, are placed on women and girls, not boys and men (U49-50, Bppt1). In Ethiopia, caregivers felt that sex education was needed for girls but not for boys (E41, 71). The Mozambique researchers concluded that there is more 'control and demand' on girls (M78). In Uganda, caregivers were a significant contributor to the community's monitoring and disciplining of girls' bodies (U49). Caregivers gave twelve different responses about ways girls are expected to behave, mostly concerned with regulation of girls' bodies, such as wearing underwear and sitting 'properly', and only four for boys (U52).

### **Implications for girls: 'Vulnerability' and 'safety'; protection or control?**

Constraints upon girls' behaviour and restrictions on their freedom, often explained as intending to protect girls, in fact set them up for dependence and vulnerability, rather than protecting them. Fears of early pregnancy, HIV, the shame of girls' sexual activity are all used by adults as justifications for limiting girls' freedom, while measures that build their independence and control over their own lives, such as education, information and freedom of movement and choice, are not prioritised (e.g. see U40 and elsewhere). The focus is on regulating girls' and women's bodies and behaviour, not on working with men to change their behaviour or more widely promoting change in the gender paradigm (U41).

Ironically, mothers' and female caregivers' own experiences of abuse at the hands of men tends to reinforce the very same fears for their children, which then influence them to make decisions that limit girl's freedoms and ironically create rather than reduce girls' vulnerability. In Uganda, women were haunted by the spectre of armed conflict and the rights violations they themselves had endured, creating fear that their daughters may have similar experiences in future (U40). Women also alluded to economic vulnerability and the risk that daughters may be married off in time of economic crisis (U40). Unfortunately, however, protection of girls is understood only in terms of constricting girls' and women's freedom in order to remove them from perceived risks, and not in terms of advocating for men.



Parenting programs provide a valuable opportunity to advance gender equality, but a need to increase male participation was highlighted in all the studies. Here, a parenting group meets in Ethiopia.

### **Violations of boys' and men's rights**

Rights of boys are also denied in particular ways. One of these is an apparent non-perception that boys are at risk of being sexually abused, noted in Uganda (U50) and Bolivia (Bppt3). Rigid gender norms also cost boys and men the right to enjoy the full range of emotions and potential roles in life. The studies that boys as much as girls are corralled into narrow activities and behaviours, despite their individual inclinations and potentials. The Uganda report outlines ways in which boys have softer, caring, nurturing instincts 'literally beaten out of them', and are made from an early age to understand they must participate in masculinities of aggression and violence (U72). Another effect of the rigid division of reproductive labour evident in the studies is that men miss out on the opportunity to be close to their children.

## **2.7 Agents of change, entry points for change and promising practice**

This section highlights some emerging positive trends and ways in which particular stakeholders could and in some cases already do act as positive agents for change in relation to gender equality.

## Achievements of Plan's ECCD program

Plan's programs are making a difference: in one study location girls' attendance at school was reported to have increased by 15-20% in the short time since the Plan ECCD program began (E61). Awareness among adult women of a range of issues including harmful traditional practices had reportedly increased, as had men's awareness of the importance of their involvement in child-caring (E61). The Mozambique study highlights the potential for the ECCD program to bring fathers and mothers together as a means to influence household gender roles, provided that gender content is explicitly covered (which is currently not the case; M79).

### Mothers and fathers

Women and girls are highly motivated for change concerning division of labour (E39). As role-models, fathers who already value gender equality are important change agents in this regard (E39).

Through the reflective exercises in Uganda particularly, the disjuncture between parents' stated aspirations for their girls and boys (U36) emerge as a potential useful counterpoint to the likely outcomes that parents themselves feared for their daughters, and which may be realised if gendered socialisation continues on its present course. A related key issue is that emerged that women have limited exposure to seeing alternatives for their daughters (e.g. U36). These insights could be entry points to helping fathers and mothers better understand the likely trajectories of their daughters' and sons' lives and identifying alternative options at critical in their children's lives.

### Changing attitudes to gender norms and inequality

Across the studies, some ECCD staff and caregivers were aware that gender roles are changing, e.g. two comments from male caregivers in Uganda demonstrated awareness that girls and boys should learn in such a way that they are free to do anything in future, and that this will reduce conflict (U55). A female caregiver, expressing her appreciation of the opportunities she now has due to having this role, commented that women 'were so dependent on men (in the past) but now are becoming independent and relying on themselves' (U70). Parents in Uganda showed evidence of realising the importance of early education for girls; there seems to have been a small but evident shift among parents towards greater valuing of girls' education, which could be built upon.

### ECCD centres

In response to the constraints the wearing of dresses imposes on girls, one centre visited in Uganda has initiated a shorts policy for girls; however, not all parents or caregivers seemed to be aware of it (P51).

In Uganda, some caregivers reported intentionally encouraging gender compensatory activities, though sometimes in limited ways such as girls being encouraged to play football (U62) or to play with puzzles, which were assumed to be of more interest to boys than girls (U64). Where boundary crossing behaviour is evident in either boys or girls, caregivers are more likely to respond negatively and reaffirm traditional boundaries (U65), particularly with boys, e.g. actively discouraging boys from playing with dolls or cooking equipment (U67). Overall, few gender compensatory strategies were identified (U61), but they can be built upon. In countries such as Ethiopia where caregiver awareness of gender issues appears to be stronger, there will be more to build upon.

