In focus: Gender and early childhood care and development

Culture and gender in early childhood development
By: Sara Harkness and Charles M. Super

“When Mother and Father came home from their trip to Europe, they were so happy to see my older brother Sam and me! They brought a beautiful box of chocolates for us. But then Sam ate all the chocolates, and they found out that I been wrestling with Sam’s friends... and beating them.”  -Sarah P. Harkness, age 92, talking to her grandson, May 2006

Wrestling with her older brother’s friends - and worse yet, beating them - was not the only gender-related problem that Sally (as she’s known to her family and friends) and Sam ran into growing up in a conservative Boston family in the 1920s. Sam wanted to take piano lessons, but was not allowed, as his father thought music was just for girls; Sally, on the other hand, hated piano lessons but had to take them anyway. Sam was a sensitive boy who loved music and chocolates; Sally was a lively girl who longed to be free of the constraints of her time and place. Eventually, Sam became a good businessman and devoted father; Sally became a famous architect as well as the mother of seven children, including the first author of this article.

Hearing these family stories, just one generation removed, is a surprising reminder of how much, and how quickly, gender expectations have changed for middle-class families in the U.S. and other post-modern societies. Yet despite the worldwide trend toward greater equality, gender remains a key determinant of the environments that children inhabit from the moment of their birth. By early childhood, children have already learned a great deal about what it means to be a girl or a boy in their cultural community.

How does this process of learning, of assimilating what is offered, of negotiating or fighting against it, unfold over the course of early development? The developmental niche (Super & Harkness, 1996; 2002; Raghavan, Harkness & Super, 2010), a theoretical framework for understanding children’s development in cultural context, can help sort out the gendered elements of children’s day-to-day experience. The developmental niche is conceptualized in terms of three subsystems:

- The physical and social settings of children’s daily lives;
- Customs and practices of care; and
- The psychology of the caretakers, especially parental ethnotheories.

The niche is further defined by three corollaries. First, the three subsystems of the niche work together as a coordinated system. Second, each subsystem of the niche can provide an entry point for influence from the larger culture, whether as reflected in long-standing traditions, culture change, or deliberate interventions. Third, the child is an active agent in shaping his or her own developmental niche. Finally, we note that the influence of the niche on the child’s development is most profound when the same themes are present both across the three subsystems and across developmental time.
Each of these elements of the developmental niche plays a part in the socialization of gender in early childhood. Girls and boys inhabit different physical settings - at school and at home, helping their mothers versus working with their fathers. Even peer groups may be gender-segregated. Although this differentiation may not happen until after early childhood, toddlers can observe it. Customs of care are gender-marked from birth: in some Western societies, these could manifest in the color of the birth announcement and of the baby's clothes, the ways that parents (especially fathers) play with daughters versus sons, even the kind of health care and nutrition that boys and girls may receive. The psychology of the caretakers - how parents think about sons and daughters - infuses the settings and customs of care that parents choose for their children, within the broad parameters created by the wider culture. Parental ethnotheories (many of which are implicit and taken for granted) include such themes as son preference, long-term goals for children, and even perceptions of the child's personality.

Current changes in the developmental niches of early childhood reflect worldwide and regional trends. One global trend is toward greater primacy of the nuclear family and more father involvement with infants and young children. On the other hand, mothers' increasing involvement in the paid workforce necessitates other changes in settings and customs of care. The trend toward earlier childhood education and nonfamilial care pulls children into different settings of daily life and customs of care, which in turn requires new ways of thinking about them.

These global phenomena may appear in culturally specific and unique ways in different parts of the world. For example, in several societies in Asia, even if the physical setting of the child’s life may be within a nuclear family, the social setting may be one where multiple caregivers (other than parents) interact and influence the process of gender socialization. Similarly, the ways in which parents think about their sons and daughters may indeed be undergoing transformations, but may still show adherence to particular social and cultural norms and may result in “blended” or renegotiated identities for children.

It is clear that the process of gender socialization and the acquisition of gender identity are influenced by the child's developmental niche. A systematic understanding of the three subsystems (the physical and social settings, the customs and practices of care, and the psychology and belief systems of caretakers) may thus serve to provide a better evidence base for the promotion of the goal of gender equality.

