



Impact Assessment of Project Ankur in Delhi

Final Report

NAVODAM
AN INITIATIVE OF SDMC TRUST

Submitted To

**Sita Devi Malhotra
Charitable (SDMC)
Trust**

SAMBODHI

Submitted By

**Sambodhi Research and
Communications**

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Executive Summary

Project Ankur, implemented by SDMC Trust in partnership with Pratham Delhi Education Initiative since 2022, set out to strengthen foundational literacy and numeracy (FLN) outcomes among students enrolled in MCD primary schools across Shahdara South, Shahdara North and Rohini. The programme adopted a two-pronged strategy: the Balvachan model to build school readiness and early grade competencies in Grades 1 and 2, and Teaching at the Right Level (TaRL) learning camps to systematically address accumulated learning gaps in Grades 3 to 5.

The independent evaluation undertaken by Sambodhi assessed the project's effectiveness, impact, sustainability, scalability potential and Social Return on Investment (SROI). The analysis used paired baseline–endline data to estimate direct learning gains, supplemented by cross-sectional findings in cases where baseline data was not available. These findings were contextualized against ASER 2024 estimates and further triangulated with three-year MIS trends from 2022–23 to 2024–25.

Key Programmatic Achievements

Findings indicate that Project Ankur has produced substantial and measurable improvements in foundational learning across all five grades.

- Grade 1 learning scores nearly doubled:** In Grade 1, **mathematics scores nearly doubled** within a single academic year and **language scores similarly near-doubled**, with gains distributed evenly across oral, written and reading components. This reflects the **relevance and strength of the classroom activities**.
- Sustained learning progression across the Grade 1–2 transition:** In Grade 2, students continued to perform strongly on a more advanced and conceptually demanding assessment, confirming that **foundational competencies built in Grade 1 transferred reliably** into the following year. Furthermore, **longitudinal evidence of students** tracked across Grade 1 (2024–25), transitioning to Grade 2 (2025–26), showed **written mathematics scores improving considerably across the grade transition** and **mothers** across the intervention areas **reported children reading voluntarily at home**.
- Numeracy beginner-level learning gaps were almost eliminated:** Across Grades 3–5, the proportion of **students at the ‘Beginner’ level in numeracy became negligible** in comparison to ASER 2024 figures, with most students moving into higher competency bands such as ‘Subtraction’ and ‘Division’. This marked **a critical shift** from basic number recognition to functional arithmetic ability.
- Students demonstrated strong reading progression and higher-order FLN competencies:** A large proportion of **students across Grades 3–5 were concentrated at ‘Paragraph’ and ‘Story’ reading levels**, with Grade 5 showing the strongest performance. These outcomes indicated **meaningful progress in connected-text reading**, fluency and comprehension.
- FLN gains were sustained across grade transitions:** Sustainability evidence warrants particular attention even **after TaRL learning camps were discontinued in 2025–26**. Grade 5 students demonstrated the **strongest endline performance** and the **Grade 2 to Grade 3 reading transition** shows ‘Story’ level reading rising from 68% to 73%, with **Beginner level at zero across both cohorts**. These patterns of cross-grade comparisons indicated that **foundational gains were being retained** as children advanced into upper primary **without continued intensive support**. The qualitative strands of evidence – reduced remediation burden in classrooms, sustained home reading habits and strengthening of community engagement – suggested that Project Ankur generated durable shifts in learning behaviour.
- Project Ankur generated strong social value, with a SROI of 8.69:** For every rupee invested, the programme generated an estimated **₹8.69 in social value, reflecting strong value for money**. This is especially significant given the project's focus on underserved urban communities and first-generation learners.

Strategic Implications and Strengths of the Project

1. **Combination of prevention and remediation:** Project Ankur addressed **early learning gaps** through **Balvachan** in Grades 1–2 while using **TaRL-based learning camps to correct accumulated gaps** in Grades 3–5 within the same school ecosystem. This integrated design not only prevented learning deficits from emerging but also supported children who had already fallen behind.
2. **Practical FLN laboratory for early grades:** By treating Grades 1 and 2 as distinct instructional stages, Project Ankur has created a rare opportunity to test, refine and **demonstrate grade-specific FLN pedagogy in real government school settings**. This makes the model especially relevant for NIPUN Bharat-aligned system strengthening.
3. **Year-round live classroom demonstration:** The programme created a **sustained model of embedded teacher learning**, with **Pratham instructors working daily in government school classrooms**. This allowed teachers to observe effective FLN pedagogy, activity-based instruction and TLM use in real classroom conditions.
4. **Integrated writing as a core FLN competency:** Project Ankur strengthened **writing as an integrated part of daily classroom learning** in Grades 1–2. Children engaged in narrative, procedural and informative writing as extensions of reading and oral work.
5. **Centrality of community engagement in programmatic design:** **Mothers' groups, 'mohalla' libraries and community volunteers** helped reinforce **learning beyond school hours**. A discernible thrust on these elements helped extend FLN support into the home and community, critical for first-generation learners and children with limited academic support within domestic environments.

Recommendations

1. **Institutionalize continuous teacher capacity-building:** Move beyond one-time trainings by conducting more refresher sessions, introducing demonstration classes and peer learning communities to strengthen teacher ownership of FLN practices.
2. **Ensure learning continuity during closures:** Use community learning circles, home-based activity kits and mother-led reinforcement sessions to reduce learning loss during vacations or school disruptions.
3. **Develop Mohalla Libraries as graded learning spaces:** Evolve community Libraries as level-based reading hubs with graded books, guided reading activities and monthly learning kits to reinforce classroom learning.
4. **Professionalize the volunteer pathway:** Introduce certification, practical exposure and formalize skilling linkages so that volunteers remain motivated and can translate their experience into education-sector opportunities.

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List of Abbreviations

ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
ASER	Annual Status of Education Report
BL	Baseline
CAPI	Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing
CIM	Community Instructor/Mobilizer
Co-Ed	Co-Educational
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
OECD–DAC	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development – Development Assistance Committee
EFE	Education for Education
EL	Endline
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FLN	Foundational Literacy and Numeracy
IDI	In-Depth Interview
KII	Key Informant Interview
KVS	Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan
MCD	Municipal Corporation of Delhi
MDES	Minimum Detectable Effect Size
MIS	Management Information System
NAS	National Achievement Survey
NCR	National Capital Region
NCERT	National Council of Educational Research and Training
NEP	National Education Policy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIPUN	National Initiative for Proficiency in Reading with Understanding and Numeracy
NISHTHA	National Initiative for School Heads' and Teachers' Holistic Advancement
NITI	National Institution for Transforming India
NPV	Net Present Value
NSSO	National Sample Survey Office
PLC	Peer Learning Community
PTM	Parent–Teacher Meeting
PV	Present Value
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SDMC/SDMCT	Sita Devi Malhotra Charitable Trust
SROI	Social Return on Investment
STPR	Social Time Preference Rate
TaRL	Teaching at the Right Level
TLM	Teaching-Learning Material
UDISE	Unified District Information System for Education
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Background to the Study

Ensuring that children acquire strong foundational literacy and numeracy (FLN) skills in the early years has become one of the most urgent priorities within India's education landscape. The NEP 2020 itself recognizes this, stating that “the ability to read and write, and perform basic operations with numbers, is a necessary foundation and an indispensable prerequisite for all future schooling and lifelong learning”¹

Despite policy commitments and national missions aimed at improving early-grade learning, large-scale assessments such as ASER (Annual Status of Education Report) continue to show that many children struggle to master basic reading and numeracy skills by the time they cross primary grades. These early gaps not only hinder academic progression in later years but also reinforce existing inequities, disproportionately affecting children from marginalised and low-income communities. Understanding the systemic and pedagogical challenges that impede FLN acquisition is therefore essential for designing interventions that can strengthen early learning outcomes at scale.²

The link between poor early-grade learning and school dropout is particularly well-evidenced. A study examined student cohorts in Andhra Pradesh and found that reading and writing skills at the primary level were a significant predictor of upper primary school completion; establishing a measurable causal path from foundational learning deficits to dropout³. Complementing this, another study, using India's 75th round of NSSO data, found that nearly three-fourths of the adult population had dropped out before completing Class 12.⁴ Crucially, among the self-reported reasons for attrition – “inability to cope with academic demands” – a factor closely linked to the quality of early learning emerged as a leading driver, alongside financial constraints.

The long-run consequences of these early learning failures extend well beyond school completion. Research demonstrates that children tested in foundational literacy and numeracy between the ages of 7 and 12 who scored one standard deviation higher went on to earn approximately 11% more as adults.⁵ This evidence, situated within a broader body of comparative research from low-and middle-income countries, clearly indicates that FLN skills are associated with adult earnings, agricultural productivity and better health outcomes for the next generation. Thus, such studies highlight the fact that FLN gains represent an economic cost borne not only by individual children but by national economies.⁶ The same can also be said for India, where a child who leaves primary school without basic literacy and numeracy is significantly less likely to complete secondary education, access skilled employment or earn a living wage.

These findings acquire particular urgency given what India's own assessment data reveals. ASER surveys from 2024 show that more than half of Standard V students cannot read Standard II-level text and nearly 70% cannot perform simple division; skills expected to be mastered in the early primary years. At the foundational stage, more than two-thirds of Standard III children cannot yet subtract.⁷ These are not marginal shortfalls; they represent a structural learning deficit that compounds across grade levels, with children entering upper primary school already too far behind to access age-appropriate content. A recent NITI Aayog working paper adds further weight to this argument, finding that in rural India, over 40% of Class 6 students and 29% of Class 8 students still cannot read a Standard II-level text and that several of India's more prosperous states (Kerala, Haryana, Punjab and Tamil Nadu) have seen declining foundational learning outcomes between 2014 and 2024. The paper further suggests that such findings demonstrate that income growth and increased enrolment have not reliably translated into improvements in actual learning.⁸

¹ Page 9 – Ministry of Education, Government of India. (2020). *National Education Policy 2020* – https://www.education.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/NEP_Final_English_0.pdf

² SWARGIARY, K. (2024). *Foundational Literacy and Numeracy in India*

³ Nakajima, M., Kijima, Y., & Otsuka, K. (2018). *Is the learning crisis responsible for school dropout? A longitudinal study of Andhra Pradesh, India*. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 62, 245-253.

⁴ Garg, M. K., Chowdhury, P., & Sheikh, I. (2024). *Determinants of school dropouts in India: a study through survival analysis approach*. *Journal of Social and Economic Development*, 26(1), 26-48.

⁵ Crawford, L. (2025). *The Economic Returns to Foundational Literacy and Numeracy: Evidence from Indonesia* (No. 722). Center for Global Development.

⁶ Evans, D. K., & Hares, S. (2021). *Should governments and donors prioritize investments in foundational literacy and numeracy?* (Vol. 579). Center for Global Development.

⁷ https://asercentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/ASER_2024_Final-Report_13_2_24-1.pdf

⁸ Virmani, A. (2026). *Education and Skilling for Employment: From Credentials to Learning Outcomes*. <https://niti.gov.in/sites/default/files/2026-03/Education-and-Skilling-for-Employment-From-Credentials-to-Learning-Outcomes.pdf>

1. कक्षा चयन एवं वॉचमैन हेतु मेजबानी उपस्थिति
11. छात्रों को SC/ST/OBC व अन्य संरक्षित वर्गों को विशेष
✓ योग्य एवं अनुभवी शिक्षकों द्वारा शिक्षण।
✓ आज ही पूर्ण दिल्ली समग्र विद्यालय में अपने
सामर्थ्य का परिचय करा कर अपना भविष्य संवर्धन।
अपने-अपने सुविधाओं के लिए प्रयासों से सम्पन्न करें।

Readiness Mela



The foregoing evidence underscores that strengthening foundational learning through structured pedagogical approaches is critical to advancing both national and global education priorities. Foundational Literacy and Numeracy (FLN) lies at the core of SDG 4.1, which seeks to ensure that all children attain minimum proficiency in reading and mathematics by the end of primary schooling.⁹ At the state level too, this agenda is reinforced by the Delhi Government's Mission Buniyaad, aimed at improving literacy and numeracy outcomes.¹⁰ By tracking FLN indicators and analysing improvements in early-grade competencies, the evaluation of Project Ankur attempts to generate evidence on its contribution to enhancing learning outcomes within underserved urban communities and aims to reinforce its relevance to India's national priorities under NEP 2020 and the NIPUN Bharat Mission.

About the Project

Project Ankur was launched in 2022 by SDMC Trust in partnership with the Pratham Delhi Education Initiative to address foundational literacy and numeracy gaps across 18 MCD primary schools in Shahdara South, Shahdara North and Rohini.

Its **relevance** is grounded in a troubling picture of learning outcomes in Delhi's government primary schools. Results from the National Achievement Survey (NAS) 2021 show that Delhi students consistently underperformed against both state and national averages across Grades 3 and 5, in both language and mathematics.

Table 1: National Achievement Survey (2021) Results - Delhi vs National estimates¹¹

NAS 2021 Delhi – Performance			NAS 2021 Delhi – Performance		
Grade 3			Grade 5		
Subject	Maths	Language	Subject	Maths	Language
State (Average)	47	52	State (Average)	38	52
National Average	57	62	National Average	44	55

This challenge is compounded within **urban low-income neighbourhoods like those served by Project Ankur**. Classrooms in MCD government schools typically include children with widely varying learning backgrounds, shaped by differences in early childhood exposure, limited home-based academic support and the no-detention policy, which allows children to advance across grades even when foundational competencies remain uneven. Children within the same grade frequently enter classrooms at substantially different readiness levels, making differentiated foundational instruction not a supplementary feature but an essential condition of effective early-grade teaching.

Project Ankur responds to this reality through **a dual instructional strategy** suited to the distinct needs of children across Grades 1–5. For younger learners, the **Balvachan model** strengthens school readiness across five developmental domains – physical, socio-emotional, cognitive, language and mathematics – rather than assuming a uniform starting point at school entry. Instructors work not only to introduce early academic concepts but to build children's comfort as learners: strengthening attention, classroom confidence, and familiarity with structured routines. **For children in Grades 3 to 5, the Teaching at the Right Level (TaRL)** methodology groups students by their current learning level rather than grade and delivers targeted 30-day instructional camps to strengthen reading fluency and numeracy competencies.

⁹ THE 17 GOALS | Sustainable Development – <https://sdgs.un.org/goals>

¹⁰ <https://scert.delhi.gov.in/scert/nipun-bharat-0>

¹¹ <https://nas.gov.in/report-card/nas-2021>

This design sits in deliberate **coherence with both national and state government frameworks** for foundational learning. Within the early primary grades, Pratham instructors show a strong alignment with the pedagogical methods espoused by Delhi government's 'Mission Buniyaad'. Similarly, Project Ankur's overall design and progression logic closely mirrors the benchmarks established by the NIPUN Bharat mission, through its grade-wise 'Lakshyas', which define what children should be able to read, write and compute at each level. This type of convergence is a concrete example of how a well-designed government framework, when grounded in sound learning science, can be voluntarily taken up by civil society practitioners and reinforce the coherence between state and NGO efforts at the classroom level. To further consolidate learning gains and promote uniformity in classroom instruction, Project Ankur sought to institutionalize mentor teacher training across Grades 1–5 through structured annual capacity-building programmes and periodic refresher sessions.

Underpinning all of this is **a commitment to equity**. The children served by Project Ankur, attending government schools in densely populated, low-income urban settlements, are among those least likely to receive compensatory learning support at home and most likely to fall further behind without structured intervention. By bringing level-appropriate instruction directly into their school environment and building the developmental foundations that make learning possible, Project Ankur directly addresses the inequities captured in national assessments and strategically contributes to the broader goal of ensuring that every child receives a genuine opportunity to achieve foundational literacy and numeracy.



Objectives and Scope of Work

The overarching objective of this study was to conduct an independent evaluation of Project Ankur. Primarily, the study sought to assess the project's contribution to improving early-grade learning outcomes, strengthening teaching practices and engaging communities in children's learning. The evaluation examined the project through the lenses of impact, sustainability and scalability with the aim of supporting evidence-based decision-making and program refinement.