Caregivers are potential agents for positive change. They were generally found to be highly committed, sincerely wanting the best outcomes for the children in their care, and are open to learning (e.g. U43). Caregivers in Ethiopia saw a need for and requested more educational materials that convey positive messages about gender equality (E59). They were aware that girls face gender disadvantage and believed girls need a special focus in order to help them overcome this; few felt that boys should also receive education to change male behaviour (E40), but their interest in providing this at least for girls is a potential entry point. The Pakistan report pointed out that caregivers play an important role in breaking down the division between public and private space (P25). Attention could be given to the gender-differentiated ways that caregivers present and the duties they take on in



some cases (e.g. U78) to provide greater equality to the women caregivers and to role-model gender equality to the children.

The Pakistan and Uganda reports identify the necessity for caregivers to be equipped with tools for self-reflection, given the reflexive nature of gender sensitisation (P28). Caregivers in Uganda commented that the reflective process had given them a first ever opportunity of thinking differently about gender socialisation as part of the caregiver role (U73). This was particularly powerful when, through this process, adult males became aware for the first time of the ways in which they absorbed messages of violence as a masculine norm (U73).

### Primary schools

Although the studies focused more on ECCD centres than primary schools, one female headmistress demonstrated commitment to gender equality but was unsure how to advance this cause and sought assistance from Plan to do so (U91).

### Children

Children themselves are agents of change. One male caregiver told of learning about gender equality through an interaction he had with a boy child in his care (U66). Younger children have more fluid understandings of appropriate behaviour and more open ideas of possibilities. This can be supported if caregivers can be supported with a pedagogical approach that builds on girls and boys' own sense that they are equal (U84). Some boys demonstrate openness to taking on home-duties (E39 and elsewhere); working with boys as well as girls at this age is a good entry point to building social change (E39).



As part of the Uganda research, fathers participated in a structured discussion activity by drawing images of 'ideal' women and men as a means of exploring gender norms and their influence on socialisation of boy and girl children.

- Establish mens' and/or fathers' groups and other initiatives for redefining masculinities and concepts of fatherhood (Bolivia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Pakistan, Uganda)
- Develop activities to attract men to participate in the centre e.g. as volunteers (Kenya)
- Increase the proportion of (gender-sensitive) male caregivers (Pakistan, Kenya)

### 3. Summary of research recommendations

Recommendations across the studies were wide-ranging. The brief summary below focuses on key recommendations that could be implemented or supported by Plan.

#### Engaging men and boys as positive change agents

- Increase male participation in parenting sessions (e.g. Kenya, Uganda)

### Working with women and girls

- Specific awareness and empowerment strategies for women and girls (Bolivia); including life-exposure visits for women to broaden knowledge of options for women and girls (Uganda)

#### 'Gender synchronisation'

- Consciously 'synchronise' strategies for working with women and men to maximise change outcomes<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> A 2012 paper from IWDA defines gender synchronisation as 'the intentional intersection of gender- transformative efforts reaching both men and boys and women and girls... (to) engage people in challenging harmful and restrictive constructions of masculinity and femininity that drive gender-related vulnerabilities and inequalities and hinders health and well-being.' Can be summed up simply as 'Working in a *coordinated* way with both women and men to challenge and transform inequitable gender relations'. (Greene and Levack 2010: 5). See

[http://www.iwda.org.au/wpcontent/uploads/2012/08/GM\\_issue1\\_final\\_lowres.pdf](http://www.iwda.org.au/wpcontent/uploads/2012/08/GM_issue1_final_lowres.pdf)

(Uganda)

### **Addressing embedded beliefs and cultural factors**

- Dialogue processes to enable women and men in communities to gain insight into the often invisible gender norms and their implications for life outcomes of males and females in their families and communities (e.g. Bolivia, Uganda)
- Utilise parenting sessions to advance gender equality (Kenya, Pakistan, Uganda)
- Identify and promote positive role-models among parents, caregivers, teachers and the community (Ethiopia)

### **Support for gender equality in caregiving in ECCD centres and schools**

- Development of gender-transformative pedagogy, materials and curricula including elimination of content that reinforces narrow and negative gender stereotypes (Ethiopia, Kenya, Pakistan, Uganda); work with media and publishing houses to develop new materials and messaging (Pakistan)
- Support caregivers, teachers to work in gender-fair and inclusive ways (Ethiopia)
- Creation of gender focal points in centres (Kenya, Uganda)
- Gender training for caregivers, teachers (all studies)

### **Support and strengthen the ECCD caregiver role**

- Professionalise the caregiver role and improve employment conditions (Kenya, Pakistan, Uganda)
- Equalise responsibilities, image, status and position in centre hierarchies between women and men caregivers (Uganda)

### **Centre Management**

- Encourage greater participation of women in centre management, e.g. on Committees (Kenya)

### **Introduce or strengthen ‘gender compensation’ strategies; promote ‘boundary-crossing’ and interaction between boys and girls**

