

What matters most for early childhood development? Evidence from a backward district of India

Abstract

A cross-sectional case study was conducted to assess the early childhood developmental (ECD) status holistically and to investigate the factors influencing the same in Malda, India. Information on 731(n) pre-school children aged 36 to 59 months was collected in 2018 using a structured questionnaire following a multi-stage, stratified simple random sampling procedure. It has been found that only about 25 per cent of children are developmentally on track of literacy-numeracy domain of ECD. Although, in the other domains, the situation is better. Results of the path analysis revealed that there are certain proximal factors, *i.e.* home environment, mother's time for care, having home tuition and attending private pre-school which are influenced by certain distal factors and subsequently affecting ECD.

Keywords: Child development, Home environment, Private pre-school, Malda, India

Introduction

Early childhood development (ECD) prepares the foundation for school readiness, educational attainment, adult health and well-being, and results in the formulation of social capital, ultimately leading to a prosperous and sustainable society (Lo et al., 2016; Lu et al., 2016; J. P. Shonkoff & Richmond, 2009). A resilient foundation also lays the base for responsible citizenship, healthy communities, economic prosperity and effective parenting for the next generation. On the other hand, a fragile foundation can utterly weaken the social and economic strength of a country (Knudsen et al., 2006). The early period of a child's life is considered to be the most important developmental stage throughout the lifespan (Irwin et al., 2007). Healthy early child development includes the physical, social/emotional, and language/cognitive domains of development, each equally important; that strongly influences well-being, prevents obesity/stunting, improves mental health, controls heart disease, increases competence in literacy and numeracy, prevents criminality, and enhances economic participation throughout life; all issues that have profound implications for economic burden or otherwise of countries (Irwin et al., 2007). Around 250 million children of age below five years in low-and middle- income countries (LMICs) are at risk of not attaining their developmental potential (Black et al., 2017). Another estimation has shown that one in three children in LMICs fails to meet basic milestones in their cognitive or socio-emotional development (McCoy et al., 2016). According to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Global Strategy for Women's Children's and Adolescents' Health 2016–2030, every child should survive and thrive to reach their full developmental potential in their early years of life (Every Woman Every Child, 2015; United Nation, 2015). A child's delayed development is mainly attributed by nutritional deficiencies, inadequate stimulation, poor environmental conditions and social risks which are usually associated with living in poverty in LMICs (Danaei et al., 2016; Engle et al., 2011; S. Grantham-McGregor et al., 2007; S. M. Grantham-

McGregor et al., 2014; Walker et al., 2011). Developmental delay adversely affects educational achievement and productivity, that ultimately leads to the intergenerational transmission of poverty and impaired development (Engle et al., 2007). However, research on ECD in India is less known despite the fact that of 10.7 per cent of the population (110.5 million) out of a total population size of 1.21 billion are children of age 0-4 years as per the Census 2011, India (Registrar General of India, 2011a). One of the major reasons is that there is no national level or secondary data source on a holistic approach of childhood development in India. Only a few surveys/studies are at the regional level in India which were carried out by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) or foreign agencies or by independent researchers, but these are not sufficient. In India, there are two major national representative surveys, National Family and Health Survey (NFHS) and District Level Health Survey (DHLS) respectively which provide information on child health and nutrition, but they do not collect the information on childhood development. Thus, it is necessary to study the status of ECD in India. Therefore, an attempt has been made here to conduct a cross-sectional case study at a micro level to assess the early childhood developmental status in a holistic manner, and to investigate the factors influencing the same in Malda, is one of the bigger districts of India. According to the 2011 Census of India (Registrar General of India, 2011b), the district had a total population of 3,988,845 that is almost equal to the national population of Georgia or the Oregon State of USA; also it has a higher number of population than 100 countries among 233 countries which are listed in the United Nation, 2017 (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2017). Further, Malda ranked 58th in terms of the size of the population out of a total of 640 districts in India.

Factors related to child development

Children are enveloped by a hierarchical, complex, diverse social and physical environment. The proximal environment is the lowest level of the hierarchy, *i.e.* family

settings, nested within a higher order of hierarchy or more distal environment, which all shape how children develop (Bornstein & Leventhal, 2015; Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The pioneer psychologist, Bronfenbrenner had argued in his model ‘Ecological Models of Human Development’ that development is related to the whole ecological system where growth takes place. The ecological system comprises five socially organised subsystems, ranging from the microsystem which includes the relationship between a developing person and the immediate environment, e.g. parents, siblings, family and school, to the macrosystem which includes forms of culture, beliefs, customs, social norms, life-styles, hazards of a particular society at a broader scale (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Development is a combined function of process, person, context, and time defined by the bioecological theory (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2007). A very recent biodevelopmental framework also emphasises on the importance of children’s early “nurturing, contingent, stable, and predictable” environment (Jack P Shonkoff, 2010, p. 359) which promote healthy physical and cognitive development of children, especially during early years of age. The above theories suggest that there are various factors which affect ECD directly or indirectly. A large number of previous studies on the context of child development have examined the effects of various factors based on the above theories (Duckworth & Sabates, 2005; Orth, 2018; Santos et al., 2008; Sun et al., 2016). A review study based on developing countries has identified the four main key risk factors of child development. These are inadequate cognitive stimulation, stunting, iodine inadequacy and iron deficit anaemia (Walker et al., 2007). Based on theories and empirical studies, it is found that among various important factors, the home environment created by the parents or the type of parenting practice is the key factor of ECD. The ways in which children receive parental care or the home environment is also determined by multiple factors (Baharuddin, Rozumah and Luster, 1998; Belsky, 1984; Belsky et al., 1984; Bradley et al., 2001; Luster & Okagaki, 2005); for example, characteristics of an individual child (age, sex, etc.); characteristics of parents (education,

occupation, etc.); characteristics of households (income, caste, religion etc.); and the broader social environment where the families or households are nested (political willingness, policy programmes, level of economic development, etc.). With respect to the above-mentioned theories, this study reviewed the existing literature on the factors influencing child development thematically based on home environment, child's characteristics, parental characteristics and household's characteristics.

Home environment

Originally the idea of home environment came from the Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment (HOME). HOME is an instrument first developed by Bettye Caldwell and her colleagues, and they used this in a longitudinal study in 1960 to assess the quality of home environment and examined the association between home environment and childhood development (Elardo et al., 1975). The HOME inventory has been widely applied in different social and cultural backgrounds to assess the quality of home environment and its impact on cognitive and emotional development during the first five years of life. Many theorists and researchers had recognised that home environment has an independent and significant effect on childhood development (Biedinger, 2011; Elardo et al., 1975; Harden & Whittaker, 2011; Kaushal et al., 2013; Nguyen et al., 2018; Orth, 2018; Totsika & Sylva, 2004; Yousafzai et al., 2016). The quality of parental care or home environment has been found to be higher for children whose mothers are higher educated and for children belonging to the high-income households (Bradley et al., 2001; Hannan & Luster, 1991; McLoyd, 1990; Menaghan & Parcel, 1991). Past studies have shown that mothers' interactions are usually different with their daughters and sons (Bradley et al., 1988; Bronfenbrenner et al., 1984). However, this instrument has been used widely in western countries. Although, UNICEF has developed its own instrument for developing countries called 'quality of care' to assess the ideal environment which comprises a non-toxic and well-organised physical setting, opportunities for children to

play, explore and discover, and the availability of books and toys, and developmentally appropriate objects in child's home environment (UNICEF, 2014). This instrument has been used in the several studies as home environment or parenting practice or parental stimulation in developing countries, and they have shown that it has a significant effect on ECD (Frongillo et al., 2017; Jeong et al., 2016; Jeong, McCoy, et al., 2017; Sk et al., 2019; Sun et al., 2016).