- **Impact:** To measure the improvement in FLN outcomes among children in Grades 1–2 and Grades 3–5 as a result of the Balvachan and TaRL interventions.
- **Sustainability:** To assess whether learning gains, teaching practices and community engagement models introduced by the project are likely to be sustained beyond the intervention period.
- **Scalability:** To identify the conditions and lessons required to replicate and scale the Project Ankur model across additional MCD zones.
- **Social Return on Investment (SROI):** To conduct a SROI analysis to estimate the social and economic value generated by Project Ankur relative to the resources invested.

Scope of Work

The scope of work for this evaluation included a comprehensive assessment of Project Ankur's effectiveness in improving foundational literacy and numeracy outcomes among students in Grades 1–5 across the three implementation zones – Shahdara South, Shahdara North and Rohini. The evaluation measured changes in grade-appropriate learning competencies through a combination of baseline and endline assessments supplemented by qualitative insights from teachers, school leaders, parents, volunteers and relevant government stakeholders. This helped establish not only the extent of learning gains but also the pathways through which programme components such as Balvachan, Teaching at the Right Level (TaRL) and community engagement contributed to improved FLN outcomes.

In line with the objective of the study and the proposed key research questions, the following tasks were carried out by Sambodhi for this study.

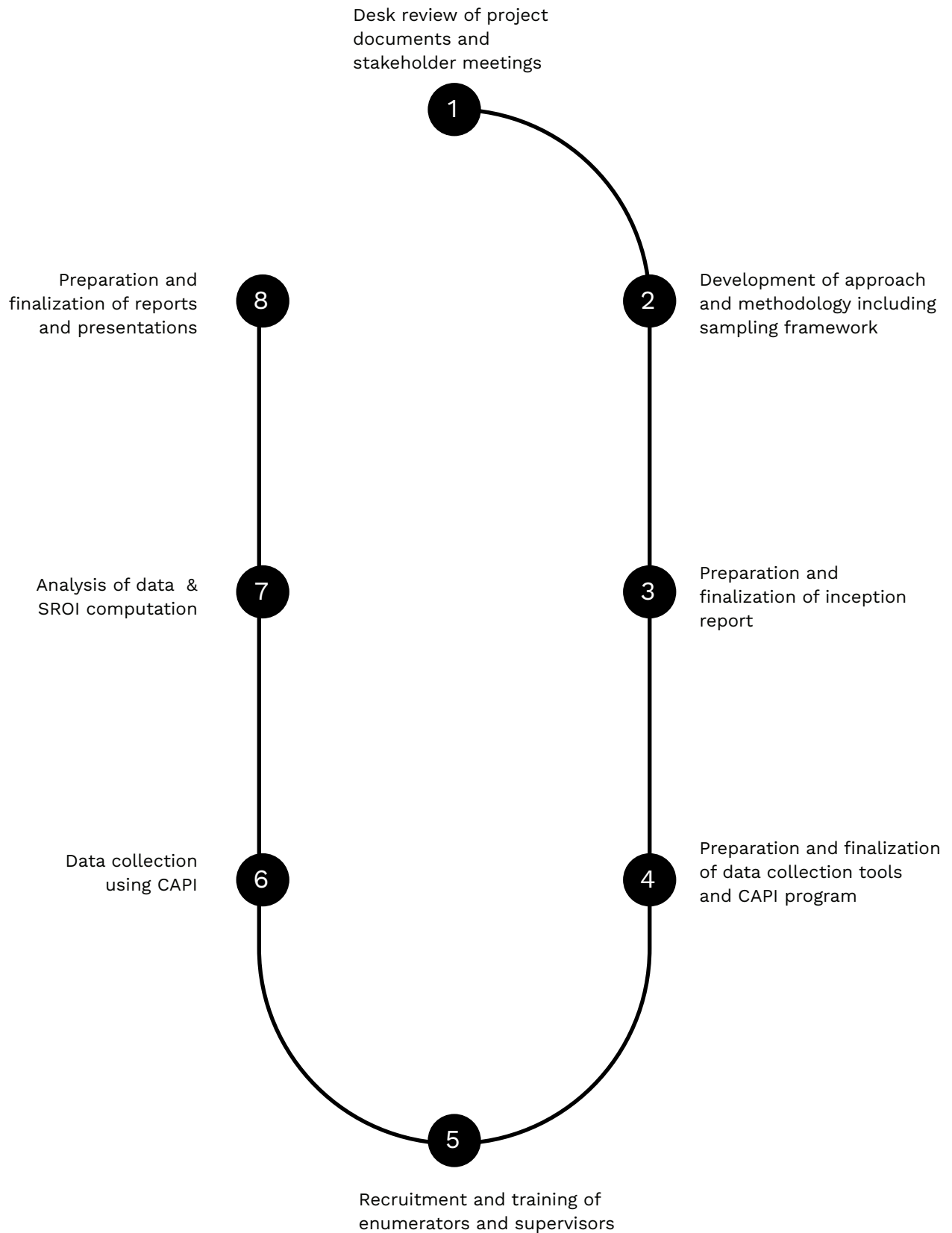


Figure 1: Scope of Work

Approach and Methodology

Evaluation Criteria

Being an impact evaluation of a social impact project, the evaluation was built on the OECD-DAC framework. The framework defined six evaluation criteria – relevance, coherence, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability – and two principles for their use.

These criteria provided a normative framework used to determine the merit or worth of an intervention (policy, strategy, programme, project, or activity). They served as the basis upon which evaluative judgements were made. The evaluation assessed the endline values of various key indicators against which the impact of the project was examined a year after completion

Table 2: OECD DAC Evaluation Framework

RELEVANCE	IS THE INTERVENTION DOING THE RIGHT THINGS? The extent to which the development intervention's objectives are consistent with beneficiary requirements, state needs, institutional priorities, partners, and funding stakeholders, and mission coherence in achieving its objectives.
COHERANCE	HOW WELL DOES THE INTERVENTION FIT? The extent to which activities can converge with other programs/projects running the geography/sector.
EFFECTIVENESS	IS THE INTERVENTION ACHIEVING ITS OBJECTIVES? The extent to which the development project's objectives were achieved or are expected to be achieved considering their specificities (not just physical outputs but also high-level results; explaining factors determining achievements, including change of context; looking at other possible achievements)
EFFICIENCY	HOW WELL ARE RESOURCES BEING USED? A measure of how economically resources/inputs are converted into results, with reference to project benchmarks (include project delays, overruns; technical issues; operational cost ratio, economic rates of return)
SUSTAINABILITY	WILL THE BENEFITS LAST? The likely continuation of net benefits from a development intervention beyond the phase of funding support, including an assessment of whether actual and anticipated results will remain resilient to risks beyond project activities, as well as the potential for the intervention model to be scaled or replicated in similar contexts.
IMPACT	WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES INTERVENTION MAKE? The changes that have occurred or are expected to occur in the lives of the target beneficiaries (direct and indirect).

The evaluation design has been aligned with the selected framework, with effectiveness, impact, and efficiency forming the primary analytical pillars. The remaining dimensions of relevance, coherence and sustainability have been examined through qualitative inquiry, supported by appropriate secondary evidence to strengthen interpretation and contextual grounding.



Figure 2: OECD DAC Framework

Evaluation Design

The evaluation employed a **cross-sectional assessment design**, drawing representative samples from the current cohort of enrolled students to estimate prevailing levels of foundational literacy and numeracy (FLN). While this approach generated a robust snapshot of competency attainment, the evaluation further adopted a **triangulated attribution approach** to strengthen interpretation of programme contribution in the **absence of a control group**.

For **Grades 1–2**, student identifiers available through the **MIS enabled matching of sampled students** with their baseline records. This allowed **paired baseline–endline comparisons**, where each child’s baseline performance served as the reference point for estimating learning gains after programme exposure. This provided the **strongest source of attribution evidence** for early-grade outcomes.

For **Grades 3–5**, where current-year baseline data was unavailable and TaRL learning camps had been discontinued, programme effectiveness was examined through a repeated cross-sectional trend analysis. Specifically, **current endline outcomes were systematically compared with endline data from prior implementation cycles** (FY 2022–23 to FY 2024–25). This enabled assessment of whether learning improvements were replicated across successive cohorts and were **not limited to a single year or group of students**. The findings were **further contextualized against ASER 2024 estimates** to understand how ‘Project Ankur’ students performed relative to broader foundational learning levels. These comparisons were treated as indicative benchmarks rather than causal estimates, given variations in population coverage, geography and implementation context.

Additionally, within each cross-sectional round, the sample was structured to include students with varying durations of prior programme exposure. This enabled **cohort-linked analysis of students transitioning across successive grades**, supporting a longitudinal assessment of **learning progression and retention** over time. Together, paired BL–EL comparisons, MIS trends, cohort-linked progression and ASER benchmarking provided a **robust contribution narrative** for interpreting Project Ankur’s effectiveness, impact and sustainability.

In parallel, the study applied a Social Return on Investment (SROI) framework to estimate the broader social and economic value generated by Project Ankur. Unlike conventional cost–benefit analysis, SROI captured a wider range of outcomes – such as improvements in children’s foundational learning, enhanced teaching practices, increased parental engagement and strengthened community support for education. Through stakeholder consultations, impact mapping and valuation of both tangible and intangible benefits, the SROI analysis quantified the overall value created by the project relative to the resources invested. Together, the evaluation findings and SROI estimates provided a comprehensive picture of Project Ankur’s effectiveness, efficiency and value for money, supporting future decision-making and potential scale-up across additional MCD zones.

To enhance the robustness and depth of the evaluation, a mixed-methods approach was employed. This convergent methodology integrated quantitative and qualitative data to provide a comprehensive understanding of the project’s impact, sustainability, and scalability. Quantitative data were used to measure changes in key FLN outcomes, while qualitative inquiry explored the underlying mechanisms driving these changes, including classroom practices, teacher capacity building, and community engagement processes.

The evaluation drew upon both primary and secondary data sources to triangulate findings and strengthen the reliability of results. Primary data were collected through student learning assessments, surveys, key informant interviews, and focus group discussions with teachers, school heads, Pratham instructors, parents, volunteers, and relevant government stakeholders. Secondary data included project reports, monitoring data, and existing assessment records. By employing this adaptive and rigorous design, the study ensured a holistic assessment of Project Ankur, generating actionable insights to inform programme refinement and support evidence-based scale-up across additional MCD zones.



Figure 3: Indicative Theory of Change & Causal Pathways - Project Ankur

Sampling Methodology, Estimation & Coverage

School Selection Strategy

Based on the school list shared by the SDMCT Team¹², Project Ankur covered a total of 18 project schools in 2025-26, comprising **9 co-educational schools** (Co-Ed category) and **9 all-girls schools**. These schools were distributed across three zones: North Shahdara (6 schools), South Shahdara (8 schools) and Rohini (4 schools), with **Rohini having no all-girls schools** under the programme's current coverage.

Selection of Project Schools: In order to ensure proportional representation across zones as well as balanced representation across school types, the **sampling strategy followed a stratified proportionate allocation approach**, with zone treated as the primary stratum and school type as a secondary balancing parameter. The allocation was determined based on the underlying universe size within each zone.

In addition to maintaining proportional zonal representation, the sampling frame was carefully designed to preserve the underlying distribution of school types (Co-Ed and All-Girls schools). Given that the programme universe comprised an equal number of Co-Ed and All-Girls institutions (9 each), the **final sample (12 schools) correspondingly reflected this parity, with 6 Co-Ed schools and 6 All-Girls schools included**.

Table 3: Sampling Universe & Frame Selection

S.No	Zone	Project Schools ¹³	Project Schools Type: Co-Ed	Project Schools Type: All Girls	Sampled Schools Selected (Co-Ed)	Sampled Schools Selected (All Girls)	Sampled Schools Selected (Proportionately) ¹
1.	Shahdara South	8	3	5	2	3	5
2.	Shahdara North	6	2	4	1	3	4
3.	Rohini	4	4	0	3	0	3
TOTAL		18	9	9	6	6	12

A **key structural consideration informing this distribution** was the absence of 'All-Girls schools' in the Rohini zone. As a result, all sampled schools from Rohini were necessarily drawn from the Co-Ed category. This constraint was systematically accounted for in the allocation process, with corresponding adjustments made in Shahdara North and Shahdara South to ensure that the **overall sample continued to reflect proportional representation across both zones and school types**.

School Selection Strategy

As this initiative centred around strengthening Foundational Literacy and Numeracy (FLN) outcomes for students in Grades 1 to 5, the key indicator selected for sample size estimation was the **"proportion of children able to achieve grade-appropriate FLN competencies"**.¹⁵ This indicator aligned with national priorities under the NIPUN Bharat Mission and international benchmarks for early-grade learning, reflects the essential role of foundational skills in enabling future academic progression and long-term human capital gains.

¹² List of Intervention Schools 2025/26 – Project Ankur

¹³ **Note:** The classification of schools was determined using secondary data from the UDISE+ portal (<https://kys.udiseplus.gov.in/#/home>), wherein each school's unique UDISE code was used to identify its typology and other relevant characteristics.

¹⁴ The zonal allocation reflects each zone's relative share in the total universe. Since Rohini accounts for approximately one-fourth (~25%) of all project schools (4 out of 18), its proportionate share translates into 3 sampled schools (out of 12).

¹⁵ First Section_II.pmd

Furthermore, evidence from previous FLN programs has consistently demonstrated that structured pedagogy and targeted remedial instruction lead to meaningful improvements in student learning outcomes. International studies likewise show that countries adopting benchmarked FLN strategies – such as regular learning assessments, focused instructional time on reading and numeracy, and simplified, evidence-based teaching practices – tend to achieve measurable gains in foundational literacy and numeracy skills. These global trends reinforce the effectiveness of structured, level-based instruction and provide a strong rationale for anticipating a similar range of learning gains under Project Ankur^{16 17}.

In line with programmatic insights and the scope of the intervention, we assumed a **20% improvement** in grade-appropriate FLN levels over the project duration. Using this expected change and accounting for the design effect, confidence level, power, and margin of error, the **estimated sample size requirement was 580 students**.

The sample size is inversely proportional to the Minimum Detectable Effect Size¹⁸ (MDES). A two-sample proportion method was used to calculate the sample size, explained in the following formula:

$$n = \frac{D[Z_{1-\alpha}\sqrt{2P(1-P)} + Z_{1-\beta}\sqrt{P_1(1-P_1) + P_2(1-P_2)}]^2}{(P_2-P_1)^2}$$

Where D= Design effect (assumed at 1.5 considering the multi-stage sampling design to be adopted for this study), P1=the estimated proportion at the time of the baseline 0.5, P2=the proportion expected at present time (given an expected 20% change in key outcome of interest i.e. proportion of children able to achieve grade-appropriate FLN competencies i.e. 0.60), Z1- α =the z-score corresponding to a 95% significance level, Z1- β =the z-score corresponding to the 80% power.

The sample size was further increased to 624 students to ensure statistically robust analysis at the project level. This marginal increase in the sampling frame by approximately 5–10% was also undertaken to account for field-level contingencies, including respondent unavailability, absenteeism, refusals and other forms of non-response commonly encountered in school-based surveys.

Thus, across the 12 selected schools, 52 students per school were randomly identified. These students typically resided within a 3–4 kilometre radius of their schools.

Table 4: Quantitative Sampling Distribution (Project)

Zone	Project Sample Frame								Total Respondents
	Schools Selected	No. of Classes (Gr 1 & 2)	BNo. of Students per Class	Balvachan: Class 1–2 Sample Size	No. of Classes (Gr 3, 4 & 5)	No. of Students per Class	TaRL: Class 3–5 Sample Size	Total Students per School	
Shahdara South	5	2	11	110	3	10	150	52	260
Shahdara North	4	2	11	88	3	10	120	52	208
Rohini	3	2	11	66	3	10	90	52	156
TOTAL	12			264			360	52	624

Field Mobilization Mechanism: Sambodhi deployed 3 teams – one for each of the respective zones. Data collection took place between 25th February to 11th March 2026. Sambodhi's field team coordinated closely with Pratham's existing network of instructors and community volunteers, who displayed strong relationships with beneficiary families and other stakeholders. Their support proved invaluable in mobilizing students smoothly and ensuring adequate participation of the remaining stakeholders.