- Provide resourcing and positive role-modelling to equalise boys’ and girls’ performance in subjects perceived to be more suited to girls i.e. language-related subjects or boys i.e. maths and science (Kenya)
- Encourage boys and girls both to ‘boundary-cross’ into play areas usually considered gender-specific, e.g. dolls for boys, football for girls (Uganda).
- Promote use of games and toys free of gender stereotypes (Bolivia, Uganda)
- Encourage interaction between rather than segregation of girls and boys (Bolivia, Ethiopia, Uganda)
- Introduce reflection exercises into children’s play, focusing on respect, power, feelings and self-control (Ethiopia)

### **Address girls’ domestic labour burden and the low value associated with domestic labour**

- Ensure girls (and boys) are not punished for late attendance or absenteeism due to domestic work (Ethiopia)
- Raise awareness of the negative impact of girls’ domestic labour burden (Kenya)
- Eliminate ‘domestic’ duties as a form of punishment (Ethiopia)

### **Challenge normative cultures of male violence; eliminate violence against women, girls and boys**

- Work with men and boys to eliminate aggression and cruelty as a desirable masculine trait (Ethiopia)
- Develop safety and security minimum standards for girls and boys (Pakistan)

### **Strengthen sex-disaggregated monitoring and evaluation (M&E) and data:**

- Disaggregated enrolment and attendance data in centres, educational outcomes and completion rates (Kenya, Pakistan)

- Involve community women and men in participatory M&E (Mozambique) to increase engagement and ownership in outcomes achieved by centres
- Utilise improved data collection and reporting for advocacy and strengthening of policy and policy implementation (Bolivia, Uganda)
- Develop M&E systems and skills e.g. performance assessment, self-assessment and feedback methods for caregivers on gender equality (Pakistan, Uganda)

### **Raise awareness and commitment to gender equality and rights at all levels**

- Recommendations on training and awareness-raising across the studies incorporated stakeholders at all levels and included specific topics including gender-based violence (Bolivia, Ethiopia, Kenya) and harmful traditional practices (Ethiopia); women's and girls' right to leisure time (Ethiopia); as well as gender equality and child and women's rights

### **Policy and Advocacy**

- Policy recommendations included utilising and leveraging existing national and other policies (Kenya), lobbying for greater policy cohesion (Bolivia), advocacy on gender-responsive mechanisms and protocols for violence against women, girls and boys

### **Strategic Partnerships and Alliances and Institutional Strengthening**

- Strengthen capacity, networking and strategic alliances with and between civil society actors, including development of complaint mechanisms for accountability (Bolivia)

## **4. Key issues emerging for attention**

### **Lessons learned from the research studies: guidance for further research and issues requiring further investigation**

It will be important for Plan to take on board the lessons learned from these research processes in order to keep building their understanding of gender in ECCD, both through any further research and also through ongoing M&E and learning.

As noted elsewhere in this report, each of the six studies utilised different approaches and methodologies, which has created a challenge for comparative analysis. Findings across the studies were subject to varying levels of analysis, and different frameworks were used for the analysis. It is hoped that this attempt at cross-analysis may provide participating Plan Country Offices as well as countries that have not yet undertaken such research, with prompts for areas they may wish to pursue in their own settings.

In planning any further studies, careful attention will need to be given to allocation of adequate resources. Choices will need to be made concerning areas of focus. The existing studies highlight important areas they were unable to address, e.g. the Uganda study mentions that lack of resourcing for a literature or policy review was a limitation. While it is likely that compromises will be made in settling on the focus for any study, the lessons learned in the existing studies will provide helpful guidance for setting priorities for further studies.

Any further research should look carefully at the methods and tools used in the existing studies and where possible utilise the most relevant of these tools, noting lessons learned. Annex 2 to this report summarises the methods used and may be a good starting point for selection of methods and tools. Researchers could then refer to the specific reports for further information on lessons learned from the methods and tools. Summaries of the research tools used are annexed to most of the studies. Specific tools used for the existing studies are interesting and potentially useful to others, however some may benefit from adaptation. For example, the body mapping exercise used with children in Mozambique seems interesting but it might be done separately with girls and boys

in order to generate gender-disaggregated results. Note that the toolbox produced as an adjunct to the Uganda report<sup>3</sup> details lessons learned for each specific research tool and would be a useful resource in this regard.

An important consideration is the value but also the complexity of utilising transformative rather than traditional approaches to research. The Uganda and Ethiopia reports highlight some important issues and lessons learned in taking a transformational approach. Key lessons are the importance of high-level rights-based and gender-transformative facilitation skills and of ensuring adequate time for sensitive methods and conversations, particularly taking into account existing power dynamics. The Pakistan study also highlighted the importance of investing sufficient time particularly when conducting research among children. The Uganda report and toolbox highlight the potentially serious risks of using dialogue tools without adequate investment in the development of relevant gender knowledge and facilitation skills.

As the research studies focused primarily on ECCD centres, more research on early primary years would be useful. It can also be said that the studies focused in considerably more detail on education and learning than on wider issues of care and development, such as nutrition and other health issues; further research on these issues may be useful.