Individual child's characteristics

Each child has his/her own specific characteristics and, the level and type of parenting given by the parents or caregivers vary by these characteristics. For example, the age of the child is one of the main characteristics which determine the caregivers' parenting types. The previous study has demonstrated that dyadic activities between children and mothers were more responsive for older children than that of the younger one (Wertsch et al., 1980). Another study has shown that maternal talk is higher for older children than the younger ones (Rowe et al., 2005). Child's sex is another important factor for receiving parenting types; in other words, the level of parenting is also influenced by the parents' perception of gender. A study has shown that the father's parenting practice is more inclined towards the male child (Ivrendi & Isikoglu, 2010). On the other hand, studies have found that a mother's parenting activity is more inclined towards the female child (Baharuddin, Rozumah and Luster, 1998; Leaper et al., 1998). Further, parenting practice is also controlled by birth order. In general, and even past researches have revealed that the children of the first order of birth usually receives more parental attention as well as stimulating activates which lead to relatively higher intellectual development among them than the children born after first birth (Eisenman, 1992; Iacovou, 2008; Sputa & Paulson, 1995). Previous studies have also revealed that a child's age and sex influence ECD (Baharuddin, Rozumah and Luster, 1998; Sk et al., 2019). Child's gestational age is also associated with childhood development. Children born before completion of 37 weeks is called preterm birth (WHO, 2018), and this is adversely related to the child's behavioural and

cognitive development (Beauregard et al., 2018; Moreira et al., 2014). Child's nutritional status also plays a critical role in childhood development. A meta-analysis based in developing countries has established that nutritional supplementation during childhood is helpful for a child's cognitive development (Ip et al., 2017). Besides, several cross-sectional studies have also shown that nutritional status of children is positively associated with childhood development (Huiracocha-Tutiven et al., 2019; Jimoh et al., 2018; Warsito et al., 2012).

Parental and household's characteristics

Families or households are the immediate environments after a child's birth, where children start to interact (Maggi et al., 2010). The immediate environment plays a crucial role in providing support for learning, stimulation and nurturance to the children (Pelto et al., 1999). The quality of these are influenced by parental level of education, parental physical and mental health, parental stress and depression, parenting styles, housing condition and household's level of income (Liaw et al., 1994; Maggi et al., 2005). The role of maternal education in parenting practice and childhood development has been well established by a large number of empirical studies in developed countries (Dickson et al., 2016; Duckworth & Sabates, 2005). However, the effect of maternal education on the home environment and subsequently on ECD is little known in developing countries, particularly at the micro-level. In relation to the outcome of childhood development, family investment model argues that parents having a higher level of education are able to invest more capital, resources and quality time for their children than those parents having a lower level of education (Duncan et al., 1995, 2014). Further, studies have shown that mothers with higher education are associated with more knowledge of ECD (Ertem et al., 2007), use more intricate language and vocabulary for their kids (Schady, 2011), invest more on the health of their children (Prickett & Augustine, 2016), provide more children's books at home, and also expect to have higher educational achievement from their children (Davis-Kean, 2005). Moreover, higher educated mothers are

likely to be more interactive and responsive towards their children, also having a higher maternal education act as a protective factor for children belonging to the economically weaker sections (Walker et al., 2007). Although, there are less studies which have examined the effect of father's educational level on the behaviour of parental practice in developing countries, however, recent studies based in Bangladesh (Hamadani, 2014), Colombia (Rubio-Codina et al., 2016) and Ecuador (Schady, 2011) have demonstrated that paternal education has a strong positive effect on paternal stimulation and child's growth and development (Jeong et al., 2016).

Contemporary trends in increasing female labour force participation play an important role in parenting practice and child's social-emotional and cognitive development. From previous studies, it can be said that the relationship between maternal occupational status and parenting practice and child development is a complex one. Mothers with high profile part-time jobs are positively associated with high quality of parenting practice and with better outcomes (Augustine, 2014; Kalmijn, 1994; Reynolds et al., 2017; Youn et al., 2012). On the other hand, mothers with lower occupational status are associated with higher parenting stress among mothers, lower quality of the home environment, less interactions with the child, and poor outcomes among children (Menaghan & Parcel, 1995; Raver, 2003). Further, there is growing evidence that children who are witnessing domestic violence are at risk of a series of psychosocial problems (Osofsky, 1995). Many studies in western countries have established the fact that children who are witnessing domestic violence are at risk of wide-ranging problems, e.g. social and emotional, behavioural, psychosocial and academic etc., (Fantuzzo & Lindquist, 1989; Kitzmann, 2007; Kolbo et al., 1996; Margolin & Gordis, 2000; Wathen & Macmillan, 2013). Recent studies have also suggested that mothers' level of happiness and over-stress both are associated with parenting practice and children's social and emotional development (Ajilchi et al., 2013; Bahrami, 2017).

In addition to these, household's economic status is also an important factor influencing home environment and child development. A recent empirical study based in the Ghanaian context has found that household's income is the stronger predictor of holistic child development among other controlled factors (Wolf & McCoy, 2019). It is claimed that children living in poverty are at risk of malnutrition; with inadequacy in protein, calcium and vitamins, which are the indispensable elements for healthy physical growth and cognitive development (Birch, 1970). Household's income is also related to other risk factors, e.g. parents' psychological well-being and the aptitude to be responsive to the needs of their children (Bradley et al., 2001; Nievar & Luster, 2006). Several studies have also found that children belonging to economically weaker households are too weak in the process of social-emotional development, cognitive development and academic achievement than children belonging to the economically advanced section (Duncan et al., 1994, 1995; Liaw et al., 1994; Maggi et al., 2005; McLoyd, 1990). Place of residence, whether urban or rural also affects parental stimulating activities and childhood development. Past studies have also shown that mothers monitor their children more (Armistead et al., 2002), and the cognitive performance is better for children (Hermida et al., 2019) who belong to urban areas than mothers/children residing in rural areas. From the perspective of religious and caste system, studies on parenting practice and ECD are little known in the Indian context. However, a recent study has focused on the inequalities in academic achievements of children by religious and caste groups based in India and has shown that children from Dalit, Adivasi and Muslims families are lagging than children belonging to the upper caste or Brahmin households (Borooah, 2012).

Limitations of existing studies

From the survey of existing literature on ECD, it has been seen that there are very few studies pertaining to developing countries and most of the studies were done on developed countries. However, it is a well-known fact that the status of children in developing countries

is far worse than the developed countries, but research on this area in the developing countries is almost uncovered. Thus, it is necessary to study ECD in a comprehensive manner in India as well as in other developing countries. Further, there are several studies in developed countries on this; however, these studies do not reflect child development in a holistic manner. Most of these studies focused on a particular aspect of ECD. Among these, the majority of the studies have focused on cognitive development of children only and have neglected the other domains of child development. Whereas, according to the UNESCO *“Children’s development is holistic: cognitive, language, physical and social-emotional development all work together. Progress (or lack of progress) in one domain spurs or hinders development in other domains in a dynamic process”* (UNESCO, 2014). Thus, studies are needed to capture all the domains (cognitive, language, physical and social-emotional development) of ECD to reflect the early childhood developmental status in a holistic manner. Further, most of the previous studies tried to predict the direct effects of socio-economic status (SES) or child characteristics which act as proximal factors of child’s cognitive development or either study focused on effects of parental practices or home environment on child’s cognitive development exclusively. Again, as the indirect effects of these factors are little known; therefore, studies are needed to examine the indirect effects as well. Furthermore, the relationship between children attending private pre-school corresponding to the children attending Anganwadi Centres (AWCs) are the grassroots level service centres of Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) schemes or children attending public pre-school and child development is not explored. The association between children having home tuition and child development also needs to be investigated. Also, the time given by the parents for stimulating activities has not been examined in the case of child development. Therefore, taking into account all above these limitations in the existing studies, an attempt has been made in this study to conceptualise a framework (Figure 4) and to conduct a cross-sectional survey at the regional level to assess ECD status in a holistic manner

among pre-school children aged 36-59 months, and to identify factors influencing the ECD. Further, based on the previous studies, the present study is assuming that creating a home environment where children are being reared after his or her birth is an art of the mother or parent which is being influenced by parent's socio-economic characteristics and child characteristics. It has been assumed that differences in child development depend on the quality of the home environment or parenting practice largely.

Conceptual framework

Based on the existing theories of child development and survey of the literature, a diagrammatic presentation of the conceptual framework has been presented in Figure 4 in the results section. The figure shows that child development is an outcome of certain proximal factors and a large number of distal or exogenous factors. The potential proximal or endogenous factor of child development is the home environment or parenting practice. The home environment is influenced by the child's characteristics such as child's age and sex, birth order. In addition, the home environment is also influenced by parental characteristics such as mother's education, occupation, level of happiness, domestic violence experienced by the mother, and the father's education and by household characteristics such as level of income, religion, caste or social groups and place of residence. Other important proximal factors are whether a child is attending private pre-school, whether a child has home tuition, and mother's allocation of time for various stimulating activities for their children. These proximal factors are also controlled by certain parental factors and household characteristics, and these have been indicated in the diagram. On the other hand, the distal factors also affect ECD directly or indirectly through the proximal factors. For example, individual child characteristics affect the ECD indirectly through the quality of home environment or parental stimulating activities and also influence the level of child development directly. Parental characteristics affect child development in various ways. All parental characteristics affect child development directly.