¹⁶ Foundational learning action tracker 2025: Global report

¹⁷ From ambition to results: India's model for fast, systemic gains in foundational learning

¹⁸ Bloom, H. S. (1995). Minimum detectable effects: A simple way to report the statistical power of experimental designs. *Evaluation review*, 19(5), 547-556

Qualitative Sampling:

Considering the study objectives and requirements mentioned in the RfP, qualitative assessments were also conducted with the relevant stakeholders. A list of stakeholder categories covered during the primary research is provided in the table below:

Table 5: Qualitative Sampling

Beneficiaries across key tools	Target Sample	Achieved
In-Depth Interviews		
Teachers (Grade 1-2); 1 per Project School	12	12
Teachers (Grade 3-5); 1 per Project School	12	12
Pratham Instructors (Grade 1-2); 1 per Intervention Year	4	4
Pratham Instructors (Grade 3-5); 1 per Intervention Year	4	5
Focus Group Discussions		
Mothers Groups / Parents (1 per Zone)	3	3
Key Informant Interviews		
School Heads (2 per Zone in Project Schools)	6	6
Volunteers (2 per Zone)	6	6
Independent Sectoral Expert*	1	1
Academic Mentor/Master Trainers* ¹⁹	2	-----
Implementing Partner Representatives	2	2
SDMC Trust Representative	2	2
TOTAL	54	53

19 Note: During the proposal development and inception stages, Sambodhi had planned consultations with representatives from the MCD Education Department to assess the scalability and sustainability of the programme. However, pending the receipt of the formal approval letter, this could not be undertaken. As an alternative, consultations were conducted with sectoral experts associated with the project and with in-depth knowledge of the primary education realm, to obtain informed and relatively neutral perspectives. Further, interactions with MCD academic mentors and master trainers could not be facilitated due to the same administrative constraints. These limitations have, to some extent, constrained the depth and comprehensiveness of our findings.



Key Findings

Socio-demographic Characteristics

Key Descriptives: Grades 1-2 (Age & Gender)

The **student profile** in the evaluation sample broadly reflects **age-appropriate enrolment across Grades 1 and 2**²⁰. A large majority of Grade 1 students (~92%) were within the expected age range of 5–6 years, while approximately 90% of Grade 2 students were between 6 and 7 years old, indicating that delayed entry was limited within the sampled cohort. However, stakeholder interactions suggest that age alignment did not necessarily translate into readiness alignment.

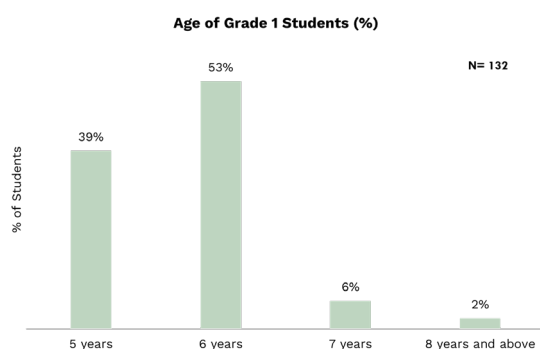


Figure 4: Age of Grade 1 Students (%)

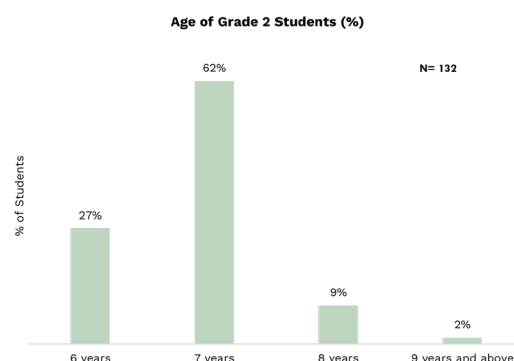


Figure 5: Age of Grade 2 Students (%)



The biggest gaps in children are in basic reading and maths. There are difficulties in letter recognition, problems in reading words and sentences, and difficulties in number understanding. Their pattern of teaching is such that children who are quite slow are able to learn through activities.

– School Teacher, IDI

Teachers consistently noted that children entered classrooms with uneven familiarity with letters, numbers and structured learning routines, reinforcing the importance of an approach that could respond to multiple starting points within the same cohort. Within this setting, the Balvachan model's use of **structured teaching – learning materials – including idea cards, barahkhadi charts and level-specific reading resources** helped translate abstract concepts into activities that children could engage with physically and confidently.

Girls constitute a clear majority across the study cohort, accounting for approximately 73% of Grade 1 students and 77% of Grade 2 students, reflecting the composition of participating MCD schools, including several all-girls schools.

²⁰ **Note:** The age of the students was collected through verbal responses prior to the administration of the assessments. These responses were not independently verified against school enrollment records, as access to such records falls under the school's administrative purview. Similarly, students were not asked to produce Aadhaar cards or any other identification documents. This approach was adopted in view of the study context, where survey activities were undertaken amidst pending formal permissions from the MCD authorities and sensitivities around data collection within schools. Consequently, all age-related information presented in the analysis should be interpreted as self-reported by the students.

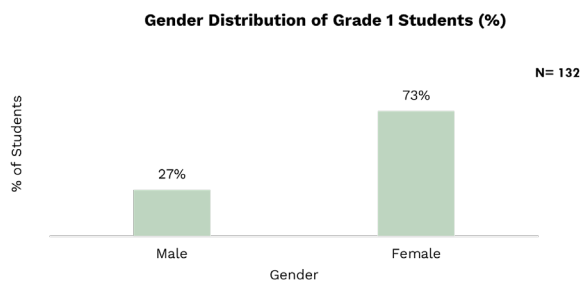


Figure 6: Gender – Grade 1 Students (%)

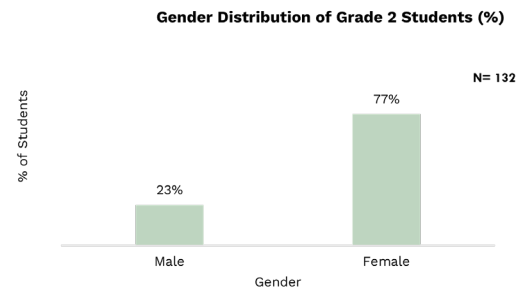


Figure 7: Gender – Grade 2 Students (%)

Key Descriptives: Grades 3-5 (Age & Gender)

By the time children reach Grades 3 to 5 in MCD primary schools across Shahdara South, Shahdara North, and Rohini, they are expected to transition from foundational learning to grade-level curriculum engagement. However, teachers across sampled schools consistently described classrooms where students within the same grade were operating at very different learning levels. Learning gaps accumulated during the early years, particularly in reading fluency and basic arithmetic, often persisted into upper primary grades and were further compounded by irregular attendance and limited learning support at home. As a result, many children entered Grade 3 without the foundational skills required to engage confidently with grade-level instruction.

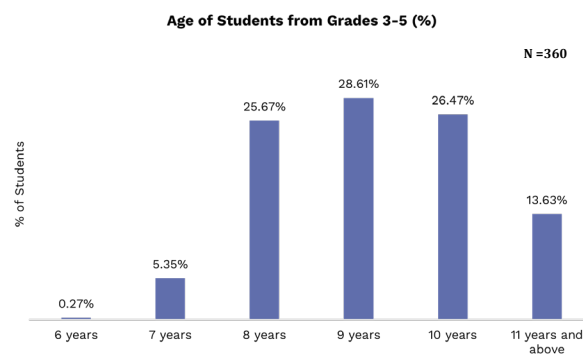


Figure 8: Age of Grade 3-5 Students (%)

The age profile of the Grades 3 to 5 evaluation sample reflects broadly appropriate age–grade alignment across the intervention cohort. As shown in the adjoining figure, 80.8% of students were between 8 and 10 years of age, consistent with the expected age range for upper primary grades. A smaller proportion of students aged 11 years and above suggests delayed progression or grade repetition among some learners, a pattern commonly observed in urban government school settings serving socio-economically vulnerable populations. However, teachers repeatedly noted that age alignment did not necessarily translate into learning alignment, with substantial variation in reading and arithmetic competencies persisting within classrooms.

Within this context, the Teaching at the Right Level (TaRL) approach demonstrates strong relevance to the realities of upper primary classrooms. By grouping students according to actual learning levels rather than enrolled grade and delivering targeted instruction through structured learning camps, the model directly addressed the mismatch between curricular expectations and student readiness highlighted by teachers. School stakeholders consistently reported that the approach was particularly effective for children at lower competency levels. As one school head explained, “If there are ten weak children in Class 5, ten in Class 4, ten in Class 3 — and these children are taught separately through learning camps — then they can be brought closer to the actual level desired. That is useful.” These findings suggest that the observed improvements were driven not only by instructional intensity but also by the programme’s ability to respond to learning variation that conventional grade-based teaching often struggles to address.

Much like Grades 1–2, a similar gender pattern was observed in Grades 3–5, where nearly 78% of students were girls, indicating strong programme reach among female learners across upper primary grades. This suggests that the intervention has been able to support foundational learning among a cohort with substantial female representation, an important consideration in strengthening literacy and numeracy outcomes within government school settings.

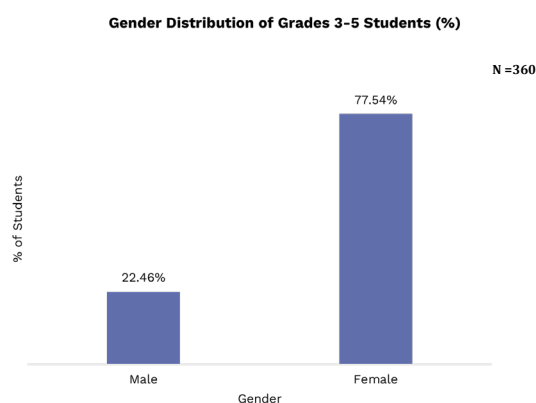


Figure 9: Gender Grade 3-5 Students (%)

Effectiveness

Based upon the OECD–DAC evaluation framework which defines effectiveness as the extent to which an intervention achieves its intended objectives, **effectiveness signals the degree to which the programme has improved foundational literacy and numeracy outcomes among targeted students**^{21 22}. It reflects the direct results of programme inputs and instructional strategies on student learning. **In the project's context, effectiveness is reflected through direct evidence of learning gains among students exposed to the programme, presented through paired baseline–endline results for Grades 1–2**, which serve as the core evidence of the extent to which the intervention improved learning outcomes as intended.

Paired BL-EL results for Grades 1–2

In the case of Grade 1, mathematics learning outcomes improved substantially over the course of the intervention year. The overall **average score increased from 12.1 to 22.2 out of a possible 27 points**, representing a gain of more than ten points within a single academic year. This **improvement was visible across both oral and written** components.

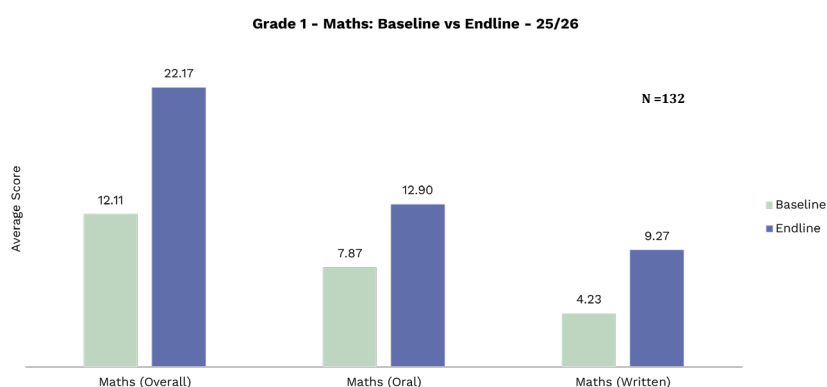


Figure 10: Grade 1- Maths: BL vs EL (25/26)

Many children entered Grade 1 with uneven starting points, with teachers reporting that considerable early instructional time was initially spent on building readiness rather than structured mathematical thinking, as several students were unable to recognize numbers at all. Against this backdrop, improvements in written mathematics are particularly meaningful because they reflect children's ability to independently engage with and apply concepts without immediate prompting. The use of structured TLMs, number charts and activity-based learning provided children with more concrete and interactive ways of understanding mathematical concepts and the scale of improvement across single- and double-digit operations, including carryover, reflects the strength of this instructional approach. Pratham instructors consistently observed that compared to textbook-based instruction alone, hands-on materials helped children engage more actively with concepts such as addition and subtraction and understand them with greater ease.

The Grade 2 mathematics assessment reflected a clear increase in both the difficulty level and the breadth of concepts, extending beyond arithmetic to include shapes, sizes, weights and pattern recognition. The overall average score **increased from 32.89 to 34.03 out of a possible 37 points**. While the magnitude of improvement may appear modest, it is statistically reliable, suggesting that the intervention contributed to consistent learning gains among students²³.

²¹ <https://www.unesco.org/en/query-list/e/evaluation-education>

²² <https://www.oecd.org/en/topics/sub-issues/development-co-operation-evaluation-and-effectiveness/evaluation-criteria.html>

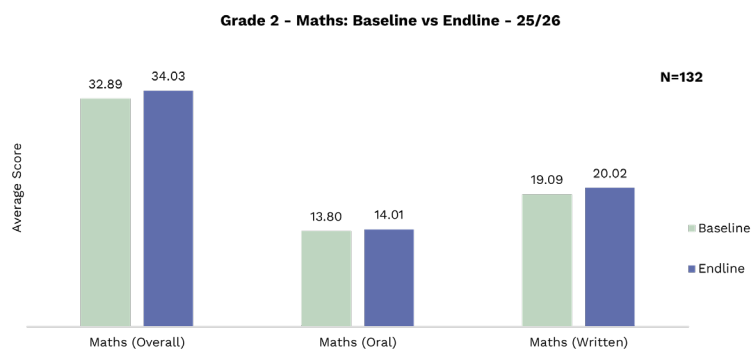


Figure 11: Grade 2- Maths: BL vs EL (25/26)

Contextual interpretation is important as many Grade 2 assessment items had already been introduced in Grade 1 due to tool continuity, while the assessment itself increasingly emphasized conceptual understanding beyond basic arithmetic. As a result, baseline scores were already high, leaving limited room for additional gains within a maximum score of 37, indicating a clear ‘ceiling effect’ rather than restricted learning progress. Students sustained strong performance, suggesting that the foundations built in Grade 1 enabled a more confident transition into multi-domain mathematical learning in Grade 2 through continued exposure to activity-based teaching approaches and, reinforced by learning beyond school hours.

The literacy trajectory across both grades follows a compelling arc. In Grade 1, the overall language score nearly **doubled from 17.54 at baseline to 36.27 at endline (out of 43)**, reflecting the scale of the challenge the programme was addressing. Teachers described children entering Grade 1 without letter recognition or early decoding skills, making the baseline not merely low but functionally absent in many cases. By endline, a substantial proportion of students had developed functional reading ability, with improvements visible across both oral and written language domains.

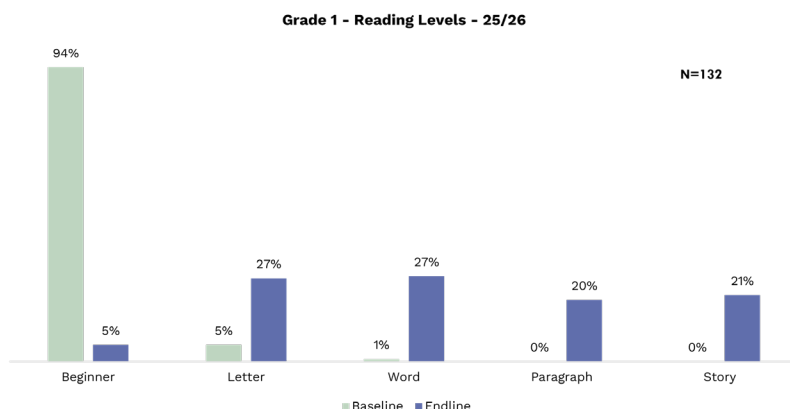


Figure 12: Grade 1- Reading Levels (25/26)

This strengthened foundation shaped Grade 2 outcomes, where students entered the year with a comparatively higher **baseline literacy score of 32.11**, which further improved to **37.21 by endline** ²⁴. Reading progression at this stage reflected consolidation rather than initiation of literacy skills, with students moving from letter- and word-level familiarity towards paragraph- and story-level reading as depicted in the corresponding graph. School heads also observed that activity-based play-method instruction increased student attendance, participation, and confidence in early grades, reinforcing sustained engagement with literacy development processes.