While not all countries will be able to conduct full research studies, the reports provide a wealth of ideas that can be adapted for smaller-scale investigation and learning. For example, some of the tools and methods used in the studies provide a basis for adaptation for ongoing M&E. Conducting a gender analysis of the existing policy environment, as some of these studies have done, would be a helpful starting point for advocacy in any Plan country setting, and could be conducted in partnership with others in key ECCD networks to build interest and ownership.

### **Key issues to be addressed, monitored and tracked for gender transformative ECCD programming**

The Agents of Change and Summary of Recommendations provide a wide range of options for Plan's ECCD programming to move towards becoming gender transformative. Some entry points and promising practices can be found in each of the programs studied, and the studies combined provide a wealth of insight and inspiration for the six countries and other Plan countries in understanding and addressing the dynamics of gender equality in ECCD programs. The studies demonstrate the need for applying a rigorous gender lens throughout the program, and particularly for sharpening monitoring and learning to incorporate fundamental gender perspectives.

Every individual involved in a child's life is significant in and responsible for that child's life opportunities and outcomes. Their attitudes and behaviours, conscious or unconscious, impact positively or negatively on that child's sense of him or herself, including their gendered self-identity and expectations. The studies reveal that both conscious and unconsciously, adults, whilst sincerely wishing the very best for children in their care, and often genuinely believing that existing ways of treating girls and boys are fair, are frequently negatively impacting on girls and boys by reinforcing unjust gender roles and relations. This is a pernicious irony. Plan has a responsibility to intervene within its sphere of influence to break that cycle. The ECCD program provides a vital opportunity to do that through intensive work with male and female ECCD caregivers, teachers, parents, girls and boys.

Particular focus should be on engaging men and boys in ways that are 'synchronised' with strategies for empowerment of women and girls. A key area for attention is the low standard of expectation set for men and boys, highlighted by the reports in various manifestations. The studies demonstrate that boys are subject to low expectations of their learning capacity, along with acceptance of anti-social behaviour and low levels of self-discipline and that in adulthood, men are held in high regard for the leadership roles to which they are deemed 'naturally' entitled, despite evidence of bad behaviour, lack of responsibility and poor performance in these roles. Low expectations of boys and men co-exist with the double standard of women and girls routinely suffering from men's lack of responsibility and accountability, while themselves being held to stringent moral, behavioural and workload standards. The onus of change must shift away from an obsession with social mechanisms of monitoring

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<sup>3</sup> Kilsby, D and Trembath A, *Toolbox and Guide for addressing gender inequality in early childhood care and development through Plan Uganda's 'Community Led Action for Children' Program*, January 2013

and controlling women and girls, towards challenging negative masculinities and holding men accountable for their behaviour. Programmers and stakeholders must move to a more nuanced understanding of the nature of vulnerability, protection and resilience in children, particularly for girls. Change strategies should also focus on ensuring both responsibilities and rewards of family life are more equally shared between women and men, girls and boys.

Plan’s own ECCD staff are key agents of change, requiring effort to ensure that individual staff, through their own actions as programmers and role-models, demonstrate consistent, positive, rights-based messages in support of gender equality. In line with Plan’s gender policy and strategy, everyone involved in ECCD programming has a role and is accountable for working to bring about positive change for current and future generations of women and men. Training on gender in ECCD is an obvious starting point; however in addition to practical and technical content (e.g. training on using program-level ‘tools’), training should also be transformative at a personal level. Training must be matched with wider strategies including ongoing mentoring, processes of feedback, and strong, required accountability measures. The issues and findings of these studies provide evidence on a range of issues that can be drawn upon directly to highlight areas of important learning and as a basis for staff to work collectively towards positive change.

At both a programmatic and wider institutional and advocacy level, the studies highlight significant gaps in availability of data. Plan can address this through sex-disaggregated record-keeping and M&E within and across its program. Plan is also well-placed to contribute, through advocacy and networking, to strengthening data collection on gender in early childhood by government and other institutional stakeholders.

The studies position Plan to influence wider ECCD practice through networks and advocacy, by actively and widely sharing and promoting the findings and recommendations of the studies and through ongoing advocacy based on learning from implementation of the studies’ recommendations over the coming years.



Across the six country studies, there was limited evidence of gender compensation and cross-sex interaction, although there were some examples of caregivers who encouraged girls’ participation in things like soccer and climbing. Here, girls play soccer at an ECCD centre in Mozambique.