Several parental characteristics influence child development via the quality of home environment. Further, some of the parental characteristics, *e.g.* level of mother's and father's education affect child development indirectly through the type of pre-schools or home tuition and home environment. Household characteristics also affect ECD in various ways. Household characteristics work directly as well as indirectly through home environment and by the other proximal factors that have been shown in the diagram. Here, it has also been assumed that whether children are attending AWCs or other pre-schools affect the level of child development as shown in Figure 4.

Methods

Sampling and data

A primary sample survey was conducted to represent the children of the Malda district of West Bengal, India. It was designed to collect the information of pre-school children aged 36 to 59 months, especially to collect the ECD indicators and additionally, the indicators of quality of care or home environment, parent's characteristics, and household's characteristics were also collected for rural and urban areas from the 12 selected primary sampling units (PSUs) which were nested within the three selected blocks and a municipality. The villages in rural areas and wards in urban areas were considered as the PSUs. Generally, a sub-district, *i.e.* Tehsil or Taluk or block is the administrative unit under a district in India. However, there are some exceptions in some states and union territories since the classification for sub-districts is not identical across the country. On the other hand, a municipality is an urban local body in India.

A multi-stage, stratified simple random sampling procedure was used to collect the survey sample. Considering the researcher's time, affordability and feasibility, a sum of 750 samples were expected to be collected. The Census 2011, India was used for framing the

sampling procedure. In the beginning, the district was stratified by the rural and urban population, and the sample was distributed according to the proportion to population size. According to the Census 2011, 13.6 per cent and 86.4 per cent of the population were rural and urban residents, respectively. Thus, the total expected sample for the rural and urban population was 102 ($750/100 \times 13.6$) and 648 ($570/100 \times 86.4$), respectively (Registrar General of India, 2011b). There are 15 Blocks or Tehsils, the higher-level administrative units in rural areas in Malda districts. These were stratified into three groups using tertile method after ranking them by z-scores of relative wealth index that was a composite measure, constructed with certain variables like household's assets, amenities and facilities using data from the Census 2011, India (Registrar General of India, 2011b). Afterwards, one block had been selected randomly from each group in the first stage of sampling. The tertile method for stratification was also used to represent the children from all the sections of Malda district. A total of three blocks had been selected, and the sample size had been distributed according to the proportion to population size. On the other hand, in case of urban areas, a municipality had been selected randomly from the two municipalities, and all the urban samples have been taken from that selected municipality.

In the second stage of sampling, PSUs or villages/wards had been selected. Likewise blocks stratification, villages/wards were also stratified into three groups following the same process. After this, one village/ward had been selected randomly from each group of villages/wards. Thus, three PSUs had been selected from each selected block or municipality. A sum of 12 PSUs, nine villages from rural areas and three wards from urban areas had been selected. Here, at the village/ward level, the samples had been fixed equally by dividing the total expected sample by total selected villages/wards for the corresponding block or municipality. Since the present research aims to study children aged 36 to 59 months, therefore, only households which had at least one child of age ranging between 36 to 59 months were the

focus group of the present study. Thus, the listing of households with at least an eligible child had been made from various sources in the selected PSUs. In the final stage after completion of house listing, the desired number of households for the corresponding PSU had been selected using a simple random sampling procedure.

After selecting the households with at least one child aged between 36 to 59 months for the survey, there were two major conditions which had been followed for selecting a child with the mother or caregiver who was the primary respondent of the survey questionnaire. These were, i) child must be between 36 to 59 months of old at the time of the survey; ii) if there are more than one child aged between 36 to 59 months in a selected household, thus only one child had been selected following the alphabetic order of child's name and the survey questions had been asked to the mother or caregiver of that particular selected child. The expected sample size was 750. However, a sum of 731 mothers or caregivers had responded and completed the survey, and the remaining 19 sample were not interviewed due to either unavailability of the respondents or their non-response to the survey. Thus, the overall survey response rate was 97.5 per cent. The response rate for urban areas was 98 per cent, while the response rate for rural areas was 97.4 per cent.

Estimation procedure

Outcome variable

To measure the early childhood developmental status, this study has followed the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS, 4th round) which is monitoring the early child development in low and middle-income countries, conducted by UNICEF (UNICEF, 2014). The MICS is one of the only global sources to measure children's outcomes in a holistic manner in the early childhood years on the basis of mothers/caregiver's observations. A 10-item module, developed by the UNICEF has been used to measure the early child development

status in this study, and this measure has also been used in other studies (Jeong, McCoy, et al., 2017; McCoy et al., 2016; Miller et al., 2016; Sk et al., 2019). This measure is based on selected milestones that children are expected to achieve by the ages of 3 and 4 (UNICEF, 2014). Although one more item has been added for this study. Thus, a total of 11 items which have been taken into consideration for this study were asked to the caregivers or mothers during the survey to assess the ECD status. These are included in four main domains as follows: -

(1). *Literacy–numeracy*: Children would be considered to be developmentally on track in this domain if any two of the followings four (i-iv) conditions are fulfilled; (i) they could identify/name: a minimum of 10 letters of the alphabet, (ii) they could read a minimum of four simple, popular words, and (iii) they know the name and distinguish the symbols of all numbers from 1 to 10. Besides these, one more item has been added in this research, that is (iv) whether children can count the numbers from 1 to 10. The last item added since there is a substantial variation in responses to this question in the present study settings.

(2). *Physical*: (i) If the child can pick up a small object with two fingers, like a stick or a rock from the ground and/or (ii) the mother/caretaker does not indicate that the child is sometimes too sick to play, then the child would be considered to be developmentally on track in this domain.

(3) *Social-emotional*: Children would be identified as being developmentally on track in this domain if at least two of the following conditions are fulfilled: (i) the child gets along well with other children; (ii) the child does not kick, bite, or hit other children; and (iii) the child does not get distracted easily.

(4). *Learning*: Children would be identified as being developmentally on track in the learning domain (i) If the child follows simple directions on how to do something correctly and/or (ii) when given something to do, is able to do it independently.

For the purpose of this study, each item in the domains of ECD has been scored in a binary fashion. A score of 1 will be indicating the presence of a positive aspect of ECD, and a score of 0 will be indicating the absence of a positive aspect of ECD. However, only eight items out of 11 items have been considered to measure the ECD status in this study. Since the response of mothers or caregivers regarding the physical domain, and the response of whether a child gets along well with other children were almost universal, thus, these were not taken into consideration. Therefore, this study has only focused on eight items of the remaining three domains, namely, literacy-numeracy, social-emotional and learning domains. A composite score for ECD based on the eight items was produced by summing up the number of positive responses for the literacy/numeracy, social/emotional, and learning domain items, with scores ranging from 0 to 8 (Jeong, Charles, et al., 2017). The lower the score, the lower is the level of ECD status and the higher the score, the higher is the level of ECD status.

Explanatory variables**Endogenous variables**

The parenting practices or home environment created by the parents was assessed through a set of questions based on UNICEF's learning materials and support for learning tools (UNICEF, 2014), which had been asked to the mothers or caregivers during the field survey. Accordingly, 'home environment' or the quality of care given by parents at home includes (i) whether the children have access to three or more children's books and (ii) manufactured toys, (iii) homemade toys, (iv) household's objects; whether the (v) mother, (vi) father, (vii) any adult member of the household and (viii) other adult household's member are engaged at least in four of the following activities with the child, like, reading books, telling stories, singing songs, going outside, playing and counting, naming and drawing. A composite score for home environment based on the eight items was produced by summing up the number of positive responses for learning materials and support for learning tools, with scores ranging from 0 to

8. The lower the score, the lower is the quality of home environment and higher the score, higher is the quality of home environment. The home environment has been considered as an endogenous or proximal variable in the analysis as influenced by other distal factors in the conceptual framework. The other endogenous variables are whether children are attending private pre-school (dummy: no vs yes), whether children have home tuition (dummy: no vs yes) and the mother's daily time allocated (approximately) for various stimulating activities with their children (continuous: in hours) which are also influenced by multiple exogenous factors. Caregivers or mothers were asked about their as well as their husbands or fathers of children on average daily allocated time for various stimulating activities with their children during the survey. The children who have been provided with hired teachers at their own home or others' home for early education has been referred to as 'home tuition'.