References:

Integrating gender responsiveness in early childhood development: An imperative
By: Chemba Raghavan, UNICEF

Experts recognize the period between birth - 8 years as the period of early childhood in development. Early childhood is recognized as the period in the lifespan when young children experience the most rapid period of growth and change. In several communities around the world, early childhood development (ECD) has been shown to be a critical pathway to ensuring inclusion, and as a means for achieving several of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), chiefly reduction of poverty. “Early childhood care and development (ECCD) interventions can promote gender equity by compensating for gender biases in nutrition, health care, or stimulation that may occur in the home” (Arnold, 2004, p.10).

A study in Nepal (Bartlett et al, 2003) indicated that participation in ECCD was highly related to retention rates of young girls in early grades of primary school among the dalits (marginalized community). It is possible that participation in ECD strengthened parents' views of their daughters as active, engaged learners and encouraged them to keep their children in school. ECD can also serve as a platform for promoting dialogue and awareness of gender equality among community members; for example mothers who participate in holistic ECD programs may become powerful advocates for gender equality, or fathers may learn the value of men being more involved in care and development of young children, and in the process, may also become more active and engaged advocates of gender equality in their communities.

In such a context, it is critical to ensure that a powerful entry point such as early childhood development (including programs, frameworks and practices) remains gender responsive. Investing in ECD can assist in addressing the needs of several vulnerable populations. ECD policy and programs should emphasize gender responsiveness right from birth.

Research indicates that in many communities, under-5 mortality rates continue to be high, young girls are not routinely immunized, are more at risk for neglect, malnutrition, vitamin deficiencies, etc. Such discriminatory practices continue from infancy on, with girls receiving less stimulation, less quality of care and attention. Further, gender stereotypical attitudes and beliefs continue to structure children's developmental contexts, and the potential for discrimination continues. In the Asia-Pacific region, it is imperative that ECD policies and frameworks incorporate a gender responsive perspective right from the beginning, particularly in four areas:

- In the holistic development of ALL children, and ensuring that development addresses children of both sexes;
- Increasing focus on vulnerable and disadvantaged populations and ensuring gender responsive and equitable access across contexts: greater access to prenatal care and nutrition, and enhanced efforts towards health and wellness for young children of both sexes;
- Committing to more collaboration with parents and families. Research indicates that maternal education ensures higher retention rates in schools, and greater efforts towards girls’ education; and
- Engaging in active partnerships and multi-sectoral collaboration to ensure gender equality in early childhood and promote advocacy for early childhood programming including providing quality education and care for young children of both sexes.

Bottom line - it is imperative that researchers, policymakers, health, nutrition, protection, education and other sectoral representatives and experts speak in “one voice”.

References:
Now is the time to build the foundation for the wealth of nations!
By: UNESCO Bangkok

Development in early childhood is very robust. Early childhood is a sensitive period marked by rapid transformations in physical, cognitive, language, social and emotional development. Significant and critical brain development occurs before age 7, especially the first three years of life, when important neuronal connections take place (or not take place). What happens in the early years sets trajectories in health, learning and behaviour that can last throughout life.

The first-ever World Conference on Early Childhood Care and Education (WCECCE) was celebrated in Moscow from 27 to 29 September, 2010 and served as a foundational step for building the wealth of nations through ECCE. Co-organized by UNESCO and the Russian Federation, the event brought together 1,000 participants, from 193 member states including government ministers, researchers, professionals, representatives of intergovernmental organizations, NGOs, civil society organizations, bilateral and multilateral donor, United Nations agencies, and experts. Ten years after the Education for All (EFA) Framework for Action was adopted in Dakar, Senegal, the conference aimed to assess progress towards the first EFA goal of expanding and improving comprehensive ECCE, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children. As noted, one important thrust of the WCECCE was to facilitate Member States to achieve an equitable, inclusive and broad-based development by increasing their attention to the benefits of investing in ECCE.