*The research studies discussed in this report are:*

**Plan Bolivia:** Gerenssa, *Estudio situacional del enfoque de igualdad de género en la primera infancia, desde la perspectiva de derechos de la niña y el niño*, July 2013

**Plan Ethiopia:** Sunnari, V., Hailu B.H. and Ahonen, P. *Final Report, research on gender in early childhood care and development (ECCD)*, April 2013

**Plan Kenya:** Global Consult Ltd, *Gender inclusion in ECCD situational analysis report*, January 2014

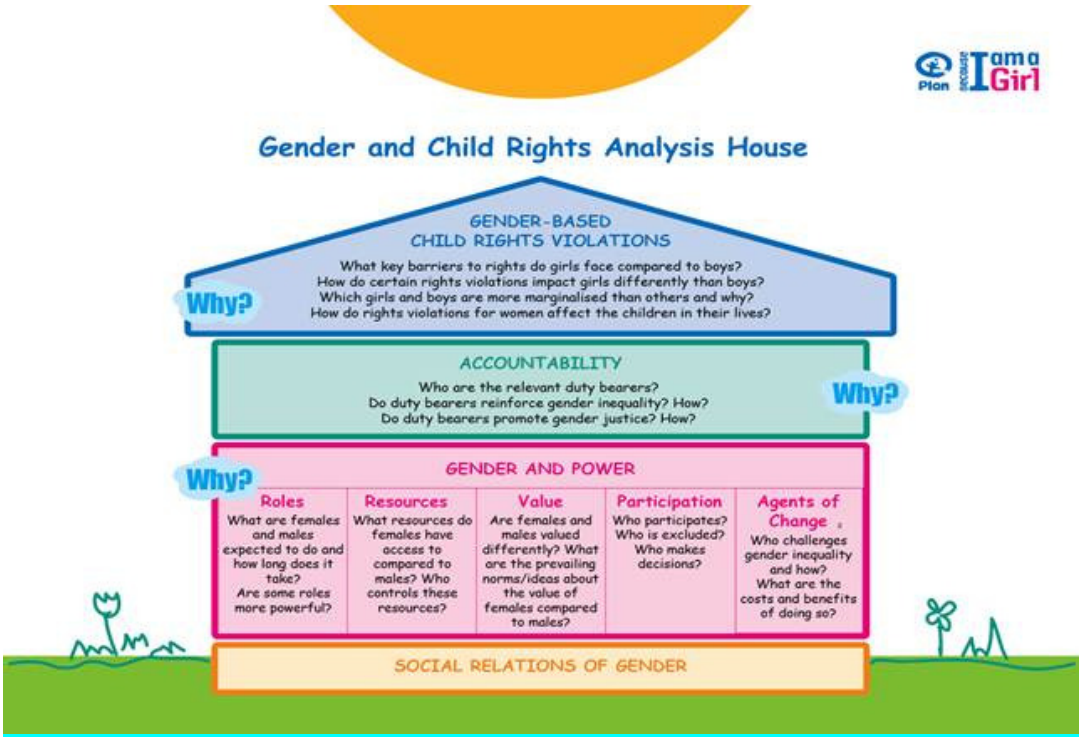
**Plan Mozambique:** Muzaki, S. et al, *Child rearing/ parenting practices and gender analysis in Jangamo and Homoine districts, Inhambane province*, May 2012

**Plan Pakistan:** RIZ Consulting, *Gender in Early Childhood Care and Development*

**Plan Uganda:** Trembath, A., Kilsby, D. et al, *Moving towards a different gender horizon: gender in early childhood care and development in Uganda, a research study for Plan International*, January 2013

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Annex 1: Plan’s Gender and Child Rights Analysis House



## Annex 2: Methodologies and samples used in the studies

Key research questions and focus	Key principles	Main methods used	Sample:					
			Location	Features	Respondents	Sample size		
						M	F	Total
<b>Bolivia</b>								
Objective: To systematically report, using quantitative and predominantly qualitative information, on the situational status on the focus on gender equality in early childhood from the perspective of the rights of children, to strengthen enriched environments, secure, harmonious, egalitarian and participatory, in favour of children below 8 years of age.		Analysis study of quantitative and predominantly qualitative data Ethnographic data: Participant observation + field journal + in depth interviews with the host family Social research methods: Review of secondary sources Workshop with mothers and fathers Workshop with educators: reproduction of reality and free association Workshop with children 4-8 yo Visits to playgrounds and child development centres Semi structured interviews with stakeholders	Calamarca (Huayhuasi), Santiago de Huata (Toke Aillata), Batallas (Yaurichambi), Jesús de Machaca	Andean Areas	365 stakeholders/ participants: Municipal authorities Educators, DNA and health personnel. Social organisations Mothers and fathers Staff			
			Icla (Chaguarani, Taqho Pampa, Jatunmayu), Mizque (Tipa Tipa, Quebradas, Montecillo, Tin Tin), El Puente (Iscayachi, Papa Chacre, San Antonio)	Valles Areas	Numbers of adult participants:	115	119	
			San Ignacio de Velasco (Candelaria de Nosa), Concepción (San Miguelito de la Cruz), Cabezas (Río Seco), Buena Vista (Villa Aquile)	Amazon Areas	Girls and boys	59	70	
<b>Ethiopia</b>								
The report states: 'The objectives of the research were to provide a situational	'Case study' approach: Qualitative		<b>Boloso Sorie:</b>					
			Achura	Rural	Pre-school children	15	15	