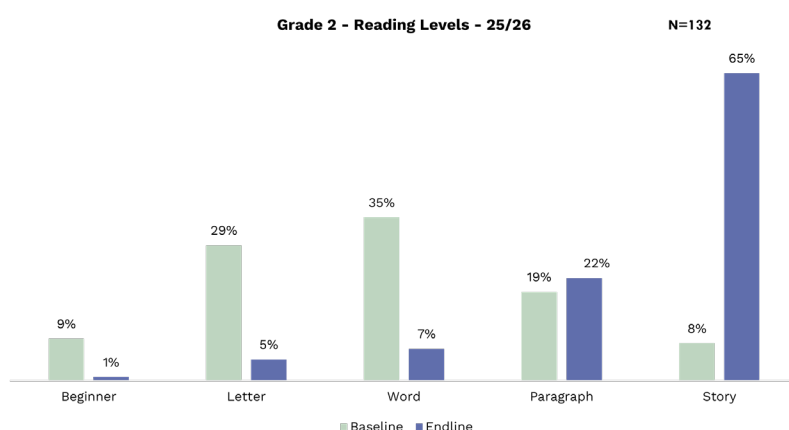


Figure 13: Grade 2- Reading Levels (25/26)

Major Highlights – Effectiveness

Grade 1 learning scores nearly doubled: Mathematics improved from 12.1 to 22.2/27, while language increased from 17.5 to 36.3/43, indicating strong foundational gains within one academic year.

Activity-based numeracy strengthened concept clarity: The use of structured TLMs and number charts helped Grade 1 children understand addition, subtraction and number concepts more concretely than textbook-based instruction alone.

Balanced literacy gains across early grades: Language gains were visible across oral, written and reading components, reflecting comprehensive literacy development rather than isolated skill improvement.

Grade 2 outcomes reflect sustained learning consolidation: Grade 2 students maintained a strong performance on a more demanding numeracy assessment, with language progression moving from letter/word-level toward paragraph/story-level comprehension. School heads also noted improved attendance, participation and confidence due to play-based, activity-oriented instruction.



अच्छे विचार
जिंदगी का आदर्श हैं।

एक मिनट देर से पहुँचने के बजाय
पाँच मिनट पहले पहुँचना अच्छा है।

दोस्तों के लिए जान
दोस्तों के लिए जान

समस्या का रहस्य खोलना
एकदम आसान है अपना

क्या कहेंगे
किसी को

22



00

Impact

Drawing on UNESCO–UNICEF’s framing of foundational learning as a prerequisite for continued educational progression and system-level learning improvement, **impact refers to the broader and more significant changes associated with the intervention** including improvements in learning outcomes at scale, shifts relative to external benchmarks and the programme’s overall contribution to strengthening foundational learning^{25 26}. In FLN programmes, impact extends beyond immediate gains to positioning students for continued academic progression. **In this project’s context, impact is reflected through** cross-sectional findings for Grades 3–5, contextualized against benchmarks such as ASER and supported by multi-year MIS trends (2022–23 to 2024–25), to assess the scale and direction of learning improvements and the programme’s contribution relative to system-level trends.

Teachers and volunteers across participating schools consistently described upper primary classrooms as highly heterogeneous spaces, with children at widely varying competency levels, irregular attendance histories, and limited academic reinforcement at home. In this context, the most significant contribution of the TaRL approach extended beyond improving reading and arithmetic outcomes. It created an instructional structure that regular classroom teaching, often constrained by syllabus completion pressures and large class sizes, could not easily provide. Through level-based grouping, targeted beginner support, and structured activity-based pedagogy, the programme responded to learning variation that conventional classroom approaches often struggled to address. Alongside targeted learning camps, Pratham instructors also engaged students across Grades 3 to 5 through structured weekly library sessions, including those outside camp groups. These sessions reinforced reading competencies developed in earlier grades while gradually introducing more advanced material and fostering sustained reading habits that extended beyond the classroom through community volunteers and home-based reading engagement.

Outcome Measures for Grade 3 to Grade 5

The near-absence of Beginner-level learners across all three grades and the concentration of students at ‘subtraction’ and ‘double-digit’ levels, indicates that foundational number operations have been successfully established among the majority of programme-supported children. Particularly notable is the Grade 3 profile – the relative strength of numeracy outcomes at this stage is not only a product of the current year’s instruction but carries the imprint of Balvachan support received in the earlier grades. The near-zero Beginner proportion at Grade 3, despite the discontinuance of learning camps in 2025–26, is an early signal that foundational gains from early intervention are sustaining themselves as children move into upper primary, reducing the remediation burden that would otherwise fall on Grade 3 teachers. Even qualitative insights from school-level respondents reinforced this conclusion, noting that children who entered upper primary with stronger foundations required significantly less repeated remediation, allowing instructional attention to be more effectively distributed across ability groups.

²⁴ **Significance Test** – A two-sample t-test was conducted to compare mean scores between baseline and endline groups. The mean score increased from 32.11 at baseline to 37.21 at endline, indicating an **average improvement of 5.10 points. This difference is statistically highly significant ($t = -5.92, p < 0.001$)**

²⁵ <https://www.unesco.org/en/quality-learning/foundational>

²⁶ <https://www.unicef.org/media/175231/file/Foundational-learning-action-tracker-2025-Global-report.pdf>

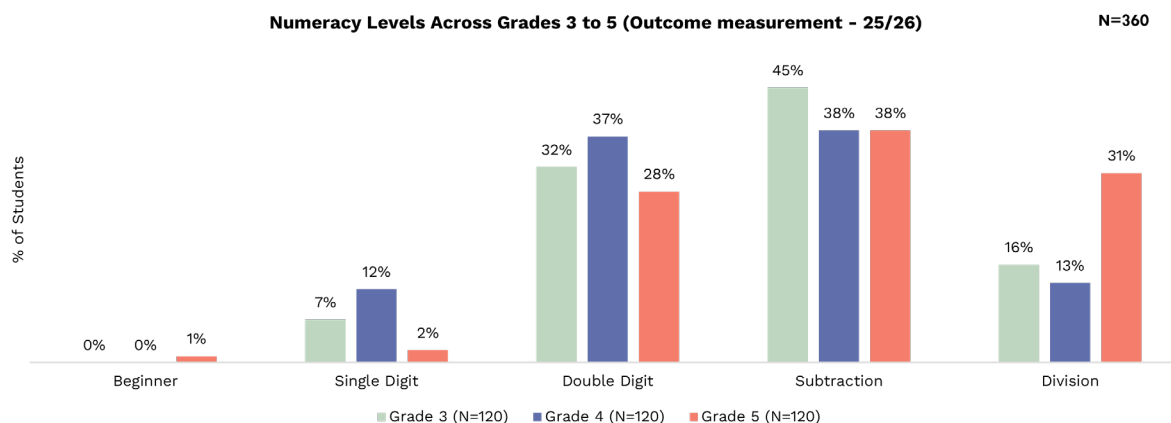


Figure 14: Numeracy Levels Across Grades 3 to 5 (25/26)

Table 6: % Children by grade and numeracy level ASER 2024.

Std	Not even 1-9	Recognise numbers		Subtract	Divide	Total
		1-9	11-99			
I	26.3	39.9	26.6	5.2	2.0	100
II	10.6	33.5	37.2	13.7	5.0	100
III	5.5	23.7	37.1	22.3	11.4	100
IV	2.9	15.6	34.1	25.8	21.5	100
V	2.3	11.8	30.1	25.1	30.7	100

Project Ankur's 2025–26 numeracy outcomes for Grades 3 to 5 (N=360) reveal a striking contrast with the ASER 2024 national picture, which continues to show substantial unresolved foundational numeracy gaps among primary school children. Nationally, only 33.7% of Std III children, 47.3% of Std IV, and 55.8% of Std V can perform subtraction or higher-order operations.

Against this backdrop, Project Ankur's cohort stands out sharply. **Across all three grades, fewer than 1% of students remained at Beginner level**, and only 2% to 12% were concentrated at single-digit recognition levels compared to 23.7% to 39.9% of students nationally. Instead, the **programme cohort was concentrated at higher competency levels**, with Subtraction and Division together accounting for 61% of Grade 3, 51% of Grade 4 and 69% of Grade 5 students. Taken together, these findings suggest that the **majority of programme-supported children had moved well beyond basic number recognition** and acquired functional arithmetic competencies essential for upper primary learning progression.

To further contextualize numeracy outcomes among Grade 5 students, association analysis revealed a statistically significant positive association between numeracy competency and students' ability to calculate money correctly when making purchases (95%)²⁷ as well as their ability to verify whether the correct change had been returned (94%).²⁸ These findings indicate that **stronger numeracy performance is linked not only to classroom learning but also to the practical application of mathematical skills in everyday situations**. A further positive association was identified between **numeracy levels and students' ability to retain reading and mathematics learning over time**²⁹, suggesting that stronger retention of instructional content is associated with higher arithmetic competency among Grade 5 learners.

²⁷ Spearman rank correlation between Grade 5 numeracy level and ability to calculate money correctly during purchases: $p = 0.2550$, $p = 0.0048$, $n = 120$

²⁸ Spearman rank correlation between Grade 5 numeracy level and ability to verify whether returned change is correct: $p = 0.2184$, $p = 0.0161$, $n = 120$

²⁹ Spearman rank correlation between Grade 5 numeracy level and retention of reading and mathematics learning over time: $p = 0.4202$, $p < 0.001$, $n = 120$

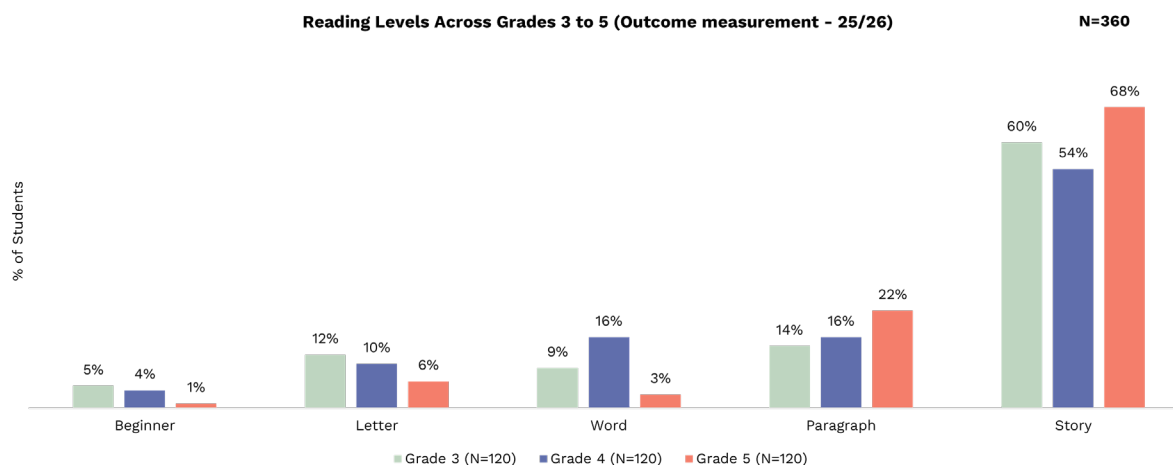


Figure 15: Reading Levels Across Grades 3 to 5 (25/26)

Table 7: % Children by grade and reading level ASER 2024.

Std	Not even letter	Letter	Word	Std I level text	Std II level text	Total
I	31.9	38.8	17.2	6.9	5.3	100
II	15.1	32.7	23.2	14.9	14.1	100
III	8.2	22.6	22.2	20.0	27.0	100
IV	5.0	15.1	18.0	22.0	40.0	100
V	4.1	11.7	14.2	21.3	48.7	100

Across Grades 3 to 5, **Project Ankur's 2025–26 outcome data** (N=360) shows **substantially stronger reading attainment than the ASER 2024 national estimates**³⁰ across all three grades.

At the Story level, Grade 3 students achieved 60%, more than double the national figure of 27% for Std III children. Grade 4 students reached 54% compared to 40% nationally, while Grade 5 performance stood at 68% against the ASER benchmark of 48.7%. When Paragraph and Story levels are combined, Grade 3 students outperformed national averages by approximately 27 percentage points (74% vs 47%), Grade 4 by 8 percentage points (70% vs 62%), and Grade 5 by 20 percentage points (90% vs 70%).



Their material and activities are truly very effective. In the learning camp, children who needed level correction improved. The camp helped us with those children whom I personally could not bring to level. I was shocked to see that the child whom I could not teach was learning to read within one week. It was a miracle for me.

– School Teacher, IDI

To further contextualize the Grade 5 reading outcomes, association analysis reveals a **statistically significant positive relationship between reading proficiency and the ability to read stories or passages aloud in class (93%)**³¹, suggesting that students at higher reading levels also demonstrate greater confidence in oral reading within classroom settings. **A positive association was also observed between reading proficiency and the practice of attempting to read materials at home (94%)**³², indicating that regular exposure to reading outside school contributes to stronger literacy outcomes. A further positive association was identified between reading proficiency and the habit of reading storybooks beyond prescribed textbooks (90%)³³, highlighting the **importance of independent reading engagement in building comprehension and fluency among upper primary learners**.

³⁰ ASER-2024-report – <https://asercentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/India.pdf>

³¹ Spearman rank correlation between Grade 5 reading level and ability to read stories or passages aloud in class: $\rho = 0.3853$, $p < 0.001$, $n = 120$

³² Spearman rank correlation between Grade 5 reading level and practice of reading at home: $\rho = 0.2426$, $p = 0.0073$, $n = 120$

³³ Spearman rank correlation between Grade 5 reading level and reading storybooks beyond textbooks: $\rho = 0.2268$, $p = 0.0124$, $n = 120$

Longitudinal Results: Grade 1 (24-25) & Grade 2 (25-26)

The impact of Project Ankur was also assessed using a **longitudinal cohort of 114 students in Grades 1 (2024–25) and Grade 2 (2025–26)**. These students received intervention support in Grade 1, progressed to Grade 2, and continued receiving programme support in the subsequent year, enabling assessment of whether early learning gains were sustained over time rather than reflecting short-term improvements alone. **Across this transition, particularly strong gains were observed in mathematics**, which is notable given that progression in numeracy typically requires greater cognitive sequencing, abstraction, and independent problem-solving than early reading skills.

In this context, **continued structured instructional exposure** appears to have played an important role in sustaining learning momentum across grade transitions. Pratham instructors also described **broader behavioural shifts over time**, noting improvements not only in reading levels but also in **classroom participation, discipline and children's willingness to engage in group learning activities**.

The overall score increased from **23.03 at Grade 1 endline to 34.09 at Grade 2 endline**, with the most substantial gains observed in the **written mathematics component (9.63 to 20.10)**. Written numeracy represents a more demanding competency than oral recognition as it requires children to independently interpret problem structures, retain sequences mentally and produce responses without prompting. Teachers described this transition from recognition to application as one of the most difficult shifts to achieve among children with limited structured learning support at home. Importantly, the Grade 2 assessment itself introduced more complex competencies — including shapes, sizes, weights, and patterns — yet students maintained strong performance across assessment rounds, a result that teachers attributed in part to the structured sequencing of card-based, step-by-step teaching approaches used by programme instructors, which several teachers described adapting directly within their own classrooms as a way of helping children move more reliably from recognition toward application. This convergence between instructor-led and classroom instruction suggests programme coherence, with children receiving reinforcement through multiple instructional pathways rather than a single source.

The language findings follow a similar pattern of sustained progression, though they reflect the cumulative effects of early literacy exposure rather than a sharp transition between competency types. The **overall language score increased from 37.28 at Grade 1 endline (2024-25) to 40.26 at Grade 2 endline (2025-26)**.

Teachers attributed these gains to repeated exposure to graded reading materials aligned with children's actual learning levels rather than strictly grade-level expectations. Mothers also realised this shift, that children who had previously avoided reading tasks altogether were now attempting to read independently at home and asking for help with unfamiliar words.



Whatever has been learnt will not stop. We will continue trying. We have been taught that the child should read at least one lesson every day.