At the opening, UNESCO’s Director-General, Ms. Irina Bokova stressed the importance of early childhood programmes in addressing inequalities, as it provides ‘a starting point for leveling the playing field’. “The number of children missing out primary school - 69 million - could be reduced if they were reached through adequate programmes before age 8. So could the number of children who drop out of school too early.”

Among such inequalities, those based on gender were discussed at the conference. A report on the Asia-Pacific region, presented by Mr. Gwang-Jo Kim, Director of UNESCO Bangkok, underlined that gender does not seem to affect the pre-primary participation rates overall in Asia and the Pacific, although gender disparity arises later in primary and secondary levels. This quantitative indicator nonetheless hides the qualitative aspect of gender equality in ECCE, as curriculum resources in the region are still gender-biased while teachers tend to give more attention to boys than to girls. This is why gender neutral curricula need to be developed and teachers sensitized to gender issues from this first stage of lifelong learning. Moreover, the report also warned of the worrying trend of the “missing girl” phenomenon in the under six population in countries where son preference is prevalent, such as in China, South Korea, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh Nepal and Viet Nam.

The participants adopted the Moscow Framework of Action, which outlines a number of challenges that must be tackled to achieve ECCE goals, including a lack of political commitment, inadequate public funding, low external support and effective delivery of services. Poverty and social barriers, including gender bias and discrimination, were also accounted for as denying access to quality ECCE for millions of children in the world.

To overcome these challenges, the Conference participants called upon the governments to mobilize stronger commitment to ECCE, reinforce effective ECCE programme delivery and harness resources for ECCE. Moreover, the Asia-Pacific regional commissions highlighted the importance of evidence-based advocacy and policy development, empowerment and capacity development of parents and families, as well as the co-ordination and public-private partnership for integrated, holistic and inclusive ECCE.
Early childhood care and development centres prepare children for schooling
By: Isni Ahmad and Yatie Saloh, Plan International

The PAUD (integrated service center for children in the period of early childhood) Harapan Bunda which is located in Tandes district, Surabaya, was crowded by the songs and chatting of children under five. They were busy learning under the care of several female teachers they call “mother PAUDs”. The children were cheerful and excited to be involved in the preparation towards the next level of their education.

In 2004, when Plan Indonesia started working in this area, children under five frequently spent their time playing at home or at child care centres whilst their mothers worked, with no educational outreach at all.

In lower class families, parents of these children are mostly factory labourers or informal sector workers such as mobile vendors, bakso (meat balls) or vegetable sellers, and street vendors. Sending their young children to get an education at play group remained a discouraging dream due to the expensive costs and their poor income which only just covers the cost of daily life.

Frequently, their children faced problems when it was time to go to kindergarten or directly to elementary school, as they had had no early childhood education at all. It was this concern that spurred Plan Indonesia to develop a PAUD in the area.

Starting from an initial concept known as Adituka, or early childhood care and development, Plan Indonesia saw an opportunity to partner with Posyandu to establish a coordinating institution for children under five who underwent routine check-ups. Those children needed an education in the initial phase of their growth. Posyandu (integrated health post) is a community based health service which covers maternal and child health, family planning, nutrition-growth monitoring, immunization and diarrhoea control. It is run by community volunteers and supported by village midwives. Posyandu was chosen since most of the mothers in that area took their children to this place to check their health at least once a month. One posyandu serves approximately 80-100 children under five.

After introducing Adituka, together with Posyandu, Plan Indonesia developed an educational institution for children under five. They were assisted by some volunteers, most of them mothers in the area. Over time, Adituka transformed into the government early education system, called PAUD (pendidikan anak usia dini which, in English, means early childhood education).

Through continuous awareness-raising campaigns, as well as seeing the transformation in their children’s progress after receiving the 'educational touch', mothers in the area gradually trusted the initial education for their children at PAUD. One of them was Harapan Bunda. The mothers also got a ‘double benefit’. While they could work in peace, their children got a good education in a safe environment.

PAUD grew over time, but then the implementers realised that they couldn’t work effectively without government support. A number of issues became apparent. Firstly, Plan Indonesia could not be there forever. Secondly, they needed operational funds.

Although one thousand rupiah per child was donated voluntarily, the amount was far from adequate to manage a quality institution for early-aged children’s education. PAUD couldn’t keep relying on volunteers as its staff.