Exogenous variables

Among the child's characteristics, child's age (continuous: in months), sex (dummy: male vs female), birth order (continuous: low to high), premature birth (dummy: no vs yes), stunting (dummy: no vs yes) are considered as the exogenous or distal variables. Among the parental characteristics, mother's education (ordinal: level of educational attainment), mother's occupation (dummy: others vs Bidi/agricultural worker), domestic violence experienced by mothers (dummy: no/don't want to say vs yes), mothers' level of happiness (ordinal: very happy to very low happy), fathers' education (ordinal: level of educational attainment) and fathers' time for stimulating activities (continuous: in hours) are considered as the exogenous variables. A question was asked to the mothers/caregivers on the level of happiness with a five-level order ranges from very happy to very unhappy at the time of the survey, and this variable has been treated as an ordinal variable in this analysis. Also, the level of mother and father's education have been categorised into five groups: (0) none, (1) primary, (2) lower secondary, (3) upper secondary, and (4) higher, and treated as ordinal variables for this study (Wolf &

McCoy, 2019). Dummy variable has been created for mothers' occupation status. Agricultural workers, manual labourers and bidi workers are referred as 'bidi/agricultural worker' and have been considered as workers engaged in the low-status work, and the private or public service holders and housewives are referred as 'others' and have been considered relatively high-status workers. Among household's characteristics, family type (dummy: single family vs joint family), wealth index (continuous: scores), religion (dummy: Hindu, non-Hindu or Muslim/others), caste [dummy: non-SC/ST vs SC/ST (Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe)] have been taken as exogenous factors. Wealth index, is a proxy measure of income, which has been created using the selected household's assets, amenities and facilities following the Demographic Health Survey (DHS) (Rutstein & Johnson, 2004). SC which traditionally had the lowest social standing and ST, a group of tribes who were isolated. SC and ST are considered as the most deprived community in India. Among institutional factors, whether children are attending AWCs/ICDS (dummy: no vs yes) has been considered as an independent factor in the analysis. Besides these, place of residence (dummy: urban vs rural) was included as an independent variable from community characteristics. All the first category of dummy variables was coded as '0', and the second category was coded as '1' in this study.

Analytical plan

Descriptive statistics were computed to understand the characteristics of the study children. Since the linear regression model is unable to estimate the indirect effects of various predictor variables, also unable to determine the mediating factors, and that could mislead the inferences as child development is a complex process where predictors could play a role directly as well as indirectly through various ways. Therefore, a path analysis using structural equation modelling (SEM) was carried out to examine the direct effects and indirect effects of selected child characteristics, parental characteristics and household characteristics on ECD and through home environment, private pre-school, home tuition, and mother's time for various

stimulating activities respectively, which are acting as the mediators in the conceptual framework. The structural equation modelling is a suitable method to measure the direct effects, indirect effects and total effects of exogenous and endogenous variables on outcome variable simultaneously (StataCorp, 2013). The following formula has been used to compute the indirect effect and total effect of variable “k” on the outcome variable using “nlcom” command in Stata 2013 (StataCorp, 2013):

$$\text{Indirect effect} = \beta_{12} \beta_{k1}$$

$$\text{Total effect} = \beta_{k2} + \beta_{12} \beta_{k1}$$

Where,

β_{12} = path coefficient from endogenous variable to the outcome variable

β_{k1} = path coefficient from exogenous variable k to the endogenous variable

β_{k2} = path coefficient from exogenous variable k to the outcome variable

If an exogenous variable is not postulated to influence the endogenous variable, then obviously there is no indirect effect, and the total effect is simply the direct effect β_{k2} (Sk, 2020).

Results

Descriptive statistics of the study children

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics of the study children. The average age of the study children is 47.5 months with the (SD) standard deviation of 6.6. While 51.6 per cent of children are male, and remaining 48.4 per cent are female. The mean birth order is two with 1.1 of standard deviation. About 18 per cent of children were born before the completion of 37 weeks of gestational age. Almost four in 10 children are stunted. Nearly 18 per cent of mothers did not have any formal education, 15.7 per cent mothers have attained primary education, 35.6

per cent mothers have attained lower secondary education, 20.1 per cent mothers have attained higher secondary education, and 10.3 per cent mothers have attained a higher level of education. About 36 per cent of mothers are bidi worker or agriculture workers. Almost 12.3 per cent of mothers have reported that they have experienced domestic violence either by husbands or by any other household members in the household last month before the survey. In the study area, the level of father's education is poor as compared to mothers' level of education. About 25 per cent of fathers do not have any formal education, 23.1 per cent fathers have attained primary education, 30.8 per cent fathers have attained lower secondary education, 12.9 per cent fathers have attained higher secondary education, and only 6.8 per cent fathers have attained a higher level of education. A larger proportion of the households are the single family type that is 83.3 per cent and the remaining 16.7 per cent households are of joint family type. About 44 per cent of households are Hindus, and 56 per cent are Muslims or other minor religious groups. Almost, one-fourth children belong to the socially deprived communities like scheduled tribe (ST) or scheduled cast (SC). Majority of the child population (86.3 per cent) are living in rural areas, and only 13.7 per cent of children are living in urban areas. A larger part of study children, about 61 per cent of children attending the AWCs and remaining 39 per cent are not attending AWCs or attending other types of pre-schools. While about 23 per cent of the children are attending the private pre-schools among the total study children. Further, about 22 per cent of children have access to home tuition.

Percentage distribution of children by various indicators of ECD in Malda district, 2018

Figure 1 portrays the percentage distribution of children along with the indicators of ECD based on mothers or caregivers' observations. It is observed that only 31.7 per cent of children can identify ten letters of the alphabets among the sampled children, and 17.7 per cent

of children are able to read four simple popular words. About 40 per cent of children can count the numbers from 1 to 10, whereas about 24 per cent of children can recognise numbers from 1 to 10. Almost 98 per cent of children can pick up any small object from the ground, and about 92 per cent of children do not feel too sick to play. About 83 per cent of children can follow simple directions on how to do something correctly, while nearly 48 per cent of children are able to do something independently when it is given to them. About 99 per cent of children get along well with the other children. However, 77 per cent of children kick, bite or hit other children or adults, and the remaining proportion, *i.e.* 23 per cent of children do not kick, bite or hit others. Almost 93 per cent of children do not get distracted easily in the study sample.

Percentage distribution of children by domain-wise ECD status in Malda district, 2018

From the Figure 2, it has been seen that about 25 per cent of children are on track in the literacy-numeracy domain of ECD or in other words, one among in four children has been found to be developmentally on track in the study area as per the UNICEF's measurement tools, 2014. However, in the case of the learning domain, about 83 per cent of children are developmentally on track in this domain. About 95 per cent of children are developmentally on track in the domain of social and emotional development. On the other hand, almost 99 per cent of children are physically fit as reported by the mothers or caregivers of the children.