– Mother, FGD

This shift in learning disposition reflects a form of engagement that assessment scores alone may not fully capture. Taken together, the year-on-year progression suggests that observed improvements were not simply the result of an additional year of schooling, but of cumulative exposure to structured, level-appropriate instructional support that built on competencies established in Grade 1.

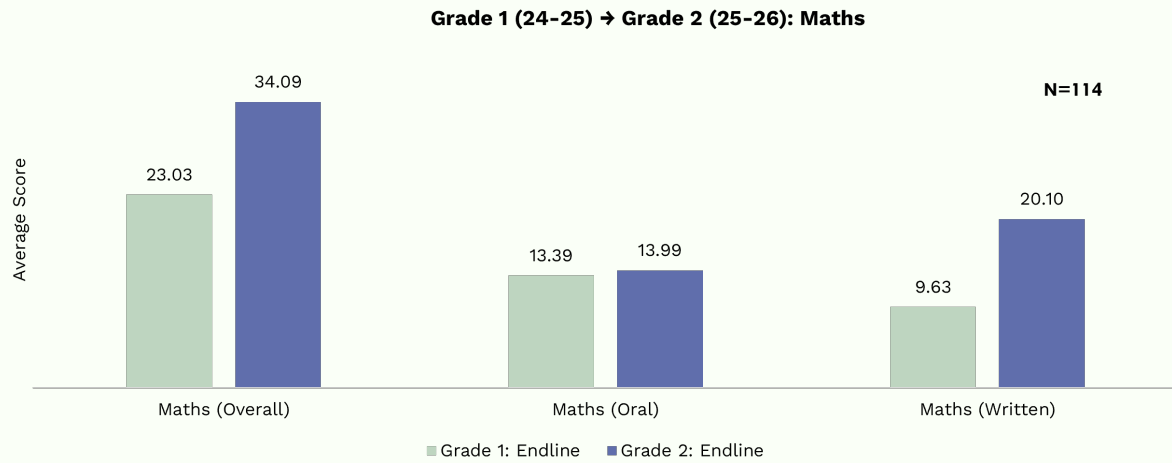


Figure 16: Endline Comparison (Maths) - Grade 1 (24-25) & Grade 2 (25-26)

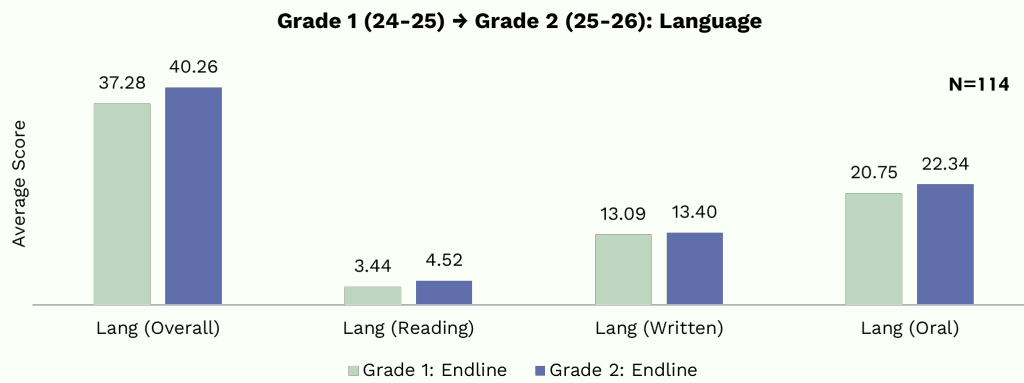


Figure 17: Endline Language Performance - Grade 1 (24-25) & Grade 2 (25-26)

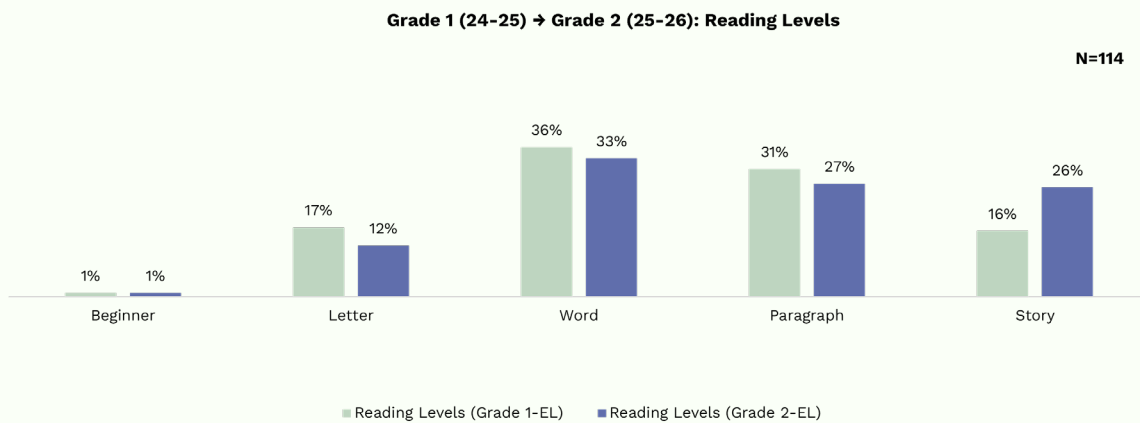
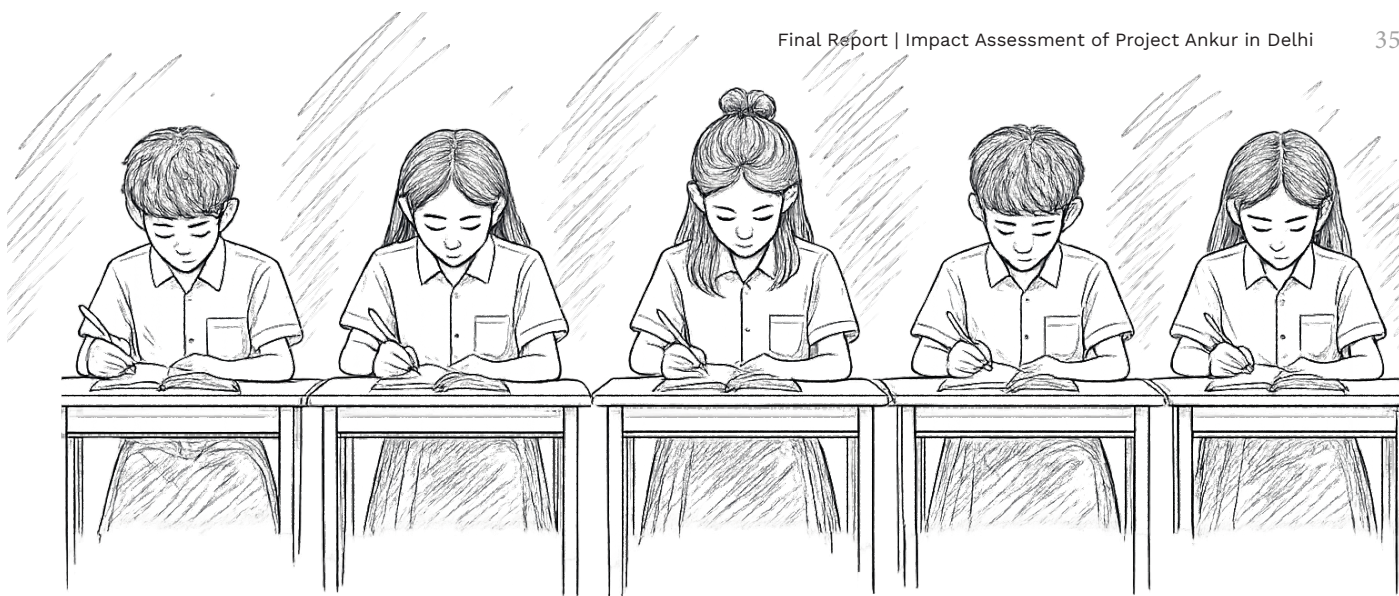


Figure 18: Endline Reading Performance – Grade 1 (24-25) vs Grade 2 (25-26)



Trend Analysis – MIS Data (22-23 to 24-25)

Trend Analysis for Grades 3-5: Numeracy Levels

Across all three grades and all three years of project implementation, the numeracy level distributions at baseline reveal a consistent and predictable entry profile: the large majority of students arrive at the start of each year concentrated at the Single Digit and Double Digit levels, with very few at Subtraction and almost none at Division. This pattern holds with remarkable stability across 2022–23, 2023–24 and 2024–25, confirming that the arithmetic starting point of children entering upper primary grades has not changed meaningfully over time and that the programme has consistently had to work with a cohort that arrives with both limited foundational as well as limited advanced numeracy competency.

Table 8: Grade 3 Progression Trend - Numeracy Levels between 22-23 & 24-25

Grade 3										
Year	Beginner (BL)	Beginner (EL)	Single Digit (BL)	Single Digit (EL)	Double Digit (BL)	Double Digit (EL)	Subtraction (BL)	Subtraction (EL)	Division (BL)	Division (EL)
22-23 (N=145)	6.2%	0.0%	46.2%	17.9%	39.3%	35.9%	6.2%	26.2%	2.1%	20.0%
23-24 (N=386)	5.2%	0.8%	41.7%	19.2%	47.4%	33.9%	5.7%	39.1%	0.0%	7.0%
24-25 (N=323)	6.8%	0.3%	47.1%	16.4%	41.8%	32.8%	4.3%	46.1%	0.0%	4.3%
25-26 (N=120)		0%		7%		32%		45%		16%

Table 9: Grade 4 Progression Trend - Numeracy Levels between 22-23 & 24-25

Grade 4										
Year	Beginner (BL)	Beginner (EL)	Single Digit (BL)	Single Digit (EL)	Double Digit (BL)	Double Digit (EL)	Subtraction (BL)	Subtraction (EL)	Division (BL)	Division (EL)
22-23 (N=393)	2.8%	0.0%	44.3%	12.5%	41.0%	29.0%	8.9%	41.7%	3.1%	16.8%
23-24 (N=427)	2.8%	0.7%	42.9%	15.5%	43.8%	31.1%	9.6%	43.1%	0.7%	9.6%
24-25 (N=352)	2.6%	0.3%	31.2%	10.8%	54.3%	24.1%	11.1%	54.0%	0.9%	10.8%
25-26 (N=120)		0%		12%		37%		38%		13%

Table 10: Grade 5 Progression Trend - Numeracy Levels between 22-23 & 24-25

Grade 5										
Year	Beginner (BL)	Beginner (EL)	Single Digit (BL)	Single Digit (EL)	Double Digit (BL)	Double Digit (EL)	Subtraction (BL)	Subtraction (EL)	Division (BL)	Division (EL)
22-23 (N=541)	2.6%	0.6%	36.2%	9.4%	46.8%	22.7%	12.8%	42.0%	1.7%	25.3%
23-24 (N=414)	3.1%	0.0%	34.8%	11.6%	48.1%	22.2%	11.4%	47.1%	2.7%	19.1%
24-25 (N=278)	6.1%	0.4%	28.8%	7.2%	46.0%	19.1%	18.3%	49.6%	0.7%	23.7%
25-26 (N=120)		1%		2%		28%		38%		31%

What changes decisively between baseline and endline is where students are positioned on that competency ladder by the end of each year. **In Grade 3**, the endline distribution shows a clear shift away from Single Digit **concentration toward Double Digit and Subtraction levels**, with Division making a modest but consistent appearance across years. The **direction of movement** highlights that students are progressing **upward across the competency scale** within a single academic year and this pattern repeats across all three cohorts. In Grade 4, the shift is more pronounced. **Subtraction becomes the dominant**

endline level across all three years, with a meaningful proportion of students also reaching Division, indicating that Grade 4 students are consolidating intermediate arithmetic operations and beginning to engage with more complex computational tasks by the time the programme year closes.

Grade 5 shows the strongest endline performance across all three years, with **Subtraction and Division** together accounting for the majority of students at endline. This is particularly notable because Grade 5 students also tend to enter the year with a slightly higher baseline distribution than Grades 3 and 4, suggesting a cumulative benefit — children who have been in programme-supported schools for longer are arriving at Grade 5 with stronger foundations and are then able to progress further within the year. The **near-elimination of Beginner-level students at endline across all three grades and all three years** is perhaps the single most consistent finding in the numeracy data: it confirms that the programme is effectively closing the lowest-level arithmetic gaps among participating learners, regardless of cohort size, year of implementation, or grade level.

Trend Analysis for Grades 3-5: Reading Levels

The reading level distributions across Grades 3 to 5 show that, **during the MIS baseline years, students were heavily concentrated at lower literacy levels**. Across Grades 3, 4 and 5, **Paragraph and Story levels were absent at baseline**, with most students positioned at the Letter and Word stages. This indicates that many upper-primary students were beginning the intervention cycle with basic recognition abilities but without the fluency and comprehension required to engage confidently with connected text – precisely the gap that the TaRL approach seeks to address.

Table 11: Grade 3 Progression Trend - Reading Levels between 22-23 & 24-25

Grade 3										
Year	Beginner (BL)	Beginner (EL)	Letter (BL)	Letter (EL)	Word (BL)	Word (EL)	Paragraph (BL)	Paragraph (EL)	Story (BL)	Story (EL)
22-23 (N=145)	17.2%	0.0%	38.6%	19.3%	42.8%	25.5%	0.0%	33.8%	0.0%	20.0%
23-24 (N=386)	13.0%	2.3%	45.3%	16.6%	16.8%	19.9%	0.0%	16.8%	0.0%	17.9%
24-25 (N=323)	13.3%	1.5%	58.8%	17.6%	27.9%	29.4%	0.0%	34.4%	0.0%	17.0%
25-26 (N=120)		5%		12%		9%		14%		60%

Table 12: Grade 4 Progression Trend - Reading Levels between 22-23 & 24-25

Grade 4										
Year	Beginner (BL)	Beginner (EL)	Letter (BL)	Letter (EL)	Word (BL)	Word (EL)	Paragraph (BL)	Paragraph (EL)	Story (BL)	Story (EL)
22-23 (N=393)	14.8%	1.5%	43.0%	18.1%	29.8%	15.8%	0.0%	24.9%	0.0%	26.0%
23-24 (N=427)	8.0%	0.7%	42.2%	17.1%	32.6%	25.3%	0.0%	27.9%	0.0%	23.9%
24-25 (N=352)	8.8%	0.6%	46.3%	15.3%	44.9%	22.4%	0.0%	41.2%	0.0%	20.5%
25-26 (N=120)		4%		10%		16%		16%		54%

Table 13: Grade 5 Progression Trend - Reading Levels between 22-23 & 24-25

Grade 5										
Year	Beginner (BL)	Beginner (EL)	Letter (BL)	Letter (EL)	Word (BL)	Word (EL)	Paragraph (BL)	Paragraph (EL)	Story (BL)	Story (EL)
22-23 (N=541)	10.7%	1.3%	46.0%	15.9%	39.9%	16.8%	0.0%	26.6%	0.0%	32.5%
23-24 (N=414)	9.6%	0.9%	43.9%	14.6%	46.5%	25.7%	0.0%	31.9%	0.0%	26.9%
24-25 (N=278)	7.9%	0.7%	42.4%	12.6%	49.6%	20.1%	0.0%	21.9%	0.0%	44.6%
25-26 (N=120)		1%		6%		3%		22%		68%

By endline, the picture changes substantially. **Across all three grades and all three years, Story and Paragraph levels emerge as significant proportions of the endline distribution**, representing students who have crossed the threshold **from decoding into connected text reading** within a single year. In Grade 3, the endline distribution spreads more evenly across Word, Story, and Paragraph levels, with Beginner dropping to near zero in most years — a sign that even the lowest-entry readers in Grade 3 are making measurable progress by the end of the year. In Grade 4, the Paragraph level consistently emerges as a strong endline proportion, with Story also displaying strong estimates, indicating that Grade 4 students are not only crossing the reading threshold but are consolidating comprehension-level literacy with significant consistency. Grade 5 demonstrates the strongest upper-grade performance, with Story-level reading emerging as the largest endline category in most years. This is the most advanced level in the reading framework and its emergence as the modal endline category in Grade 5 is a direct indicator of the programme's cumulative effect on literacy development across upper primary grades.