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In 2006, an advocacy programme rallied to get the government’s support, with the aim that PAUD would obtain a legal umbrella in the form of regional regulation or Perda, so it was entitled to receive funding support and supervision from the government.

However, passing a Perda (regional government’s regulation) was not an easy one. It was a constant struggle and required limitless persistence. Fortunately, the mayor who cared for the education of children in Surabaya was pleased to issue a mayor’s regulation to support the PAUD.

Through this regulation, PAUD’s position as an education institution for early-aged children became more formal. PAUD was then entitled to receive a block grant from the municipality which was used for the upgrading of facilities and infrastructure, the provision of educational equipment for early-aged children which was badly needed by PAUD, and a small portion of it was used to support PAUD’s operational costs.

Currently there are 40 PAUDs in Tandes, a rapid growth from just 3 PAUDs which were initially facilitated by Plan Indonesia as a pilot of early education centres.

Plan Indonesia will complete its operation in Tandes in several months. Support for PAUD development became the most valuable memory for Tandes children towards the presence of Plan there.

PAUD volunteers who had worked unconditionally to give an opportunity of quality education for all children, became the 'spearhead' for the opportunity for early-age education, for children whose parents are poor.

*Mrs. Wulan*, the manager of PAUD Harapan Bunda, told of the journey and shared her dreams for PAUD’s future.

"We do hope that one day there will be a regional regulation which protects PAUD so, regardless of who will lead Surabaya in the future, PAUD will remain legally protected and be entitled to funding support from the state which, ultimately, is responsible for ensuring children receive their right to a quality education," she said.

"I love this PAUD very much," she continued. "It is the only way I can achieve a better future of Indonesian children, and my deep gratitude goes to Plan Indonesia which had such foresight and gave me the opportunity to perform this duty."

Mrs. Wulan still had a target to accomplish. There were about 150 children in Tandes district which were still unreached by the PAUD under her nurturing. They were children from female workers at factories around Tandes, who had trusted their children by paying a ‘guarding fee’ to local mothers, so it would not be easy to transfer them to PAUD.

Mrs. Wulan had a dream, to be able to make another institution having the function of baby caring center plus, which would become a separate unit under the same management of PAUD Harapan Bunda, and to cooperate productively for the best interest of the children with those mothers getting financial benefit from taking care of the children so far.

These not-touched yet children were taken care of plainly, no education, no special attention for their food. They also had the right to grow and develop well, including to get a touch of education. With this, Mrs. Wulan ended our conversation with a 'million of hopes' for the continuity and a better future for early-aged education for the children here in Tandes.

For more information please contact *Isni Ahmad*, Communications, Plan Indonesia.
Preschool participation particularly benefits girls in rural China
By: Nirmala Rao and Jin Sun, The University of Hong Kong

In the developing world, children from poor, rural and/or ethnic minority families are less likely to participate in education than children from wealthier or urban families, and in many countries girls face more barriers to school enrollment than boys\(^1\). In China, girls from rural families are more likely to drop out from primary school than their male classmates who show comparable levels of academic achievement\(^2\).

Preschool attendance benefits the development of children from poor families and boys and girls are equally likely to attend early childhood programs. However, preschool experience seems particularly important for girls – those who attend are more likely to enroll in primary school at the right age and to complete more years of primary school than children without preschool experience\(^3\). Against this background, the University of Hong Kong reports on a study which compared the school readiness of boys and girls with and without preschool experience.

The study was conducted in two villages in Guizhou Province, China and assessed the school readiness and academic performance of 203 children (110 girls) who had different preschool experiences (kindergarten, separate pre-primary class, mixed pre-primary class) or none. Although children who attended kindergartens showed better school preparedness than other children, there were no differences between boys and girls who had the same type of preschool experiences.

Preschool participation rates in rural China are still relatively low and the new educational reform measures prioritize rural preschool education. This is an important step as girls particularly benefit from preschool experience – this can perhaps compensate for the possible neglect and lack of learning support at home and provide “strong foundations” for girls’ learning.