Children's background characteristics and ECD mean score in Malda district, 2018

Figure 3 presents the mean score of ECD by each category of children's background characteristics. The overall mean ECD score for the sampled children is 3.6 out of 8. The mean score for female and male children is almost the same, though, the female child is somehow doing better than the male child. About one-point difference is observed between preterm birth and non-preterm birth. Children with premature birth are less advanced than their counterparts. Again, one-point difference is found between stunted and non-stunted children, where non-

stunted children are in an advanced position. A considerable variation in the mean score of ECD has been observed across the level of mothers' education. This is ranging from 1.9 for illiterate mothers, 2.6 for primary education, 3.6 for lower secondary education, 4.7 for higher secondary education, and 5.8 for higher educated mothers. The mean score for Bidi/agriculture or other labourers is lower (2.8) than that of the homemakers or higher working status (4.1). The mean score of ECD is lower for children belonging to mothers who have experienced any domestic violence as compared to mothers who have not experienced the same. A higher difference in the mean score of ECD is witnessed across the level of fathers' education as well, ranging from 2.1 for illiterate fathers, 3.3 for primary education, 3.8 for lower secondary education, 5.2 for higher secondary education, and 6.1 for higher educated fathers. The mean score of ECD is higher for the children belonging to the joint family in comparison to the children belonging to the single family. One point of difference in mean score is observed between Hindus and Muslims, where children from Muslim or other minor religious families are lagging. Children belonging to the SC/ST households are less advanced in ECD than children belonging to non-SC/ST households. The place of residence, whether rural or urban areas makes a large difference in the mean score. The mean score of ECD for children living in urban areas is almost double (6.1) than that of the children living in rural areas (3.2). A large gap in the mean score of ECD is witnessed between the children who access AWCs and the children who are not accessing the same or otherwise. Children who are not attending the AWCs are in an advanced position than the children who are attending the same. A large gap in the mean score of ECD is also seen between the children who access private pre-school and children who are not accessing the same. Children who are attending the private pre-school (6.0) are in an advanced position than the children who are going to the AWCs or somewhere else or nowhere (2.9). Further, a remarkable gap in the mean score of ECD is also found between the children who have home tuition and children who do not have. Children who have

home tuition are in an advanced position in the mean score of ECD (5.3) than the children who do not have home tuition (3.1). Concisely, a relatively higher level of variations in the mean score of ECD is observed in case of the mothers' and fathers' level of education, place of residence, access to AWCs or attending private pre-school and having home tuition or not which have been observed in Figure 3.

Results of path analysis for ECD score

Path analysis using structural equation modelling has been employed to examine the direct and indirect association between the explanatory variables, endogenous variables and outcome measure. The estimated path coefficients of the path analysis are also presented along with the conceptual framework in Figure 4. Further, direct effects or direct path coefficients, indirect effects or indirect path coefficients and total effects (direct + indirect effects) have been presented in Table 2.

The total effects of exogenous and endogenous variables show that several factors considered in the conceptual framework influencing ECD. Among them, major statistically significant factors of ECD are the place of residence, type of pre-schools, home environment, home tuition, mother's education and mother's time for stimulating activities. Beside these, other important factors are father's education, wealth index and whether children attending AWCs or not.

Role of endogenous factors in ECD

Among the endogenous factors, type of pre-school has the highest effect on ECD. Attending private pre-school is highly positively (Coef. 0.76, $p < 0.001$) correlated with ECD. Attending private pre-school is largely influenced by religion, followed by mother's education and wealth index. As compared to the Hindus, Muslims/others are negatively associated with attending private pre-schools, whereas the mother's education and wealth index are positively

associated with the same. The home environment created by the parents also plays a significant role in ECD. Expectedly, it is positively associated (Coef. 0.46, $p = <0.001$) with the ECD. There are several significant predictors of home environment. Among them, major factors are the place of residence, religion, mother's education and wealth index. Among these, rural areas as a place of residence and Muslims/others as a religious group are negatively associated with home environment, while mother's education and wealth index are positively associated with the same. Having home tuition is another important factor of ECD, that is positively (Coef. 0.43, $p = <0.001$) correlated with ECD. Having home tuition is largely determined by the place of residence and religion, where compared to Hindus and urban residence, Muslims and rural residence respectively are negatively associated with the home tuition. Another important factor of ECD status is mother's time for stimulating activities, which is positively correlated (Coef. 0.41, $p = <0.001$) with ECD. Mother's time devoted for stimulating activities is mostly controlled by the place of residence, religion, caste groups and mother's education. Rural residence, Muslims/others and non-SC/ST are negatively associated with the mother's time for stimulating activities, whereas the mother's education is positively associated with the same.

Role of exogenous factors in ECD

Among the exogenous factors, place of residence has the strongest effect on ECD. The total effect of rural areas as the place of residence is the highest one (Coef. -0.87, $p = <0.001$) in the path model and this is highly negatively correlated to ECD as compared to urban areas. Although, the larger part of the effect of the place of residence reflects through the direct path (Coef. -0.47, $p = <0.050$) and the remaining part of the effect (Coef. -0.40, $p = <0.001$) reflects through the indirect way via home environment, mother's time for care and home tuition. In which, rural areas affect the mother's time for care mostly among these endogenous variables. Mother's educational level is an important factor of ECD, expectedly, that is playing a positive role (Coef. 0.43, $p = <0.001$) in the process of child development, shown by total effects. Here

the larger part of the effect (Coef. 0.30, $p = <0.001$) is accounted by the indirect way through home environment and mother's time for stimulating activities. Father's educational level also plays an important role in ECD status, and this is also positively associated (Coef. 0.26, $p = <0.001$) with ECD, shown by total effects. However, the effect of father's education is mostly reported through the direct path (Coef. 0.19, $p = <0.001$). The wealth index is also positively associated (Coef. 0.15, $p = <0.001$) with ECD, reported by total effects, though most of its effect (Coef. 0.13, $p = <0.001$) has been passed via the indirect path, largely through the home environment. On the other hand, attending AWCs is negatively (Coef. -0.30, $p = <0.050$) associated with ECD, shown by total effects. A surprising finding is observed in the path model; where the non-Hindu religious groups are not significantly associated with ECD shown by total effects, but positively correlated with ECD by direct path (Coef. 0.23, $p = <0.050$) and significantly negatively correlated with the same through indirect path (Coef. -0.48, $p = <0.001$). Where all the endogenous variables are negatively associated with the non-Hindu religious groups, among them, mother's time for care is mostly negatively influenced.

Discussion

It has been found that only about 25 per cent of children are developmentally on track of literacy-numeracy domain of ECD. In other words, it could be said that three children in every four children are not in the expected level of ECD in the literacy-numeracy domain as per UNICEF's measure (UNICEF, 2014). In this regard, a study based in 35 developing countries using the recent round of MICS data has revealed that 29.9 per cent of children are developmentally on track in the same domain (Manu et al., 2019). Therefore, it can be said that the condition in this domain is worse for Malda district in comparison to the other developing countries. Although, in the other domains, the situation is better. For example, about 83 per cent of children are developmentally on track in the learning domain; almost 95 per cent and

99 per cent of children are developmentally on track in social-emotional and physical fitness domains respectively.

By and large, it has been seen that with the increase in mothers' and fathers' level of education the status of ECD also increases. It is also found that the children belonging to joint families and Hindu households are more advanced in the process of ECD status than the children belonging to the single families and Muslim/others households respectively. It has been also found that the status of ECD is higher for the children of non-ST/SC category than their counterparts, ST/SC category. Further, it has been seen that the children living in rural areas perform very poorly in the process of ECD, where the mean score of ECD is also almost half than that of the children living in urban areas. It has also been seen that the children who are attending private pre-schools, having home tuitions are more advanced in the process of ECD than their respective counterparts.

The results of the path analysis revealed that there are certain mediating factors or proximal factors, *i.e.* home environment, mother's time for care, having home tuition and attending private pre-school which are influenced by certain distal or exogenous factors and subsequently affecting the outcome measure or the process of ECD. It has been found that the total effects (direct effect + indirect effect) of the place of residence was the highest one in the path model. The second most influential factor was attending private pre-schools followed by having home tuition, mother's education level, and mother's time for various stimulating activities, father's education and household income (wealth index) as shown by total effects. Place of residence affects the process of ECD mostly through mothers' time for stimulating activities, then, by home environment and home tuition. In general, mothers/caregivers from urban areas are more educated and more aware of their children's health and academic achievement. Thus, they foster a more favourable home environment and give more time to their children in various stimulating activities. They are also more likely to provide home tuition

for their children which altogether help in the overall development of their children than the children of mothers from rural areas. It has been observed that household income (wealth index) influences the process of ECD through home environment mostly, then, through the attending private pre-schools and having home tuitions. This finding is partially consistent with the latest study based in the Ghanaian context (Wolf & McCoy, 2019). Obviously wealthier households are more capable of providing books and playing materials to children. Again, parents or other members of the affluent households are more likely to engage in various stimulating activities with the children, which may be because of their higher expectations from the children and their higher education status. Further, they are more capable of affording the cost of home tuitions and private pre-schooling, which altogether adds substantially the process of ECD as compared to the children belonging to the households of lower economic status. Parental education was also an important factor of ECD. Most of the fathers' education effect on ECD was direct, whereas most of the mothers' education effect on ECD was indirect. Mothers'/caregivers' education influences the process of ECD via home environment largely, then, by mothers' time for care, private pre-schooling and having home tuition. The recent Ghanaian study also found that parental education affects child's outcomes positively in various ways (Wolf & McCoy, 2019). In Indian society, mothers are the primary caregivers for their children, and they usually spend more time daily with children than the fathers. Therefore, if the mothers who are higher educated, create a favourable home environment and engage more in various stimulating activities for a longer duration with their children that enhances the ECD status of their children as compared to the children of mothers with lower educational status. Another conspicuous finding in the path model was that the non-Hindus as the Muslim or other minor religious groups are positively correlated with ECD directly, while this was negatively correlated with the same indirectly, and the total effects were also negative but statistically insignificant. This may be due to the fact that children of deprived communities,