Trend Analysis for Grades 1-2: Reading Levels

The Grade 1 reading baseline tells perhaps the most striking story in the entire dataset. In every year of implementation, between 55% and 65% of Grade 1 students arrive at the start of the programme year at the Beginner level — meaning they enter school with no recognisable letter recognition or early reading ability whatsoever. Almost all remaining students are at the Letter level, and virtually no children are at Word, Para, or Story at baseline. This is not a data anomaly; it is a direct reflection of the pre-school exposure gap that characterises the communities in which Project Ankur operates. Children are entering Grade 1 for the first time, from households where reading has not been part of their daily environment, and with no structured early childhood education behind them. The baseline distribution captures this reality with clarity.

Grade 1										
Year	Beginner (BL)	Beginner (EL)	Letter (BL)	Letter (EL)	Word (BL)	Word (EL)	Paragraph (BL)	Paragraph (EL)	Story (BL)	Story (EL)
22-23 (N=509)	65.0%	1.0%	35.0%	29.0%	0.0%	37.0%	0.0%	18.0%	0.0%	15.0%
23-24 (N=502)	65.0%	3.0%	33.0%	40.0%	1.0%	37.0%	1.0%	12.0%	1.0%	7.0%
24-25 (N=560)	55.0%	6.0%	43.0%	31.0%	2.0%	35.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	8.0%
25-26 (N=132)	94%	5%	5%	27%	1%	27%	0%	20%	0%	21%

Grade 2										
Year	Beginner (BL)	Beginner (EL)	Letter (BL)	Letter (EL)	Word (BL)	Word (EL)	Paragraph (BL)	Paragraph (EL)	Story (BL)	Story (EL)
22-23 (N=453)	44.0%	0.0%	49.0%	12.0%	7.0%	33.0%	0.0%	21.0%	0.0%	33.0%
23-24 (N=564)	15.0%	1.0%	40.0%	8.0%	30.0%	22.0%	12.0%	23.0%	3.0%	46.0%
24-25 (N=565)	12.0%	0.0%	37.0%	6.0%	25.0%	19.0%	15.0%	24.0%	12.0%	50.0%
25-26 (N=132)	20%	1%	31%	5%	30%	7%	20%	22%	0%	66%

By endline, Grade 1 students have moved significantly. The Beginner proportion collapses from over half the cohort at baseline to near zero at endline across all three years, which means the programme is consistently and fully closing the entry-level reading gap within a single year for virtually all children who engage with it. Word-level reading becomes the largest endline category in all three years, with Para and Story also emerging as meaningful proportions — a genuinely remarkable shift given where these children began. The consistency of this pattern across three different cohorts, each starting from a similarly low baseline, is one of the strongest indicators in the data that the Balvachan model's early literacy approach is reliable rather than cohort-dependent.

Grade 2 tells the complementary story. Baseline scores in Grade 2 are visibly higher than those in Grade 1 across all three years — Beginner proportions are lower, Word-level presence is greater, and Para and Story are already beginning to appear at baseline in the later years. This is precisely what should happen if the programme is working: children who received Balvachan support in Grade 1 are arriving at Grade 2 with a foundation that was absent at the start of the previous year. The carry-forward effect of prior programme exposure is directly legible in the Grade 2 baseline distribution, and it means that Grade 2 instruction begins from a qualitatively higher starting point. By endline, Grade 2 students are reaching Story and Para levels in proportions that increase across the three years of implementation, with Story-level reading accounting for a third of the cohort in 2022–23 and rising to half by 2024–25.

Major Highlights – Impact

Beginner-level gaps nearly eliminated: Across Grades 3–5, very few students remained at the Beginner level, indicating that foundational numeracy gaps had been substantially addressed.

Primed for upper-primary learning & beyond: Most students moved beyond basic number recognition into subtraction and division-level competencies, positioning them better for upper-primary learning.

Stronger outcomes than ASER benchmarks: Project Ankur students across Grades 3–5 performed notably better than ASER 2024 estimates, with higher proportions demonstrating functional arithmetic and advanced reading levels. A large share of students reached Paragraph and Story levels — 74% in Grade 3 (vs 47%), 70% in Grade 4 (vs 62%) and 90% in Grade 5 (vs 70%) — indicating stronger fluency and comprehension.

Learning gains translated into real-life application: Higher numeracy was linked to children correctly calculating money and verifying change, while literacy gains were reflected in voluntary home reading and classroom participation.

Sustainability

OECD–DAC defines sustainability as the extent to which the net benefits of an intervention continue over time. In an FLN context, this includes the retention of learning gains, continued engagement with grade-level curriculum and the ability of students to cope with increasing academic rigour. In the case of Project Ankur, sustainability is examined through **longitudinal cohort transitions, particularly Grade 3 to 4 and Grade 4 to 5 (post-intervention phases), as well as Grade 2 (2024–25) to Grade 3 (2025–26) transitions** following the discontinuation of learning camps³⁴, to assess whether improvements are sustained and integrated into regular classroom learning over time. Such an analysis also carries a commentary on whether improvements in literacy and numeracy are sustained as students progress to higher grades and engage with more complex curriculum demands.

Evidence from cross-sectional comparisons across Grade 3 to Grade 4 and Grade 4 to Grade 5 cohorts was expected to serve **two analytical purposes – (a) provide a measure of sustainability** by assessing whether learning gains achieved through earlier programme exposure are retained as students progress through upper primary, even **in the absence of structured learning camps** and **(b) reflect on the effectiveness narrative** by examining whether students continue to demonstrate stronger reading and numeracy competencies relative to systemic grade-level benchmarks. Together, these comparisons **help assess whether Project Ankur generated durable learning outcomes** rather than short-term gains dependent on active intervention support.

Cross-grade Comparison for Grade 3 (24-25) & Grade 4 (25-26)

The cohort-level **comparison between endline results of Grade 3 (2024-25) and Grade 4 (2025-26)** indicates a clear shift from intermediate arithmetic operations toward higher-order computational competency, particularly visible in the **substantial increase in students performing division-level tasks**. This progression reflects strengthening conceptual understanding. This improvement is further reinforced by the reduction of students at intermediate stages – subtraction and double-digit competency levels.

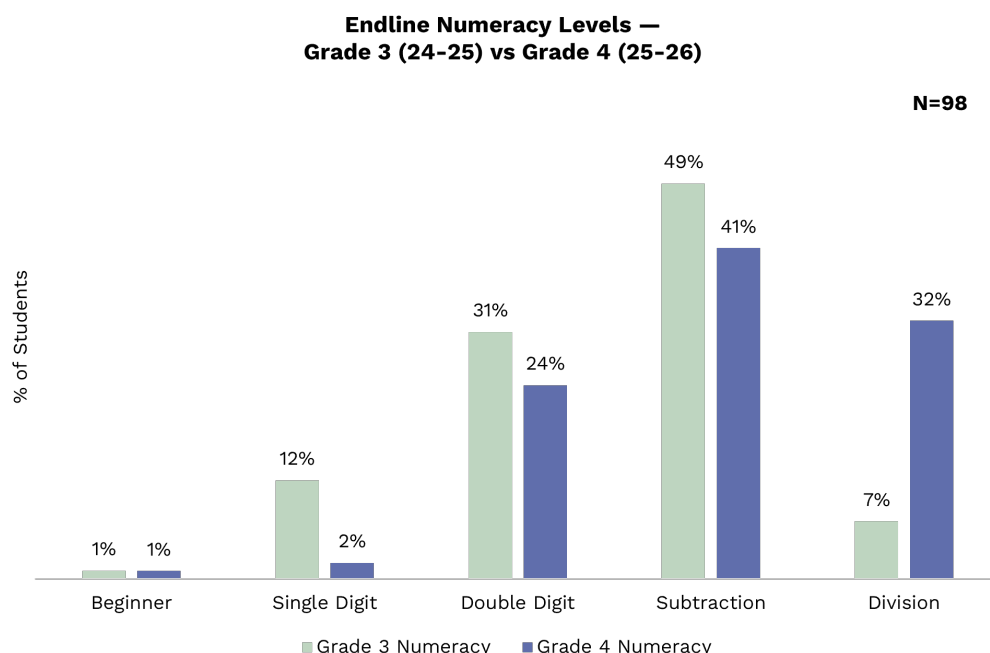


Figure 19: Endline Numeracy Comparisons – Grade 3 (24-25) & Grade 4 (25-26)

³⁴ **Note:** Through our interactions with the Pratham stakeholders (instructors and volunteers), we were informed that the learning camps were phased out in FY 2025-26 as the number of students requiring intensive remediation had reduced considerably. Most Grades 3–5 students had already progressed beyond 'Beginner' and 'Single Digit' levels, indicating that prior programme exposure had strengthened foundational literacy and numeracy competencies.



Their base has become strong. Now they have started reading properly. This time when we took the tests, we ourselves were surprised that the children were doing very well.

– School Volunteer, IDI

Key stakeholders consistently reported that children identified as “very weak” at baseline were prioritized for additional practice support and were encouraged to attend sessions regularly until they demonstrated measurable level progression. This aligns with evidence from Teaching at the Right Level (TaRL) implementations across India, which show that structured level-based grouping combined with targeted instruction can accelerate arithmetic progression within a single academic cycle.³⁵

Learning progression is even more visible in literacy outcomes between Grade 3 and Grade 4. The sharp **increase in the proportion of children reading at the ‘story’ level** reflects a transition from decoding-based reading toward independent comprehension of connected text. Importantly, the corresponding reduction in the share of children at word- and letter-level reading stages suggests that **early literacy barriers are being addressed before they persist into later grades**; a critical transition point identified in national FLN frameworks such as NIPUN Bharat as necessary for supporting subject learning across the curriculum.

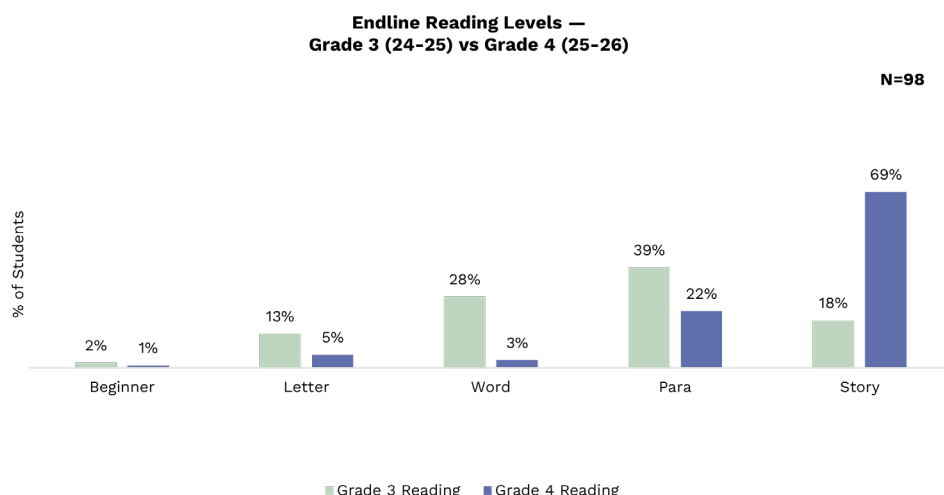


Figure 20: Endline Reading Comparisons – Grade 3 (24-25) vs Grade 4 (25-26)

Cross-grade Comparison for Grade 4 (24-25) & Grade 5 (25-26)

Literacy progression from Grade 4 to Grade 5 reflects a **strong upward trajectory**. The marked increase in students reading at the ‘Story’ level indicates **improved fluency and comprehension ability** among upper-primary learners. Qualitative insights further corroborate that reading proficiency is not driven by classroom instruction alone, but is **also shaped by** greater reading confidence, voluntary practice at home and sustained engagement with reading materials beyond the formal curriculum.

³⁵ Banerjee, A., Banerji, R., Berry, J., Duflo, E., Kannan, H., Mukherji, S., ... & Walton, M. (2016). Mainstreaming an effective intervention: Evidence from randomized evaluations of “Teaching at the Right Level” in India (No. w22746). National Bureau of Economic Research.

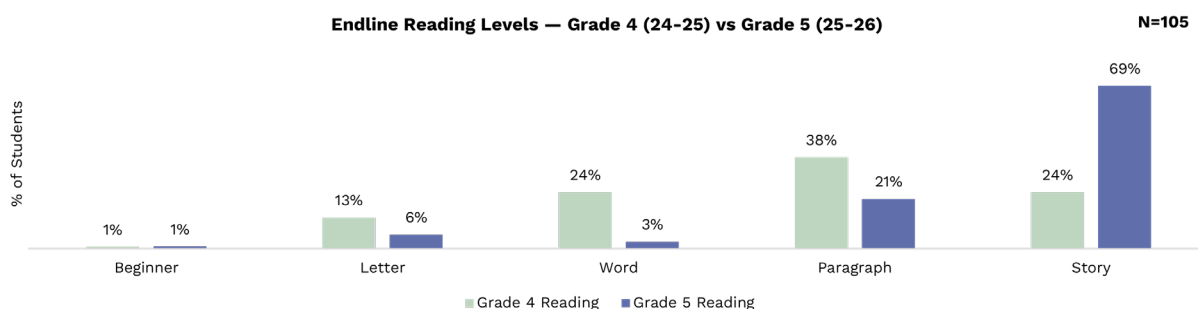


Figure 21: Endline Reading Comparisons – Grade 4 (24-25) vs Grade 5 (25-26)

The comparison between Grade 4 and Grade 5 cohorts indicates continued **strengthening of higher-order arithmetic competencies** as students move through upper primary grades. The marked increase in the proportion of students performing division-level operations reflects improved numerical reasoning and problem-solving ability, suggesting **consolidation of earlier gains achieved through structured camp-based interventions** and subsequent classroom reinforcement. These findings are consistent with broader national evidence from ASER assessments, which indicate that sustained exposure to level-appropriate instruction during upper primary grades is associated with improved arithmetic fluency and reduced persistence of early numeracy deficits.

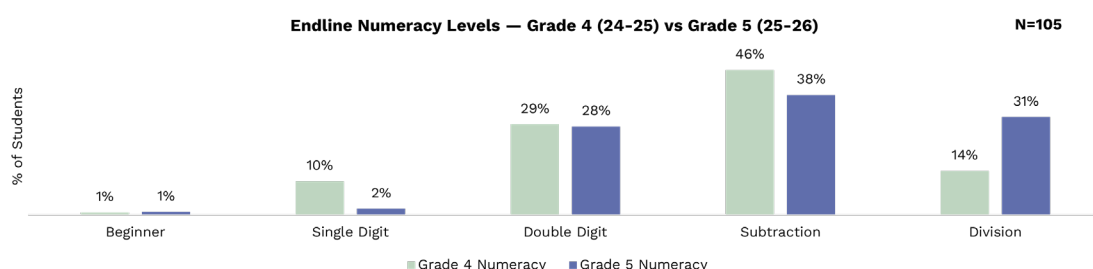


Figure 22: Endline Numeracy Comparisons – Grade 4 (24-25) vs Grade 5 (25-26)

Taken together, the cross-grade progression observed between Grades 4 and 5 reinforces both the **effectiveness and durability of the project's learning support model**.

Cross-grade Comparison for Grade 2 (24-25) & Grade 3 (25-26)

Literacy progression from Grade 2 to Grade 3 within this longitudinal cohort demonstrates a **clear positive trajectory**. The increase in the proportion of students reading at the story level from 68% in Grade 2 to 73% in Grade 3 indicates the cumulative impact of early-grade instructional practices, where students were systematically supported through read-aloud exercises, guided reading with finger tracking, structured exposure to storybooks and foundational tools such as barakhadi.

Despite differences in assessment tools (Balvachan versus ASER), the core reading competencies assessed and the manner of evaluation remain comparable, allowing for meaningful interpretation of change. Taken together, the findings provide strong evidence of a sustained and positive directional shift in reading levels.