Interestingly, among children without preschool experience, boys had much higher school readiness scores than girls. It is hypothesized that boys who do not attend preschools are given much more attention at home and have more access to resources than girls. These findings are consistent with demographic data and suggest that a strong son preference is still evident in rural China. The privileges enjoyed by the male child may contribute to his better school readiness. However, the study also found that girls with any form of preschool education did as well as boys on school readiness and academic tests. Education is the foundation of strong communities – given these findings; it is thus an imperative for both girls and boys to start building this foundation at an early age.

References:

Issue of gender in accessibility to early childhood care and education in Malaysia - The past and the present
By: Ng Soo Boon, Malaysia

Kim, a woman in her fifties, bitterly recalls her childhood experience: “My mother favored boys over girls. My brothers could play all the time, while I had to do all the housework. The reason I was sent to school was to take care of my younger brother already enrolled.” Lim, another woman aged 56 told the story of how she and her sisters had to leave school because the family could not afford to send all the children to school anymore. The sisters had to sacrifice their learning opportunities for their brothers, though the latter were not interested in studying.

Today, Malaysian girls hardly need to give way to their brothers for schooling. Education is provided free to all children till upper secondary
school, and primary school education is compulsory for all children. Parents can be brought to court for failing to enroll their children, regardless of gender, to primary school. The government has also built schools in many parts of the country, including the interior and remote areas. Teachers are deployed to these areas to teach where special allowances are provided, while financial aids and free meals are provided to poor students.

The gross enrolment rate (GER) for primary school reached 96.1 per cent in 2005 and the GER for preschool (4-6 years old) reached 67 per cent in 2005 (Curriculum Development Division, 2007a; Curriculum Development Division, 2007b; Ministry of Education, 2008; Ng Soo Boon, 2010). A study conducted by the Curriculum Development Center, Ministry of Education reported that about 94 per cent of Year One entrants in public schools have attended some kind of preschool. The disparity between this figure and the GER for preschool education is due to unregistered private preschools (Ministry of Education, 2008). The Gender Parity Index (GPI) for 4-6 year-olds in Malaysian preschool centers was 1.03 in 2005 (Ministry of Education, 2008) and 1.052 in 2009. Most of today’s Malaysian girls have the privilege of attending kindergartens, primary and secondary schools.

At first glance, based on the GPI, there seem to be no apparent obstacles for girls to access early childhood care and education in Malaysia. In Malaysia, there are more girls than boys enrolled in ECCE. This trend continues on through primary schools, secondary schools and universities. The GPI for primary school is 1.01 and was at 1.07 for secondary school in 2005 (Ministry of Education, 2008). Compared to Kim and Lim’s time, Malaysia is currently facing the challenge of attracting more boys for formal schooling till tertiary education level.

If Kim, a Chinese descendent in Malaysia, is resentful of her mother who had long passed away, for being biased towards boys when she was young, Aminah, a Malay girl, did not endure this sorrow. The Chinese place great importance on family lineage. Traditionally a woman marries into a man’s family and will take his surname. Generally the man will inherit family properties and not the woman. In the Malay community, it is not uncommon for a man to follow his wife and stay with the wife’s family. Malay ladies do not have to use their husband’s surname once married. Islamic law ensures that the daughter has similar rights on family properties. Indicators such as the national GPI do not capture these cultural differences between different ethnic groups of Malaysia.

Classroom observations reveal that culture influences how boys and girls interact and respond in preschool classrooms. Boys are generally more active in class, especially in rural areas. Girls are usually more quiet, demure and less assertive. This perhaps is a cultural habit where women are taught at a young age to be submissive to men, especially to husbands and fathers.

However, the situation is changing. Girls are becoming equally active compared to boys. Such changes are brought about by efforts through the government and NGOs in the last three decades to reduce gender stereotyping. The Ministry of Education has consciously ensured that content in textbooks do not stereotype women as doing housework and taking care of children only. The government has also taken steps to encourage girls to take up science and technical courses in upper secondary and tertiary level. Stories and news of successful women through the media have also provided role models for girls to emulate.