i.e. ST and SC, are also placed under the Hindu religion, and their performance is very poor in the domains of ECD. This may explain why the children of non-Hindu families are doing better in the process of ECD in the direct way. However, non-Hindu religion affects the process of ECD negatively through the indirect path, where most of the negative effect is accounted by mothers' time for care followed by the home environment, home tuition and attending private pre-school. Thus, from this finding, it can be stated that the children of Muslim families can also perform better in the process of ECD if they get the same home environment, care, access to private pre-school like that availed by the children of Hindu families. Another striking finding in the path model was that attending AWCs of ICDS schemes was negatively associated with ECD, whereas one of the objectives of ICDS is "*to lay the foundation for proper psychological, physical and social development of the child*" which had been launched in 1975 in India (Ministry of Women and Child Development, 2019). The reason for this negative association could be explained by the fact that the majority of children who are attending the AWCs, belonging to the socio-economically disadvantaged households. Also, the quality of poor services and poor infrastructures, un-skilled Anganwadi workers (AWW), poor administration and lack of proper monitoring or evaluation of ICDS programmes might be possible reasons for this negative association.

There are some limitations in this study which need to be mentioned here. Since the study's dataset is based on a cross-sectional survey, results of this study are non-causal. Also, the indicators of home environment and ECD were assessed based on mothers or caregivers' observations that could bias or not accurate. Notwithstanding, this study has revealed that the home environment created by the parents has a significant contribution to ECD, which is already established in the literature. However, the present research contributes to the existing knowledge of the ECD that mothers' time for various stimulating activities with their children,

fetching home tuition for children and children attending private pre-school are the decisive influential factors for ECD.

Conclusion

An attempt has been made in this study to assess ECD status in Malda district which is one of the backward districts of West Bengal, a state of India. The study reveals that ECD status is very poor, particularly in literacy and numeracy domains of development. Even, the situation in these domains is worse in Malda district as compared to the level of development in these same domains in developing countries. Thus, this is a matter of concern. Local government body should take it seriously and introduce a policy for healthy ECD in that particular region. Further, a conceptual framework has been built to examine a complex relationship and to test the hypothesis that the quality of home environment or parenting practice largely influences ECD. Further, it has been assumed that child's home environment will be influenced by parent's socio-economic characteristics and child characteristics. Accordingly, this study has examined the relationship between ECD and home environment, children attending AWCs/ICDS and not attending or attending others' pre-school, having home tuition or not, and the time given by the parents for various stimulating activities with other exogenous factors. The results of this research have established that the place of residence, whether rural or urban areas and attending private pre-school are influencing ECD largely rather than the quality of home environment. Although, it has also been realised that the quality of home environment that is controlled by certain parent's socio-economic characteristics, a crucial factor for ECD in this study. Also, it has been found that having home tuition is a decisive factor for ECD. While attending public pre-schools or AWCs was negatively associated with ECD. From these findings, it is recommended that the existing ICDS programmes should be monitored and evaluated regularly as the most of the children are accessing AWCs, on the other hand, the affordability and accessibility to private pre-school

and home tuition are not possible for the majority of the parents because of their poor socio-economic condition in the study setting. Thus, the quality of services in the ICDS programmes needs to be improved. Parental time for various stimulating activities with their children, especially that allocated by mothers' is also another vital factor for ECD. Therefore, both the parents should be encouraged to invest more time with their children which will enhance the ECD status. Again, the local government body should introduce awareness campaign programmes in this study area to inform the people about the importance of children's early years and ECD. In addition to these, special attention needs to be given to the children belonging to Muslim families as well as children belonging to socially deprived communities (e.g., SC and ST) since they are less advanced in the process of ECD as compared to the children belonging to the Hindu families and non-SC/ST communities, respectively.

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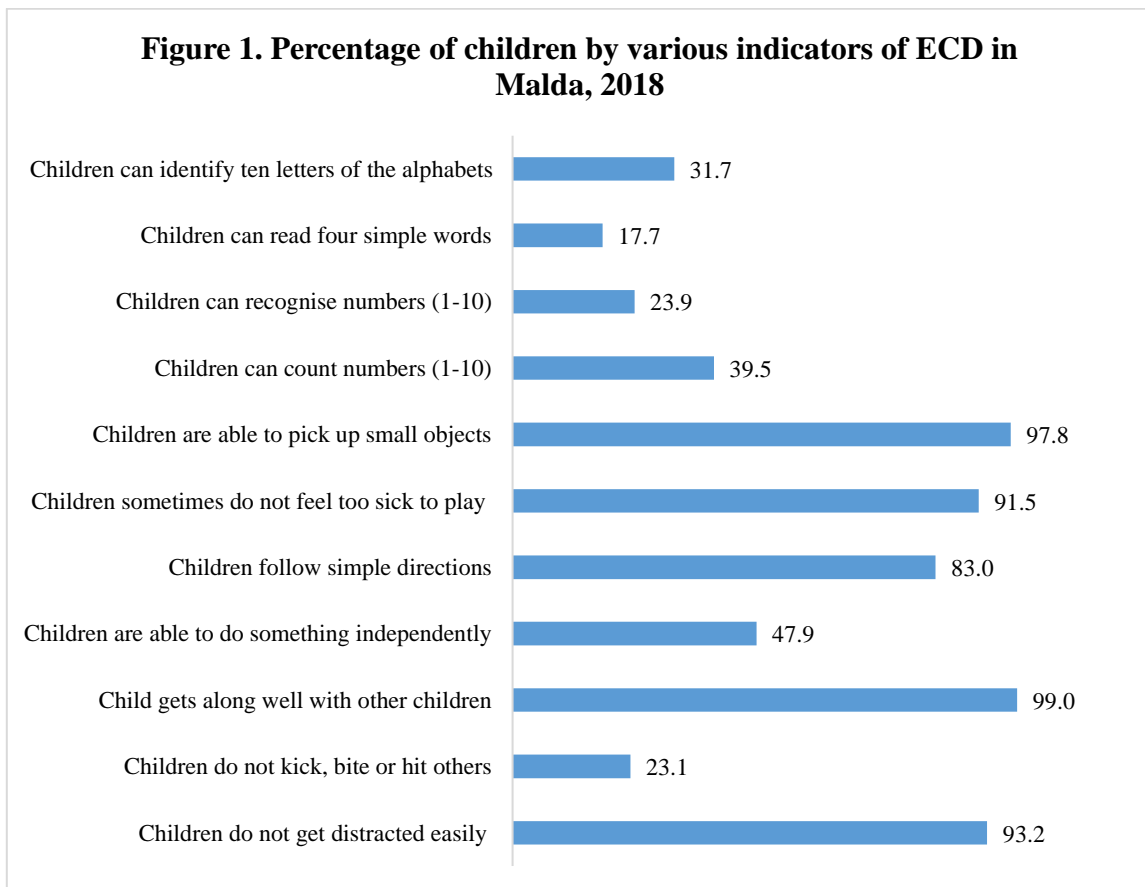
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Figure 1. Percentage of children by various indicators of ECD in Malda, 2018