Key research questions and focus	Key principles	Main methods used	Sample:								
			Location	Features	Respondents	Sample size					
						M	F	Total			
analysis of gender inclusion in ECCD in Ethiopia and, of how ECCD can be used to promote gender equality. The research also studied existing child rearing practices to provide ideas and recommendations for holistic child development and for ECCD programs in Ethiopia.'	Group discussions 'Play' with children Semi-structured interviews Questionnaire Observation  Used 'Gender and Child Rights Analysis House' as a framework; used Critical Qualitative Content Analysis		Tadisa	Rural	Primary school children	15	15				
					Parents (official group)	6	4				
					Teachers (questionnaire)	8	7				
					Pre-school children	15	15				
			Addis Ababa:	Kilinto	Urban	Primary school children	15	15			
						Parents (official group)	12	10			
						Pre-school children	10	10			
						Parents (official group)	1	7			
						Local parents	8	3			
						Parents (official group)			10		
			<b>Kenya</b>								
			The Executive Summary states: 'The principal interest of this study was to conduct a situational analysis of gender inclusion in ECCD in 4 programme units of Plan Kenya and establish how the ECCD CLAC model can be used to leverage gender equality. The study anticipated that the findings would buttress development of a simple "tool box" for use by Plan Kenya and its partners in the promotion of gender equality and equity in ECCD and generate persuasive ideas and recommendations on strengthening the gender compliance index and the inclusiveness of ECCD programs.'	'Situational analysis': Qualitative, quantitative and visual data Exploratory and descriptive	Review of existing documents and data: policies, curricula Focus group discussions, Observation						
Key informant interviews	Kisumu					Area Chief, District Education Officer, DICECE Officer, District Children Officer, ECCD Teacher (Male and Female), Lower Primary School Teacher, Gender Officer, Community Health Extension Worker, Parenting Group Facilitator, Plan Staff (not sex-disaggregated)			11		
	Bondo						11				
	Kwale						12				
Household questionnaire	Kisumu				Households			155			
	Kajulu Koker						109				
	Kaila						135				
	West Reru										
	Homa Bay						97				
Orego							107				

Key research questions and focus	Key principles	Main methods used	Sample:						
			Location	Features	Respondents	Sample size			
						M	F	Total	
			KuoyoKaura						55
			Rambusi						67
			Nyalkinyi						75
			Wiamen						
			Bondo						299
			Barkowino						101
			Kagwa						
			Kwale						173
			Lutsangani (Gandini)						83
			Kibandaongo						18
			Mabesheni						77
			Bofu						49
			Mtaa						<b>1,600</b>
<b>Mozambique</b>									
<p>What are the existing child rearing practices?</p> <p>What knowledge and attitudes do parents have regarding care giving?</p> <p>How do gender relations affect child-rearing practices?</p> <p>How will proposed results of the ECCD programme affect the relative status of men and women?</p> <p>Will the programme perpetuate gender biases in child rearing practices? Or will it bring about the re-definition of men's and women's social identities that are characterized by child-friendliness? Will it bring about unity between men and women as they strive to care for and promote the rights of the children?</p> <p>What are the different social roles related to</p>	<p>Descriptive and quantitative</p> <p>Mainly purposive sampling</p> <p>Quantitative data analysed using Special Package for Social Scientists (SPSS);</p> <p>Used a typology of parenting styles</p> <p>See diagram of analytical framework used</p>	<p>Individual in-depth interviews</p> <p>Document analysis</p> <p>Observation</p> <p>Story telling</p> <p>Pictorial expressions/drawing</p> <p>Photography</p> <p>Participatory tool</p> <p>Open discussions</p> <p>Daily time profiles</p> <p>Time trend analysis</p> <p>Transect walks</p> <p>Resource access and control profile</p>	<b>Jangamo district:</b>						
			Ravene (1 centre)	Coastal	ECD Care takers	-	2	2	
					ECD Committee members	4	5	9	
					Parents/ Guardians	-	3	3	
					Children	6	6	6	
					Community Leaders	3	-	3	
			Ligogo (2 centres)	Coastal	Community Leaders	2	6	8	
					ECCD Caretakers	2	10	12	
					Parents/ Guardians	5	6	11	
					Children	-	-	-	
					Health Unit Personnel	-	1	1	
			Fambacuatse	Non- centre area	Community Leaders	4	1	5	
					Parents/ Guardians	5	20	25	
					Siblings	-	1	1	
			Mabelane	Inland	Community Leaders	2	2	4	
ECCD Committee members	4	3			8				
Siblings	-	2			2				
Parents/ Guardians	5	10			15				