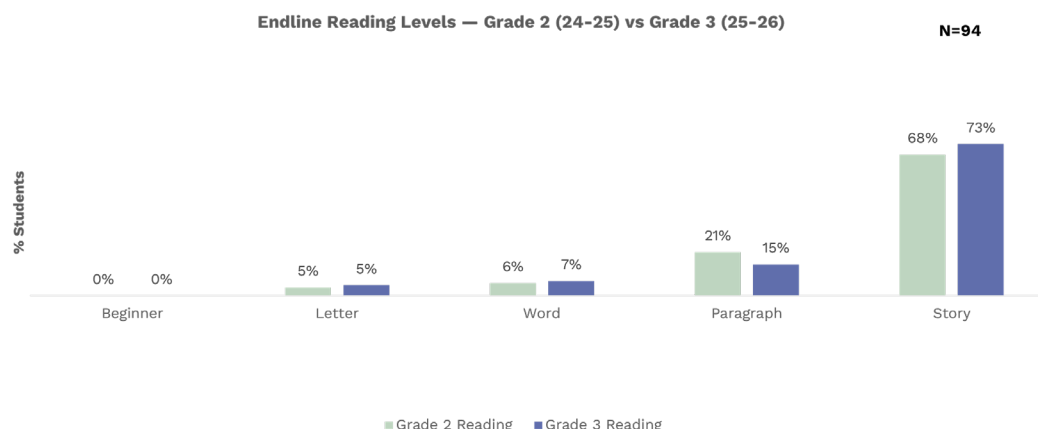


Figure 23: Endline Reading Comparisons – Grade 2 (24-25) vs Grade 3 (25-26)

Major Highlights – Sustainability

Sustained reading progression: Reading levels improved across Grade 2–3, Grade 3–4 and Grade 4–5 transitions, with more students reaching the “Story” level, indicating stronger fluency and comprehension.

Improved upper-primary numeracy: Grade 3–4 and Grade 4–5 comparisons show clear movement toward higher arithmetic competencies, especially “division-level” tasks.

Reduced dependence on learning camps: Continued gains after the phase-out of structured TaRL camps suggest that previous camp-led FLN improvements were retained within regular classroom learning.

Stronger foundations and learning habits: Stakeholder views indicate that children now read with greater confidence, practice more regularly at home and engage more actively with storybooks and learning materials.

Social Return on Investment

Table 14: SROI value generated by Project Ankur

Total Investment	Total PV of Benefits	SROI Ratio
₹3.61 crore	₹31.33 crore	₹8.69: ₹1
Conclusion: For every ₹1 invested, approximately ₹8.69 of social value is created by Project Ankur		

About SROI Methodology

Social Return on Investment (SROI) is **a framework for measuring and communicating the broad concept of value created by an organisation or programme**. Going beyond conventional financial accounting, SROI quantifies the social, economic, and environmental impact generated by an intervention and expresses it as a monetary ratio relative to the investment made. In the words of Social Value “UK’s Guide to SROI”, SROI is “a method, an analytic tool and an accepted form of stakeholder-centred evaluation”³⁶.

For Project Ankur, **an Evaluative SROI has been conducted** that is, one based on **actual outcomes already achieved**, not forecasted projections. The analysis draws on verified programme data (BL-EL assessments, MIS records and cross-sectional endline surveys), benchmarked against national ASER 2024 findings and adjusted using a set of defensible impact parameters. The SROI ratio produced represents the present value (PV) of social benefits generated for every rupee invested.

Snapshot of SROI Value

Total Investment	Students Reached	Per Capita Investment
₹3.61 (3,60,66,489 crore)	19,989	₹1,804 per student

Social Return on Investment (SROI) is **a framework for measuring and communicating the broad concept of value created by an organisation or programme**. Going beyond conventional financial accounting, SROI quantifies the social, economic, and environmental impact generated by an intervention and expresses it as a monetary ratio relative to the investment made. In the words of Social Value “UK’s Guide to SROI”, SROI is “a method, an analytic tool and an accepted form of stakeholder-centred evaluation” .

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³⁶ **Nicholls, J., Lawlor, E., Neitzert, E., & Goodspeed, T.** A Guide to Social Return on Investment (Social Value UK, 2012). Avail- 878 able online: <https://socialvalueuk.org/resources/a-guide-to-social-return-on-investment-2012>, 879.

Key Social Value Drivers

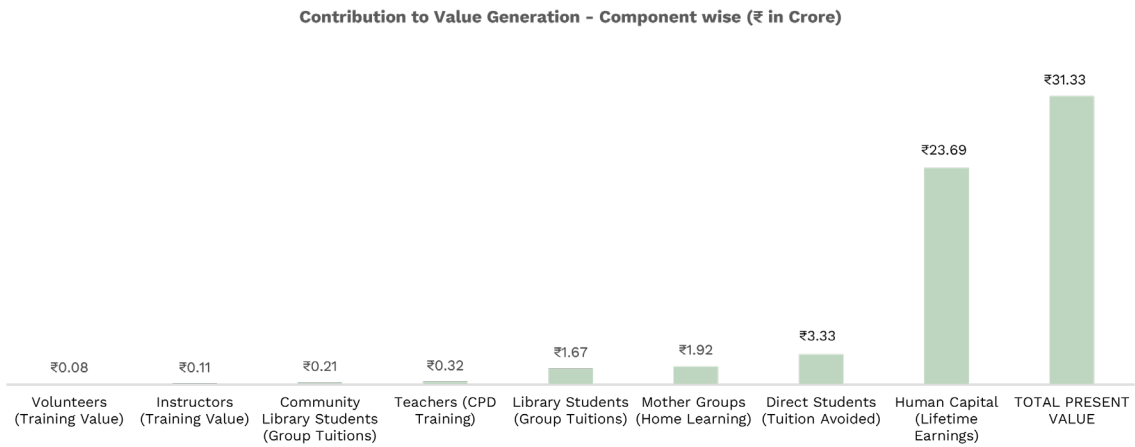


Figure 24: PV by Stakeholder Group (₹ in Crore)

Table 15: Component wise contribution to Value Generation

Outcome Row	H ³⁷	Proxy (₹)	PV across Duration
Direct Students — Tuition Costs Avoided	3,010	₹4,200	~₹31.3 crore
Library Students — Sustained Reading Habit	6,215	₹1,820	~₹1.67 crore
Community Library Students	1,130	₹1,800	~₹20.9 lakhs
Volunteers — Training Value	213	₹3,750	~₹7.6 lakhs
Instructors — FLN CPD	81	₹10,000	~₹10.9 lakhs
Teachers — CPD Training	199	₹12,500	~₹31.6 lakhs
Mother Groups — Home Learning	2,104	₹8,352	~₹1.92 crore
Human Capital — Lifetime Earnings	1,579	₹3,00,000	~₹23.69 crore
TOTAL PRESENT VALUE			~₹31.33 crore

Principles Applied

This analysis adheres to the seven principles of SROI as outlined by Social Value UK:

- 1. Involve Stakeholders:** Outcomes defined reflect changes experienced by direct students, library students, community library students, volunteers, instructors, teachers and mother groups.
- 2. Understand What Changes:** A Theory of Change grounds each outcome in Ankur's documented activities and their measurable effects.
- 3. Value Things That Matter:** Financial proxies used for each outcome reflect real market equivalents – tuition costs, training programme rates, Continuing Professional Development (CPD) costs and validated human capital estimates.

4. **Only Include What is Material:** Outcomes are included only where there is documented evidence of change and a clear causal link to programme activities.
5. **Do Not Overclaim:** Four adjustment parameters – deadweight, attribution, displacement, and drop-off – are applied to every outcome. ASER national trend data provides an objective external benchmark for deadweight.
6. **Be Transparent:** All assumptions, sources and parameter choices are documented and disclosed.
7. **Verify the Results:** Key findings are cross-referenced with published Indian and international evidence, including ASER Centre data and Kapoor et al. (2022), Institute for Competitiveness India.

Establishing Scope and Key Stakeholders

The SROI analysis covers the four-year programme period from 2022-23 to 2025-26, across three MCD school clusters in Delhi: Rohini, Shahdara North and Shahdara South. The total investment across this period is ₹3,60,66,489, averaged across 19,989 total students served – 7524 (direct/G1-G5) & 12,465 (indirect/G3 to G5 school library sessions), yielding a cost of ₹1,804 per student. Eight stakeholder groups are identified as material to the analysis.

³⁷ **Note: H (headcount of beneficiaries)** is the number of people experiencing a described outcome. It is not the total number of people in the programme.

Table 16: SROI – Project Stakeholders, Proportion & Nature of Engagement

S.No	Stakeholder Group	Count	Nature of Engagement
1.	Students — Direct FLN Instruction (Gr. 1–5)	7,524 ³⁸	Concentrated daily FLN instruction via Balvachan/TaRL methodology; BL-EL assessed
2.	Students — School Library Sessions (Gr. 3–5)	12,465	Facilitated weekly reading sessions; a distinct non-overlapping cohort from direct students
3.	Students — Community/Home Libraries (Age 3–14)	1,130	Volunteer-run home and community libraries reaching children beyond school programme; This figure represents an additional ~15% of students directly benefiting from the programme, through attendance at community libraries supported by Pratham-trained volunteers, accessed via knowledge dissemination from friends, family and neighborhood networks
4.	Volunteers	213	Received multi-module training: FLN pedagogy, digital literacy, financial literacy, first aid, parental engagement
5.	Instructors (81, Years 1–3)	81	Activity-based FLN pedagogy, revision techniques, home-school integration training
6.	Teachers (140, Year 4)	199	FLN pedagogy, classroom engagement, child behaviour, parental engagement CPD training
7.	Mother Groups	2,104	Structured group meetings, weekly WhatsApp home-learning tasks, PTM coordination
8.	Students — Human Capital Pathway	1,579	Students whose FLN gains demonstrably exceeded national ASER trend (above-trend cohort only)

³⁸ **Note:** These figures are based on MIS data shared by Pratham with Sambodhi on 30 January 2026.

Intervention Year	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Total
22-23	509	453	145	393	541	2041
23-24	502	564	386	427	414	2293
24-25	560	565	323	352	278	2078
25-26	595	517	-----	-----	-----	1112
Total	2166	2099	854	1172	1233	7524

Calculating and Reporting the SROI Ratio

Total Present Value of Benefits	₹30,09,68,274 (~₹30.1 crore)
Total Programme Investment	~ ₹3.61 crore
Total Present Value of Benefits	~ ₹31.33 crore
Discount Rate Applied	3.5% (HM Treasury Green Book STPR 2022)
SROI RATIO	₹8.69 : ₹1

Conclusion

Project Ankur's SROI of 8.69:1 sits comfortably within and in a particular case exceeds the range established by comparable published evidence for education and FLN-focused interventions. The Fast Forward Programme (Australia) returned **\$5.73:1** for a comparable education access intervention for disadvantaged youth³⁹. The Perry Preschool Project, the most rigorously evaluated early childhood investment programme for low-income children, generated returns of **\$7–13 per dollar** invested depending on the time horizon and discount rate applied. A joint World Bank Group and UNICEF statement cites evidence that each additional dollar invested in quality early childhood development programmes yields a **return of \$6–\$17**⁴⁰. Pratham's TaRL approach, the direct methodological basis for Ankur's Balvachan model, is recognised by the Global Education Evidence Advisory Panel as among the most cost-effective FLN interventions globally^{41 42}.

Taken together, Project Ankur's SROI of 8.69:1 reflects what well-designed, evidence-based FLN interventions in underserved communities are capable of generating when evaluated rigorously and conservatively.

³⁹ Ravulo, J., Said, S., Micsko, J., & Purchase, G. (2019). Utilising the social return on investment (SROI) framework to gauge social value in the fast forward program. *Education Sciences*, 9(4), 290. – <https://www.mdpi.com/2227-7102/9/4/290>

⁴⁰ <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2016/04/14/world-bank-group-unicef-urge-greater-investment-in-early-childhood-development>

⁴¹ <https://www.ukfiet.org/2020/cost-effective-approaches-to-improve-global-learning-is-teaching-at-the-right-level-tarl-a-good-buy/>

⁴² <https://www.pratham.org/2020/10/28/pratham-tarl-approach/>

Strengths of Project Ankur

1. **A ‘Practitioner Laboratory’ for Early Grades (Grades 1–2):** Across India, Grade 1 and Grade 2 children are almost universally taught together by a single teacher – a practice that prevents systematic understanding of what each grade requires. In this regard, **Project Ankur made a critical contribution by deliberately disaggregating these two grades into distinct instructional streams.** Project Ankur established a structured, full-year instructional model by separating Grades 1 and 2. This has enabled rigorous testing and refinement of pedagogy within real government school settings, creating an evidence-backed FLN model aligned with NIPUN Bharat goals.
2. **Integrated Prevention–Remediation Design Across Grades:** The programme uniquely combines early-grade foundational learning with remedial interventions. **For Grades 1 and 2,** the Balvachan approach focuses on building foundational skills before deficits accumulate through school readiness activities, barakhadi-based phonics instruction and integrated numeracy. **For Grades 3–5,** Teaching at the Right Level (TaRL) learning camps address existing gaps in children who have advanced through grades without acquiring foundational competencies. Most FLN programmes in India address one of these dimensions and very few address both within the same school. **This dual approach adopted by Project Ankur ensures both prevention of learning gaps and targeted correction,** with **longitudinal cohort tracking** evidence demonstrating that early investment reduces later remediation needs.
3. **System-aligned pedagogy and scheduling for reduced institutional resistance:** A common challenge leading to limited success in several NGO-delivered school programmes is the **introduction of a parallel pedagogical track.** While being innovative, such pedagogical practices are often viewed by teachers as being associated with the parent organization rather than as a replicable, adoptable teaching practice. **Project Ankur addressed this risk by explicitly aligning its teaching-learning approach with the NCERT and MCD textbooks** and the official syllabus sequence. Pratham instructors used the same texts as government teachers, but used them differently – integrating listening, speaking, reading and writing within a single instructional period rather than treating these as sequential or separate activities. This **textbook alignment reduces both institutional resistance and lays the groundwork for authentic adoption** going forward. Furthermore, congruence with **NIPUN-based TLM resources** such as the ‘NIPUN Pitara’ and **MCD’s FLN period allocation norms** (half day for Grades 1 & 2 and one period for Grades 3 to 5) also strengthens its potential for adoption within the formal school system.
4. **Integrated Writing Programme as a Pedagogical Innovation:** Among Project Ankur’s most significant achievements is the **development of an integrated writing programme within Grade 1–2 classrooms.** Writing – one of the four core language competencies (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) – is routinely neglected in early primary education, typically reduced to copying from a board or memorising vocabulary lists. Project Ankur’s approach integrated writing instruction across daily classroom transactions. As a result, children produced narrative accounts, procedural descriptions and informative texts as natural extensions of reading and oral work, not as separate exercises. This practice becomes even more laudable considering that many children in the Project’s beneficiary population are first-generation learners.

5. **Community Engagement as a core component;** Not an Add-On: From the programme's inception, **community engagement through the leader mother and mother group model** was designed as an **integral component of the learning support system** rather than as a communication or awareness activity. This design, championed by Project Ankur and reinforced by national education policy and developmental research, firmly believes that children's learning cannot be sustained without home-based reinforcement and is of **significant relevance for first-generation learners in resource-scarce urban contexts**. Women who began as passive participants in idea-card activities evolved into community educators, peer mobilisers and advocates for children's learning. Additionally, the social bonds formed within these groups generated unanticipated well-being outcomes whereby mothers described the weekly group meetings as among the few occasions in their week where they exercised personal agency outside domestic responsibilities.
6. **Year-Round Live Classroom Demonstration:** Government school teachers are typically trained through annual or biannual workshops held outside the school. However, **in Project Ankur's case, for four continuous years, Pratham instructors were present in schools every day**, working with the same children that government teachers were also teaching. This **created an uninterrupted live demonstration of what effective FLN pedagogy looks like**, delivered in real conditions, with real children and visible to the same teachers who were expected to apply it. This **contextualized demonstration motivated several teachers** to adopt elements of Pratham's methods through observation — a form of professional learning that no workshop can replicate and that represents genuine, transferable capacity building embedded within the school system itself.
7. **Leveraging Volunteers as an Embedded Learning Resource:** Project Ankur's volunteer model represents a distinct strength of the programme, operating across both school and community settings. **In-school volunteers** support classroom learning in alignment with the Government of India's Vidyanjali initiative ⁴³, while **community volunteers** provide free academic support (tuitions) to children beyond school hours. Additionally, the **CIM's daily home visits** after school enable personalized follow-up with children and families, **strengthening learning continuity between school, home and community**.