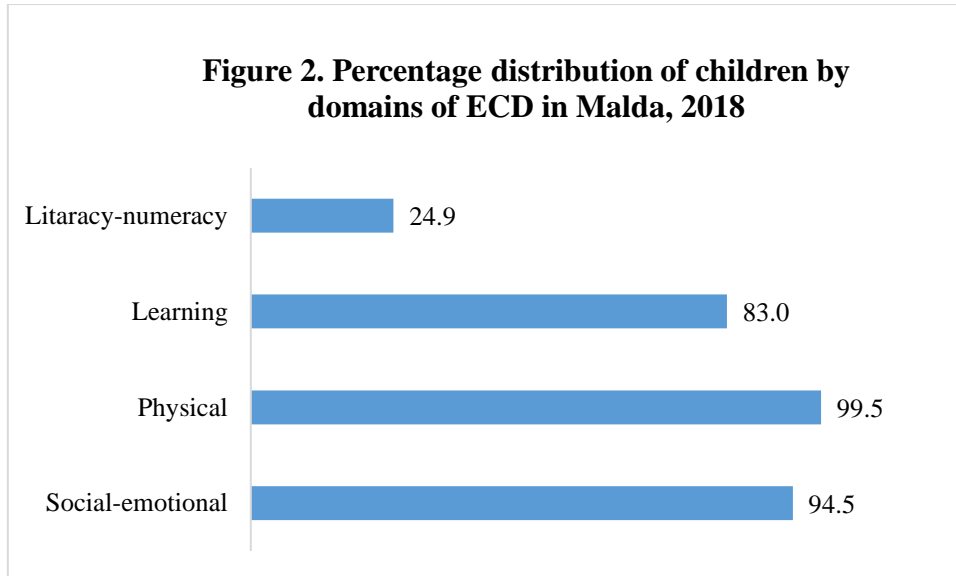


Figure 3. ECD mean score by background characteristics in Malda, 2018

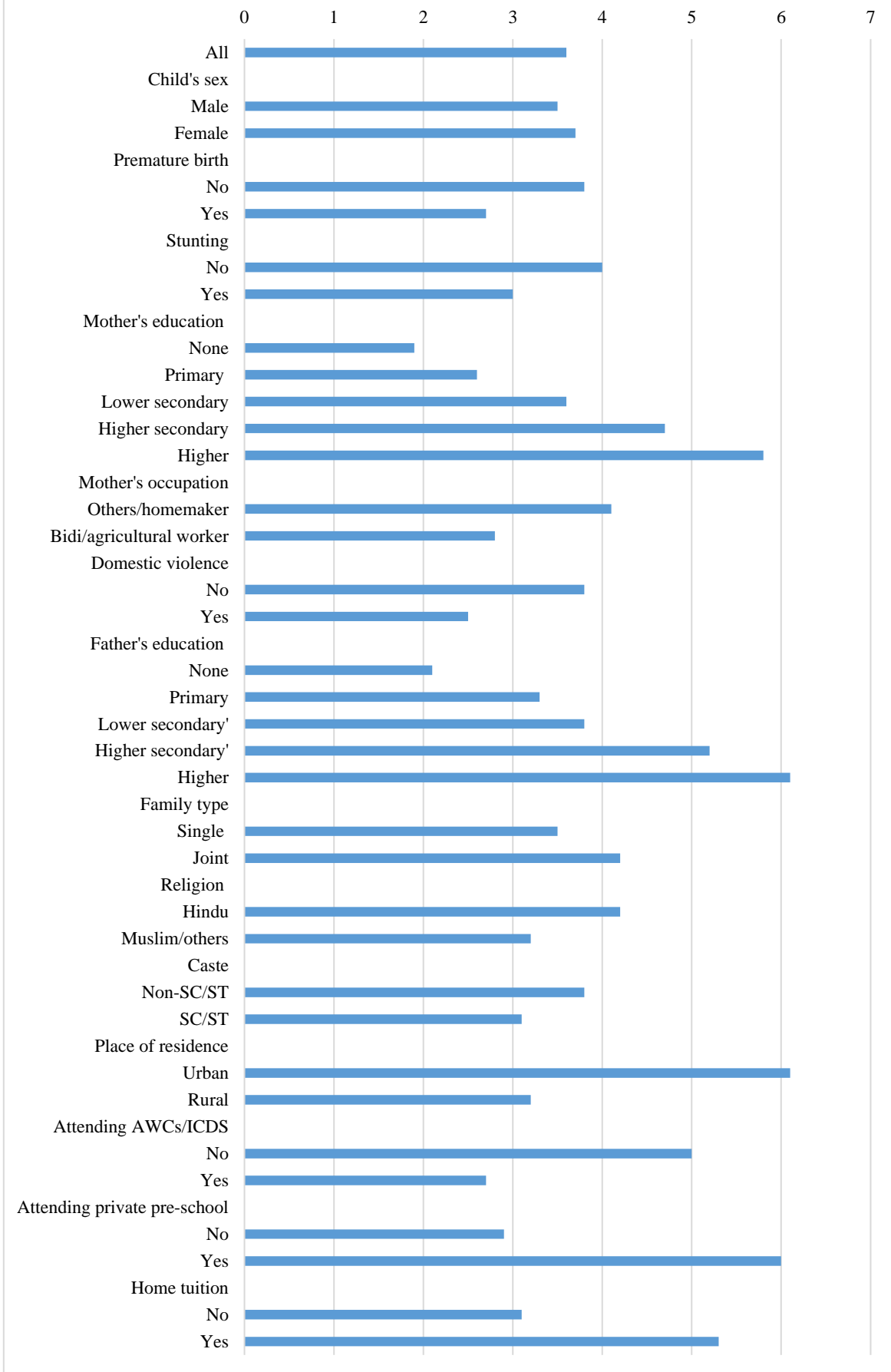


Table 1. Descriptive statistics of the study children (36-59 months) in Malda, 2018

Characteristics	Sample	Sample mean (SD) or per cent
Child's age	731	47.5 (6.6)
Child's sex		
Male	377	51.6
Female	354	48.4
Birth order	731	2.0 (1.1)
Premature birth		
No	598	81.8
Yes	133	18.2
Stunting		
No	438	59.9
Yes	293	40.1
Mother's education	731	1.9 (1.2)
None	134	18.3
Primary	115	15.7
Lower secondary	260	35.6
Higher secondary	147	20.1
Higher	75	10.3
Mother's occupation		
Others	469	64.2
Bidi/agricultural worker	262	35.8
Mother's time for stimulating activities	731	0.7 (0.7)
Domestic violence		
No	641	87.7
Yes	90	12.3
Mother's happiness	731	2.4 (1.1)
Father's education	722	1.5 (1.2)
None	184	25.2
Primary	169	23.1
Lower secondary	225	30.8
Higher secondary	94	12.9
Higher	50	6.8
Missing	9	1.2
Father's time for stimulating activities	722	0.2 (0.3)
Family type		
Single	601	83.3
Joint	122	16.7
Wealth index	731	4.8 (2.4)
Religion		
Hindu	321	43.9
Muslim/others	410	56.1
Caste		
Non-SC/ST	543	74.3

SC/ST	188	25.7
Place of residence		
Urban	100	13.7
Rural	631	86.3
Attending AWC		
Yes	444	60.7
No	287	39.3
Attending private pre-school		
No	560	76.6
Yes	171	23.4
Home tuition		
No	572	78.3
Yes	159	21.8

Sources: Primary field survey, Malda, 2018

Figure 4. Conceptual framework and estimated path coefficients using structural modelling, Malda, 2018