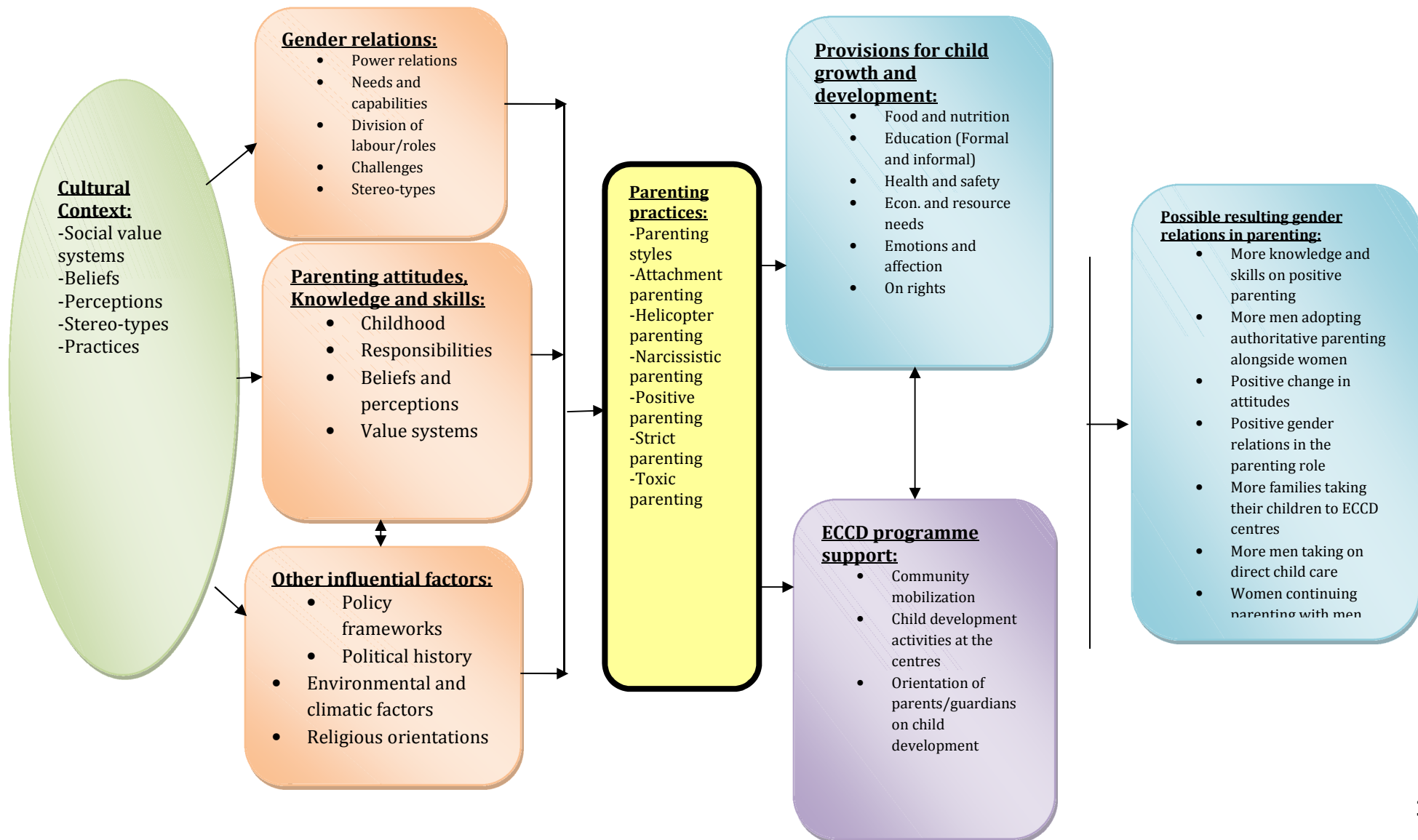
Key research questions and focus	Key principles	Main methods used	Sample:					
			Location	Features	Respondents	Sample size		
						M	F	Total
<p>child rearing?            What other non-gender factors exist that influence the child rearing practices?            What constitutes the socio-cultural context and institutional framework which determine gender relations in child rearing in Mozambique?            How do social discourses articulate children's rights in this context?            What effects have these practices had on children's emerging gender social identities plus children's rights?</p>			Lindela	Small urban centre	Children	6	6	12
					Community Leaders	2		4
					Child-parents	-		2
			Mafuiane	Inland area Non –centre area	Parents	6		16
					Community Leaders	6		10
			Mahena	Non- centre area	Parents/ Guardians	6		18
					Community Leaders,	4	2	6
			Guiguema	OVC intervention area	Parents	13	19	32
					Parents/Guardians	2	3	5
					OVCs	2	3	5
					Child Protection Committee	4	-	4
					Parents/Guardians	2	4	6
					OVCs	2	1	3
			Magaica	OVC intervention area	Child Protection Committee	?	?	?
					Parents/ Guardians	2	4	6
					OVCs	2	1	3
			Homoine district:					
Uputu	Inland area (+ Non-intervention area)	Child Protection Committee						
		Community Leaders	3	1	4			
(Other stakeholders)		Parents/ Guardians	7	10	17			
		Government Officials	1		2			
		Inhapupwe staff)	-		2			
<b>Pakistan</b>								
Research objectives:	Used Gender and Child Rights analysis 'House' as	Desk review (document screening, web research)						