⁴³ <https://vidyanjali.education.gov.in/about-vidyanjali>

$$\begin{array}{r} 6 \\ + 3 \\ \hline 9 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 8 \\ - 2 \\ \hline 6 \end{array}$$

||||| + |||||

Recommendations

System / Governance Level

- **Leverage the Mentor Cadre for System-Level Scaling:** Continue positioning MCD academic mentors as the primary drivers of scale through hands-on classroom immersion, followed by their role as trainers and on-site pedagogical support providers. Since a six-day training has already been conducted with Academic Coordinators and Mentor Teachers across the three zones, the next step should be to systematically document key learnings, pedagogical practices and implementation insights from these sessions for wider dissemination and replication.
- **Embed School-Level Data Review for Accountability:** Building on MCD's fortnightly FLN outcome reviews, structured school-level data meetings should be institutionalized with School Heads, Academic Coordinators and teachers. These reviews should go beyond score tracking to identify children by competency level, diagnose learning gaps and guide classroom strategies, regrouping and targeted remediation. Additionally, a simple school-wise FLN dashboard and standard review template may be introduced to track children below expected levels, planned instructional actions, teacher support needs and progress since the previous review.

School Level

- **Institutionalize Continuous Teacher Capacity-Building and Peer Learning:** Given that teachers across the 18 project schools have already been trained on Balvachan and TaRL methodologies, the focus should now rest on strengthening classroom adoption through periodic refreshers, demonstration classes and peer learning communities (PLCs). Informal exchanges between teachers and Pratham instructors should be formalized to build teacher ownership of FLN practices. This may be supported through brief orientations on effective use of NIPUN Pitara, graded reading materials and other TLMs, along with simple classroom-use guides for teachers.
- **Ensure Learning Continuity During School Closures:** Develop flexible mechanisms such as community learning circles, home-based activity kits and mother-led reinforcement sessions to mitigate learning loss during vacations and disruptions. This will help sustain learning momentum, particularly for early-grade learners.

Community Level

- **Structure Mohalla Libraries as Level-Graded Learning Spaces:** Evolve Mohalla Libraries into structured, level-based reading hubs aligned with defined reading competencies. Introducing graded materials, guided reading practices and monthly activity kits will ensure systematic reinforcement of classroom learning in community settings.
- **Strengthen Volunteer Pathways through Certification and Employability Linkages:** Enhance the volunteer model by introducing widely recognized structured certification, practical exposure and linkages with skilling ecosystems. This will improve volunteer retention and motivation while enabling them to translate programme experience into formal employment opportunities in the education sector.

Annexure

Study – Challenges & Limitations

While the evaluation adopted a rigorous mixed-method approach to assess the effectiveness, sustainability, and scalability of Project Ankur, a few operational constraints influenced certain aspects of the study design and implementation. These limitations are outlined below for transparency and appropriate interpretation of findings:

1. **Revision in Evaluation Design for Grades 1–2:** To strengthen causal attribution for the Balvachan component, the evaluation design had initially proposed a quasi-experimental approach involving comparisons between treatment and control schools. However, due to the absence of the required permission letter from the Director of Education, Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD), access to non-programme schools for control group assessment was not undertaken. As a result, the study adopted a longitudinal matched comparison approach using MIS-based student identifiers to link sampled students with their baseline records. While this approach enabled estimation of programme-attributable learning gains, the absence of a control group limited the scope for stronger counterfactual comparison.
2. **Limited Access to Government Stakeholders and Expanded Teacher Sample:** To strengthen the robustness of the qualitative analysis, the evaluation design had proposed conducting semi-structured interviews with approximately 36 teachers across sampled schools, along with consultations with key government stakeholders including the Director, MCD Education and academic coordinators to better understand programme scalability pathways, institutional adoption processes and recent training experiences within the system contextualized against Project driven trainings. However, despite formally sharing permission requests, approval from the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) was not received during the fieldwork period. As a result, the evaluation team was unable to engage with the full set of intended respondents, which constrained the depth of system-level insights, particularly with respect to institutional integration, mentor support structures and scalability readiness within the government ecosystem.
3. **Limited Teacher & Head Teacher/Principal Responsiveness Due to Absence of Formal MCD Approval:** Due to the absence of formal permission communication from the MCD during the data collection period, some teachers and school principals in the sampled schools appeared hesitant while participating in interviews. Although discussions were successfully conducted across schools, this hesitation may have limited the extent to which teachers and school principals were able to respond freely and in detail to certain questions, particularly those related to programme adoption and classroom-level instructional practices.
4. **Temporary Disruptions During the Data Collection Period:** The fieldwork period (25 February–11 March 2026) coincided with the Holi festival (4 March 2026), during which student attendance was temporarily lower across several sampled schools. Consequently, some students who had been randomly selected, through a student ID matching exercise (using Pratham-provided IDs) and identified as having varying years of programme exposure could not be covered due to their limited availability. To achieve the required class-wise sample size in each school, the team therefore included additional students, including several newly enrolled learners from the current academic year.

Calculating SROI

Core Formula

The SROI methodology involves **four sequential steps**: establishing scope, mapping outcomes, evidencing and valuing outcomes and establishing net impact. The SROI ratio is then derived by dividing the cumulative present value of all net benefits by the total programme investment.

- $SROI = \text{Total Present Value of Benefits} \div \text{Total Investment}$
- $\text{Net Impact (Year 1)} = \text{Quantity} \times \text{Financial Proxy} \times (1 - \text{Deadweight}) \times (1 - \text{Attribution}) \times (1 - \text{Displacement})$
- $\text{Net Impact (Subsequent Years)} = \text{Year 1 Impact} \times (1 - \text{Drop-off})$ [discounted at 3.5% p.a.]

Definitions of Key Impact Parameters

The following **four adjustment parameters** are applied to every outcome to ensure the SROI analysis does not overclaim. Each parameter is expressed as a percentage and is applied to the gross financial proxy of each outcome.

Table 17: Impact Parameters & Corresponding Figures

Parameter	Definition	How Applied in Project Ankur
Deadweight	The proportion of observed change that would have occurred even without the programme. In FLN context due to national improvement trends, government schemes or natural progression.	Derived grade-by-grade from ASER 2022-2024 national trend data, annualised to a 1-year rate to match Ankur's BL-EL measurement period. Weighted average = 14.47% for direct students.
Attribution	The share of the observed change attributable to actors other than the programme. In the case of Project Ankur – MCD teachers, NIPUN Bharat framework, or family support.	Set per stakeholder group based on evidence of other actors' contribution. Project Ankur's share = 100% minus (-) this figure.
Displacement	The extent to which the programme's positive outcomes offset value elsewhere; typically where a gain in one place creates a loss for a third party.	Set to 0% across all stakeholders. In an FLN programme operating in underserved communities within a large urban economy, no credible third-party loss can be identified for any stakeholder group.
Drop-off	The annual rate at which an outcome deteriorates after the programme ends. Applied from Year 2 onward for multi-year outcomes.	10% per year applied from Year 2 for all stakeholders except the Human Capital pathway (where 0% is used, as the ₹300,000 proxy is already a 20-year discounted NPV and any further reduction would result in double count error).

Evidencing Outcomes and Financial Proxies

The distinguishing feature of SROI compared to conventional impact reporting is the use of **financial proxies** — monetary equivalents that express the value of intangible or non-traded outcomes. **All proxies used in this analysis are drawn from India-specific market data** where available, with international sources used only where Indian equivalents are unavailable.

Table 18: Key Outcomes & Corresponding Financial Proxies

S.No	Outcome	Quantity (H)	Proxy Value (₹)	Source and Rationale
1.	Private tuition costs avoided (5 yrs)	3,010	₹4,200/yr	Primary Survey 7524⁴⁴ (Direct beneficiaries) x ~40% = 3010 About 20%-30% students have stopped taking tuition since undergoing the Project's benefits. 80% of peer group (classmates, friends of beneficiaries) take tuition. Delhi NCR private tuition market: ₹200–500/month. Proxy = ₹350 × 12 months.
2.	Sustained library reading habit (3 yrs)	6215	₹1,820/yr	Facilitated group reading sessions. Below full tuition rate reflecting supplementary format. Delhi NCR private tuition market: ₹200–500/month. Proxy = ₹350 On average 8-12 tuition classes per month ~ 10; Cost of per tuition class = ₹35; 1 Library session per week Proxy = 52 × ₹35 ~ ₹1,820/year
3.	Community library reading/ numeracy (2 yrs)	1,130	₹1,800/yr	Community/home reading programme equivalent. Below school-based rate reflecting lighter-touch format. Literature Review: Nakajima et al. (IJED 2018) ⁴⁵
4.	Volunteer training value	213	₹3,750	Primary Survey – Qualitative IDIs Market equivalent for 5-module programme (FLN pedagogy, digital literacy, financial literacy, first aid, parental engagement). Respondent based range ₹1,500–6,000; midpoint used.
5.	Instructor FLN capacity development	81	₹10,000 ⁴⁶	NGO-sector FLN instructor training market rate. KVS CPD Guidelines 2024-25; NEP 2020 Para 5.15 [50 hours ~ 5/6 days of training]
6.	Teacher CPD training	199	₹12,500	Private-sector equivalent FLN CPD programme. KVS CPD Guidelines 2024-25; NISHTHA 3.0 as comparator.
7.	Mother group home-learning capacity (2 yrs)	2,104	₹8,352/yr ⁴⁷	Market equivalent for structured parenting support (group meetings + weekly WhatsApp tasks + PTMs).
8.	Human capital: lifetime earnings pathway	1,579	₹3,00,000	Conservative 20-year discounted NPV per child. Kapoor, Jhalani & Sharma (2022), Institute for Competitiveness India. Full figure = ₹5,98,537; ₹3,00,000 = ~50% of full figure. Already a PV figure, no double-discounting: duration=1, thus drop-off=0%.

⁴⁴ **Note:** These figures are based on MIS data shared by Pratham with Sambodhi on 30 January 2026.

Intervention Year	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Total
22-23	509	453	145	393	541	2041
23-24	502	564	386	427	414	2293
24-25	560	565	323	352	278	2078
25-26	595	517	-----	-----	-----	1112
Total	2166	2099	854	1172	1233	7524

⁴⁵ Nakajima, M., Kijima, Y., & Otsuka, K. (2018). Is the learning crisis responsible for school dropout? A longitudinal study of Andhra Pradesh, India. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 62, 245-253.

⁴⁶ **Training – Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan** – <https://cdnbbsr.s3waas.gov.in/s3kv014c30097a350b2e945906497b233f/uploads/2024/09/2024091236.pdf>

⁴⁷ **Note:** The financial proxy of ₹8,352 per mother per year is derived from opportunity cost methodology, reflecting time redirected from domestic activities toward structured home-learning support. The wage benchmark is Delhi's official minimum wage for unskilled workers – ₹18,066/month (Government of NCT of Delhi, Labour Department Notification, 26 September 2024) – yielding an hourly rate of approximately ₹87. At an estimated time contribution of 2 hour per week (group meetings, weekly WhatsApp tasks, and PTMs); this translates to approximately 96 hours per year or a conservative estimate of ₹8,352 annually.

Establishing Impact: Adjustment Parameters by Outcome

After establishing the gross value of each outcome, four adjustments are applied to arrive at the net attributable social value. The table below sets out these parameters for all eight outcome rows, along with the source and rationale for each figure chosen.

Outcome Row	Deadweight (DW)	Attribution [AT]	Displacement	Drop-off (DO)	Rationale
Direct Students (Tuition fee avoided/saved, 5 yrs)	14.47%	20%	0%	10%	DW: ASER annualised grade-wise (14.47%) AT: MCD teachers deliver curriculum; Ankur is sole structured FLN remediation; 80% Ankur credit. DS: 0% as Delhi tuition market absorbs replacement students. DO: TaRL evidence confirms FLN skill durability
Library Students (3 yrs)	25%	25%	0%	10%	DW: Higher than direct; supplementary format. AT: Active facilitation is the primary driver; sustained independent reading habit promoted by Project Ankur weakens other-actor case DS: 0% as no third party loses value. DO: 10%; habit formation evidence supports durability.
Community Library (2 yrs)	20%	30%	0%	10%	DW: Lower as there is less natural improvement outside the school system. AT: Volunteers are primary facilitators; no other structured programme in community settings. DS: 0%. DO: 10%.
Volunteers (Training, 2 yrs)	15%	40%	0%	10%	DW: Ankur training package unique — 5 modules not available elsewhere. AT: Prior education and existing skills genuinely contribute to employability DS: 0%. DO: 10%.
Instructors (CPD, 2 yrs)	10%	20%	0%	10%	DW: Balvachan/activity-based FLN not in NISHTHA. AT: Prior teaching experience contributes 20% ~ 80% Ankur credit. DS: 0%. DO: 10%.
Teachers (CPD, 2 yrs)	15%	20%	0%	10%	DW: NISHTHA covers FLN; Ankur adds 3 unique modules. AT: Government CPD obligations contribute; 80% Ankur credit. DS: 0%. DO: 10%.
Mother Groups (Home learning, 2 yrs)	10%	35%	0%	10%	DW: NIPUN Bharat provides guidelines only; Pratham Maharashtra data shows <4% WhatsApp engagement without in-person NGO support. ⁴⁹ AT: NIPUN & ASER trend ~35% (65% Ankur) ⁵⁰ DS: 0%. DO: 10%.

⁴⁹ <https://www.edtechaccelerator.org/blogs/empowering-mothers-transforming-learning-prathams-journey-in-scaling-at-home-learning-with-nipun-maharashtra>

⁵⁰ **Note:** Attribution of 35% to other actors reflects the contribution of intrinsic parental motivation and general household educational support as observed by ASER 2024 which states rising parental engagement nationally and this is consistent with the principle that Ankur provides the structured format — regular group meetings, weekly WhatsApp tasks, and PTMs — that independent motivation alone cannot replicate. The NIPUN Bharat national engagement trend is separately accounted for in the 10% deadweight parameter.

Outcome Row	Deadweight (DW)	Attribution [AT]	Displacement	Drop-off (DO)	Rationale
Human Capital (Lifetime earnings, 1 yr NPV) ⁵¹	0%	50%	0%	0%	DW: 0% as beneficiary cohort is restricted to above-ASER-trend students only. AT: 50% to other actors (prior education, family, labour market) DS: 0% — 1,579 students entering large Indian labour market over 20 years. DO: 0% — proxy is already a 20-yr NPV; drop-off would double-count time decay.

Impact Calculation

The impact for each outcome in Year 1 is calculated as follows and then projected across the duration with annual drop-off applied from Year 2 onward. All future values are discounted to present value using a discount rate of 3.5% — the Social Time Preference Rate from HM Treasury Green Book (2022) ⁵², adopted as the standard rate by Social Value UK's SROI Guide.

- Step 1: Impact Year 1 = $H \times \text{Proxy} \times (1 - \text{Deadweight}) \times (1 - \text{Attribution}) \times (1 - \text{Displacement})$
- Step 2: Impact Year N = Impact Year 1 $\times (1 - \text{Drop-off})^{(N-1)}$
- Step 3: PV of Year N = Impact Year N $\div (1.035)^N$
- Step 4: SROI = $\sum (\text{PV of all years, all outcomes}) \div \text{Total Investment}$

S.No	Outcome Row	H	PV across Duration (₹, approx.)
1.	Direct Students (Tuition, 5yr)	3,010	~₹3.33 crore
2.	Library Students (3yr)	6,215	~₹1.67 crore
3.	Community Library (2yr)	1,130	~₹20.9 lakhs
4.	Volunteers (2yr)	213	~₹7.6 lakhs
5.	Instructors (2yr)	81	~₹10.9 lakhs
6.	Teachers (2yr)	199	~₹31.6 lakhs
7.	Mother Groups (2yr)	2,104	~₹1.92 crore
8.	Human Capital (1yr NPV)	1,579	~₹23.69 crore
	TOTAL PRESENT VALUE	—	~ ₹31.33 crore

⁵¹ Kapoor, N., Jhalani, J. & Sharma, D. (2022). *The Economic Impact of Early Childhood Education in India*. Institute for Competitiveness India / BW Businessworld. competitiveness.in

⁵² HM Treasury (2022). *The Green Book: Central Government Guidance on Appraisal and Evaluation*. UK Government.



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