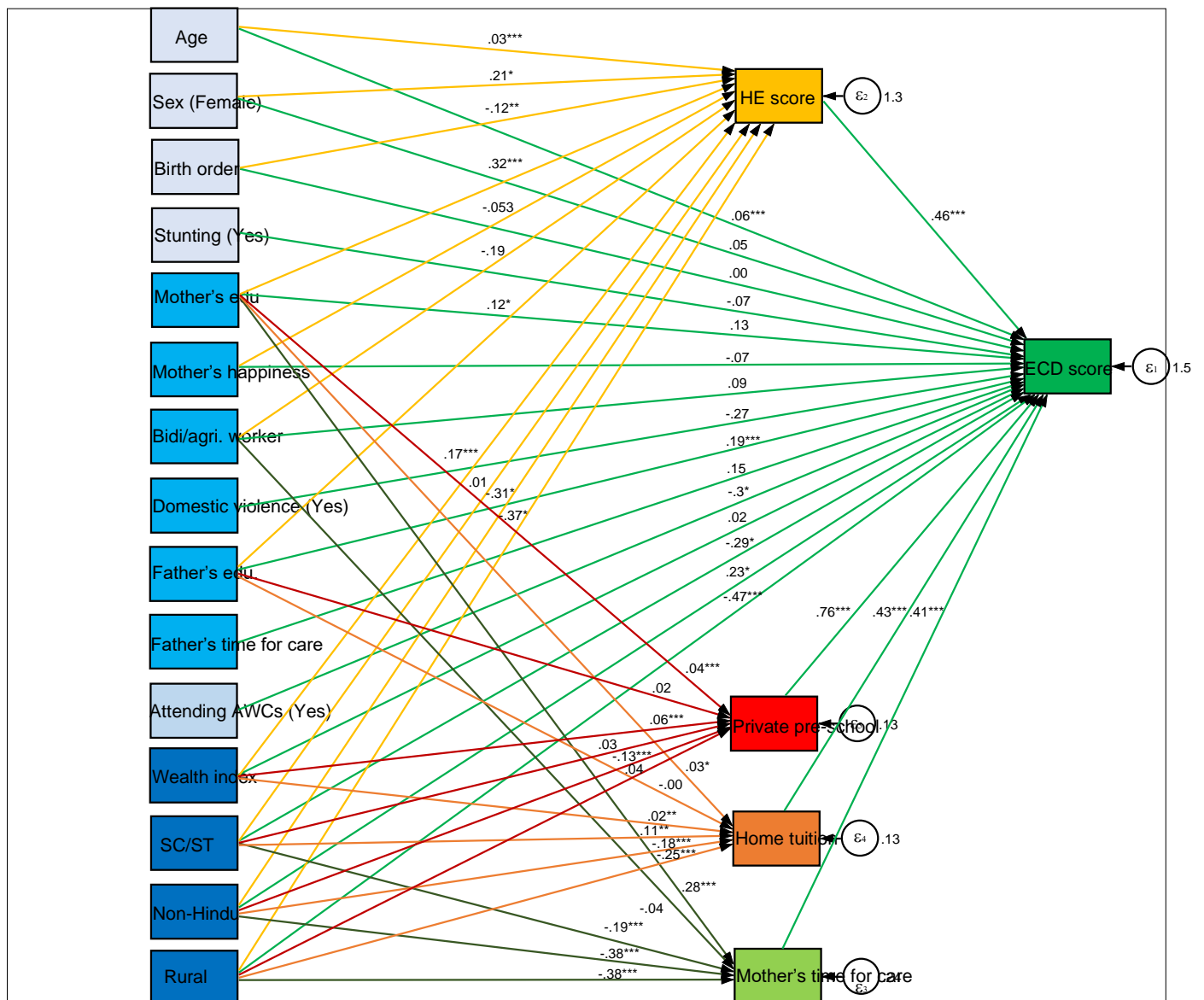


Table 2. Estimated direct effects, indirect effects and total effects of exogenous and endogenous variable on ECD score, Malda, 2018

Characteristics	Direct effects	Indirect effects	Total effects
	Coef. [95% CI]	Coef. [95% CI]	Coef. [95% CI]
<i>HE scores (endogenous variable)</i>			
Child's age	0.03***[0.02-0.04]	--	0.03***[0.02-0.04]
Child's sex (Female)	0.21*[0.04-0.38]	--	0.21*[0.04-0.38]
Birth order	-0.12**[-0.2--0.03]	--	-0.12**[-0.2--0.03]
Mother's education	0.32***[0.22-0.42]	--	0.32***[0.22-0.42]
Father's education	0.12*[0.03-0.21]	--	0.12*[0.03-0.21]
Mother's happiness	-0.05[-0.14-0.03]	--	-0.05[-0.14-0.03]
Wealth index	0.17***[0.11-0.23]	--	0.17***[0.11-0.23]
Caste (SC/ST)	0.10[-0.13-0.32]	--	0.10[-0.13-0.32]
Religion (Non-Hindu)	-0.31**[-0.51--0.11]	--	-0.31**[-0.51--0.11]
Place of residence (Rural)	-0.37*[-0.71--0.04]	--	-0.37*[-0.71--0.04]
Mother's occupation (Bidi/agri. worker)	-0.19[-0.39-0.01]	--	-0.19[-0.39-0.01]
<i>Mother's time for care (endogenous variable)</i>			
Mother's education	0.28***[0.24-0.31]	--	0.28***[0.24-0.31]
Caste (SC/ST)	-0.19***[-0.28--0.09]	--	-0.19***[-0.28--0.09]
Religion (Non-Hindu)	-0.38***[-0.47--0.3]	--	-0.38***[-0.47--0.3]
Place of residence (Rural)	-0.38***[-0.49--0.26]	--	-0.38***[-0.49--0.26]
Mother's occupation (Bidi/agri. worker)	-0.04[-0.13-0.05]	--	-0.04[-0.13-0.05]
<i>Home tuition (endogenous variable)</i>			
Mother's education	0.03*[0-0.06]	--	0.03*[0-0.06]
Father's education	0.00[-0.03-0.03]	--	0.00[-0.03-0.03]
Wealth index	0.02**[0.01-0.04]	--	0.02**[0.01-0.04]
Caste (SC/ST)	0.11**[0.04-0.17]	--	0.11**[0.04-0.17]
Religion (Non-Hindu)	-0.18***[-0.25--0.12]	--	-0.18***[-0.25--0.12]
Place of residence (Rural)	-0.25***[-0.36--0.15]	--	-0.25***[-0.36--0.15]
<i>Attending private pre-school (endogenous variable)</i>			
Mother's education	0.04**[0.01-0.07]	--	0.04**[0.01-0.07]
Father's education	0.03[0-0.06]	--	0.03[0-0.06]
Wealth index	0.06***[0.04-0.08]	--	0.06***[0.04-0.08]
Caste (SC/ST)	0.03[-0.04-0.1]	--	0.03[-0.04-0.1]
Religion (Non-Hindu)	-0.13***[-0.19--0.06]	--	-0.13***[-0.19--0.06]
Place of residence (Rural)	0.04[-0.06-0.15]	--	0.04[-0.06-0.15]
<i>ECD score (dependent variable)</i>			
HE score	0.46***[0.38-0.55]	--	0.46***[0.38-0.55]
Mother's time for stimulating activities	0.41***[0.22-0.61]	--	0.41***[0.22-0.61]
Home tuition (Yes)	0.43***[0.17-0.7]	--	0.43***[0.17-0.7]
Attending private pre-school (Yes)	0.76***[0.43-1.09]	--	0.76***[0.43-1.09]
Child's age	0.06***[0.05-0.07]	0.01***[0.01-0.02]	0.07***[0.06-0.09]
Child's sex (Female)	0.05[-0.13-0.23]	0.10*[0.02-0.18]	0.15[-0.05-0.34]
Birth order	0.00[-0.09-0.1]	-0.05*[-0.09--0.01]	-0.05[-0.15-0.05]
Mother's education	0.13*[0.02-0.25]	0.30***[0.22-0.38]	0.43***[0.31-0.56]
Father's education	0.19***[0.08-0.3]	0.08**[0.02-0.13]	0.26***[0.15-0.38]

Mother's happiness	-0.07[-0.17-0.02]	-0.02[-0.06-0.01]	-0.1[-0.2-0]
Wealth index	0.02[-0.05-0.09]	0.13***[0.09-0.17]	0.15***[0.08-0.22]
Caste (SC/ST)	-0.29*[-0.54--0.04]	0.03[-0.1-0.17]	-0.25[-0.53-0.03]
Religion (Non-Hindu)	0.23*[0-0.47]	-0.48***[-0.62--0.33]	-0.25[-0.5-0.01]
Place of residence (Rural)	-0.47*[-0.84--0.09]	-0.40***[-0.62--0.19]	-0.87***[-1.28--0.46]
Attending AWCs/ICDS	-0.30*[-0.56--0.04]	--	-0.30*[-0.56--0.04]
Father's time for stimulating activities	0.15[-0.16-0.46]	--	0.15[-0.16-0.46]
Stunting (Yes)	-0.07[-0.27-0.12]	--	-0.07[-0.27-0.12]
Mother's occupation (Bidi/agri. worker)	0.09[-0.13-0.31]	-0.11*[-0.21--0.01]	-0.02[-0.26-0.22]
Domestic violence (Yes)	-0.27[-0.55-0.02]	--	-0.27[-0.55-0.02]

Note: *** significant level at <0.001, ** significant level at <0.01, and * significant level at <0.05; CI=Confidence Intervals;

Sources: Primary field survey, Malda, 2018