Malaysia has progressed far in providing opportunity for quality early childhood care and education, specifically ensuring preschool and primary school education to all children. Meanwhile, gender parity or gender equality...
have taken a different course since the last decade/ That is, to ensure that both boys and girls will equally benefit from the program that is offered and that the content of these programs are relevant to both sexes in different cultural settings.

References:

International Literacy Day – The power of women’s literacy
By: UNESCO Bangkok

On 8 September, the world celebrated International Literacy Day which was placed under the theme of “the Power of Women’s Literacy”. This theme was chosen to draw attention to the fact that worldwide about 64 per cent of adults’ (15 year-olds +) who do not have basic reading and writing skills are women. The figures are similar for the region of East Asia and the Pacific, where although progress has been made towards narrowing the gender gap in literacy rates, far more needs to be done.

To mark the occasion, EAP UNGEI members participated in the official ceremony and exhibition that were organized by the Office of the Non-formal and Informal Education of Thailand, at the Rangsit Science Centre for Education, north of Bangkok. The ceremony was chaired by Mr. Chinnaworn Boonyakiat, Minister of Education, who read a message from the Prime Minister, Mr. Abhisit Vejjajiva. Director of UNESCO Bangkok office, Mr. Gwang-Jo Kim, read a message from Ms. Irina Bokova, first woman elected to the post of Director-General of UNESCO, who called upon governments, international organizations, civil society and the private sector to scale up their support to literacy. Ms. Bokova’s message emphasized the critical role that literacy plays in empowering women and the impact that women’s literacy has on favouring girls’ access to education.

For more information please visit:

Figures as of 2008, according to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, in its September 2010 Factsheet No. 3
International Conference on Language, Education and the Millennium Development Goals
9-11 November 2010 / Bangkok, Thailand

The Conference is co-organised by a consortium of organizations from the Asia Multilingual Education Working Group, particularly: UNESCO, Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia” (RILCA), SIL International, UNICEF, Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO), CARE, Save the Children, Royal Thai Institute, ASEAN Regional Center of Excellence on Millennium Development Goals and Asia South Pacific Association For Basic and Adult Education. This conference provides a forum to enhance understanding, inspire meaningful action and increase access to education and development opportunities for ethnonlinguistic communities.

The Conference features four thematic tracks which incorporate language and education as crosscutting themes:

- Language and universal primary education
- Language and gender equality
- Language, health, nutrition and protection
- Language and sustainable development

For more information please visit: http://www.seameo.org/LanguageMDGConference2010/

Key resources

Working Together for Early Childhood (Video)
This advocacy video was produced by the Asia-Pacific Regional Network for Early Childhood (ARNEC) to promote the cause for early childhood in the Asia-Pacific region through a collective voice and to galvanize partnership in the region to work together to raise the profile of early childhood.

It emphasizes five key messages which advocate for early start, importance of the home environment, quality early childhood care and development services, equity and inclusion, and multi-sectoral coordination for the holistic development of all young children.

Strong Foundations for Gender Equality in Early Childhood Care and Education: Advocacy Brief
This brief focuses on the gender issues in the services provided for children who are three years of age or older in the Asia-Pacific region. Its scope is informed by UNESCO's commitment to holistic pre-primary services for this age group. The goal is to provide early childhood education that helps girls and boys succeed in primary school and in learning throughout their lives.

UNGEI Evidence-based Advocacy for Gender in Education: A Learning Guide
The East Asia and Pacific Regional UNGEI proudly presents its Evidence-Based Advocacy for Gender in Education Learning Guide. It provides a detailed step-by-step roadmap for understanding the theoretical and practical underpinnings of evidence-based advocacy and is intended to serve as a practical, “hands-on” tool for policymakers and professionals engaged in advocacy.

Editorial board

The EAP UNGEI Secretariat would like to thank everyone who has made this Newsletter possible. All content of the EAP UNGEI newsletters are based solely on the contributions from UNGEI members and partners. Submissions have been reviewed by the EAP UNGEI editorial board: Adrien Boucher, David Braun, Maki Hayashikawa, Mika Mansukhani, Goy Phumtim, Malisa Santigul, Cyrene Siriwardhana and Chemba Raghavan.