Key research questions and focus	Key principles	Main methods used	Sample:					
			Location	Features	Respondents	Sample size		
						M	F	Total
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provide a situational analysis of gender inclusion in ECCD in Pakistan and ascertain how ECCD can be used to promote gender equality.</li> <li>Develop a simple “tool box” for the use of Plan Pakistan and its partners for the promotion of Gender Equity in ECCD.</li> <li>Provide ideas for working issues of inclusion and intersectional discrimination in ECCD centres</li> <li>Recommendation and a Plan of Action.</li> </ul>	analytical framework (see Annex 1); and 4 CRC general principles of: a) the best interests of the child (Article 3); b) survival and development (Article 6) – survive and fulfil their human potential; c) non-discrimination (Article 2)	Observation Interviews: government functionaries Interviews ECE teachers centres Discussion: girls and boys attending ECE FGDs: parents Interview questionnaire: parents not sending children to ECE centre	Punjab: District Lahore (10 centres)		Caregivers	9	1	
					Children	233	251	
					Parents with children in centres	55	6	
					Parents (children not in centres)	6	2	
			Punjab: District Chakwal (10 centres)		Caregivers	10	-	
					Children	73	75	
					Parents with children in centres	49	5	
					Parents (children not in centres)	7	1	
			Sindh: District Karachi (11 centres)		Caregivers	11	-	
					Children	126	144	
					Parents with children in centres	76	1	
					Parents (children not in centres)	10	1	
			Sindh: District Thatta (10 centres)		Caregivers	10	-	
					Children	76	102	
					Parents with children in centres	49	17	
					Parents (children not in centres)	6	2	
<b>Uganda</b>								
<b>Parenting and caregiving</b>	Qualitative		<b>Luwero</b> , central	Centrally-				

Key research questions and focus	Key principles	Main methods used	Sample:					
			Location	Features	Respondents	Sample size		
						M	F	Total
<p>What are the gendered perceptions, norms and practices of parents and caregivers in terms of caring and socialisation of and immediate and long-term aspirations for girl and boy children aged 0-8 years?</p> <p>What are the gendered perceptions, norms and practices of parents and caregivers in relation to resource allocation and the gendered implications of these for girl and boy children?</p> <p><b>Community-based early learning</b></p> <p>What are the gendered perceptions, norms and practices of teachers in terms of developmental and learning needs of boys and girls?</p> <p>What are the gendered practices in terms of the nature and allocation of available resources, materials and equipment in community early learning services and the implications of this for gendered socialisation of girls and boys?</p> <p>What are the gendered experiences of girls and boys of learning opportunities and the implications of this for their immediate and long-term aspirations?</p> <p>What are the current practices and scope for gender-fair management?</p> <p><b>Transitions to primary</b></p> <p>To what extent and in what ways do existing community-based early childhood learning programs, parental approaches and familial experiences prepare girls and boys to transition to, remain and succeed in</p>	<p>Gender-responsive Change-oriented Transformative learning-oriented Appreciative enquiry/ strengths-based Purposive selection</p> <p>Data manually coded and categorised</p>	<p>Uganda: Kirambula (primary site), and Makulubita (secondary site)</p>	<p>located, Buganda-speaking Program ongoing for some time (since 2004)</p>					
			<p>Lira, northern Uganda: Oloro</p>	<p>Educationally-disadvantaged Recent post-conflict</p>				
		<p>Observation of ELC Teaching of Girls and Boys</p>		<p>Caregivers</p>				
		<p>Play-based exploration of being boys and girls</p>		<p>Children</p>				
		<p>Play Session 1: Talking about boys and girls (perceptions and experiences of gender differences) – hand-puppets</p>		<p>ELC children aged 5 Primary school children aged 6-7</p>				
		<p>Play Session 2: ELC child perceptions of primary school – hand-puppets</p>		<p>ELC children aged 5</p>				
		<p>Play Session 3: A happy day at ELC/primary school – drawing pictures and telling stories</p>		<p>Primary school children aged 6-7</p>				
		<p>Reflective Practice Exercise on Early Childhood Experiences of Girls and Boys</p>		<p>Plan staff ELC teachers</p>				
		<p>Caregiver / teacher interviews on educating girls and boys</p>		<p>ELC and primary teachers</p>				
		<p>Group Reflection on Experiences of Early Childhood and Learning</p>		<p>Plan staff and ELC teachers</p>				

Key research questions and focus	Key principles	Main methods used	Sample:					
			Location	Features	Respondents	Sample size		
						M	F	Total
<p>primary school? To what extent and in what ways are parents prepared for supporting and advocating for girls' needs, in the transition to and across the years of primary schooling? Are local primary schools and their teachers, male and female, prepared to support the ongoing learning needs and gender-fair opportunities of both girls and boys? <b>Advocacy, Partnerships and Collective Action</b> What practice and potential exist for networking for collective action at local level to strengthen educational outcomes for boys and girls up to the age of eight and prospects beyond that age? What policy advocacy and networking efforts have already been made nationally to strengthen educational opportunities and outcomes for girls up to the age of eight and prospects beyond that age?</p>		Focus Group Discussion with ELC Management Committees			ELC Management Committees			
		Observation of Girl and Boy Children's Activities, Participation and Interaction			Children			
		Structured discussion activities on raising boys and girls session			Parents and caregivers			
		Step 1: Division of labour in caregiving			"			
		Step 2: Resource allocation scenario exercise			"			
		Step 3: Ideal man ideal woman			"			
		Step 4: When your child becomes an adult			"			
		Curriculum, materials, equipment and records review			N/A			
		Stakeholder Focus Group Discussion			Local authorities			
		Internal Learning and Sharing Workshop			Plan staff			
		Stakeholder Reflection and Learning Workshop			Government and NGO stakeholders at national level			

## Conceptual Framework on Gender and Parenting Practices – used in Mozambique study





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