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## *Strategies for addressing the multiple sources of exclusion faced by girls*

Reaching universal education means ensuring that all children complete school. Progress in recent years has been impressive in improving access, especially for girls. Achieving universal education is within the grasp of international efforts. But significant barriers facing excluded groups need to be addressed. Policy guidance from several sources provides a basis for action by donors and policymakers alike. The need for documented evidence suggests a significant role for public and private players in helping excluded girls catch up with the rest of their cohort.

Different and more intensive efforts are needed to get girls who face multiple exclusions—based on ethnicity, language, social stigmas—into school and keep them there. Experience in developed and developing countries reveals how difficult it is to reach these girls and to ensure that they enroll in, complete, and perform in school. The environment these children live in can counter incentives that in other circumstances have brought children, particularly girls, into the school system. Policy options need to build on accepted interventions (see Herz and Sperling 2003), focus on the exceptional circumstance of the target group, and effectively change behavior by ensuring that excluded girls receive the support they need to obtain an education.

Policies to spark progress with the remaining out-of-school populations will require actions on various fronts:

- Altering education policies and addressing discrimination by changing laws and administrative rules.

- Expanding options for schooling out-of-school children, especially girls.
- Improving the quality and relevance of schools and classrooms by ensuring that excluded girls receive basic educational inputs and providing professional development to help teachers become agents of change.
- Supporting compensatory preschool and in-school programs that engage and retain excluded children, particularly girls.
- Providing incentives for households to help overcome both their reluctance to send girls to school and the costs of doing so.

Efforts to target disadvantaged groups with effective programs are handicapped by the lack of solid evidence on what works in reaching and teaching them. The evidence on what is effective for girls is particularly sparse. But even in the high-income Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries the evidence base is thin. The exception is the United States, where there is an extensive body of evidence on social integration, educational enrollment, and educational achievement differentials across population subgroups. Finland has made concerted efforts to reach the Lapp population, but no literature exists on the effectiveness of its efforts. Virtually no evaluations have been conducted of Spain's extensive efforts to integrate Roma children. And little has been done to assess the effectiveness of New Zealand's investments in Maori development. Moreover, where evaluations exist, they rarely look at gender differences in program effects.

Some evaluations have been conducted in developing countries, but the quality is uneven and certainly incomplete. We hope that the studies reviewed in this book will provide an impetus for greater investment in evaluation, so that research can help guide policy and program development.

Two other issues are important in the context of how to do more and do better in reaching excluded girls in developing countries. First, the countries furthest behind and those with the most challenging problems are often among the poorest, with the fewest resources and most limited capacity to implement programs or systemic reforms. Long-term affordability needs to be taken into account in designing and implementing targeted programs. Interventions must align with national budget realities and entail straightforward designs that are technically and economically feasible given county circumstances. Even so, sustained donor support may be needed.

Second, governance is weak and corruption deep and widespread in most target countries. Under-the-table payments, politicization of teacher hiring, and lack of accountability, among other abuses, undermine efforts to improve the supply of education (Lewis 2005). Corruption often diverts funds from programs aimed at excluded groups. Experience suggests that the quality and effectiveness of such programs often fall short of average government performance (Alesina and others 2003; World Bank 2003). Part of the problem is the lack of the target populations' voice in government policy. Combined with uneven public sector management, this may cause public service performance to suffer. These problems need to be kept in mind in designing interventions.

Strategies need to grant excluded groups a level playing field in the labor market and raise the quality of their schools so that parents can justify sending their children to school. Once members of excluded groups leave school, low skill levels and discrimination work against them, hurting their prospects in life (Birdsall and Sabot 1996). Girls and women are particularly hurt by discrimination in the labor market, where the economic returns to education are measured. In Latin America, for example, the returns to primary and tertiary education exceed those for secondary school (Behrman, Duryea, and Szekely 1999). Only secondary school students who go on to tertiary education earn returns on their investment in secondary school, so dropping out or not enrolling at all makes economic sense to most poor households. In some countries returns to education among excluded groups are compromised by explicit and implicit discrimination in the labor market and society at large, which bars access to better paying jobs and upward mobility (Mario and Woolcock forthcoming; Narayan 2000). Addressing education for excluded groups must include attention to problems such as labor market discrimination.

Recent evidence suggests the importance of economic growth in expanding employment and creating political space for investments in minority populations (Friedman 2005; Meerman 2005). In their analysis of 18 Latin American and Caribbean countries Behrman, Duryea, and Szekely (1999) show that weak macroeconomic conditions in the 1980s were the most important factor explaining the weak gains in schooling across the region. Current expansion of education in the region effectively targets excluded groups, because primary education is near universal for the majority populations. While economic growth may be necessary, Latin America's recent investments in education cannot be construed as sufficient.

If universal education is not on developing countries' agendas, the likelihood that excluded groups will be considered in setting policies and budgets is small. Donors can spark new ideas and demonstrate the value of paying attention to neglected areas—as the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) has done—but government commitment is key, given the need for a legal framework and long-term investment. It is rare for disadvantaged groups to receive basic services such as education at the expense of the power elite. Commitment to broad educational coverage is critical to any efforts aimed at reaching excluded children, but it alone will not be not enough to make a difference.

### **Altering education policies and addressing discrimination**

Policy setting determines the environment in which excluded groups must maneuver, and it affects the credibility of government in efforts to reach children who are out of school. Although policies alone ensure little, having clear mandates against discrimination, a legal system that enforces both entitlements and rights of all citizens, adminis-

trative rules that foster enrollment of all children, and an articulated policy regarding excluded groups in education all reinforce the credibility of government and offer a foundation for both taking action and coalescing target populations. Good legal systems, rules, and policies also provide a context for engaging donors in advocacy for marginalized groups and in reaching underserved regions with education programs.

### *Anti-discrimination legislation*

Anti-discrimination laws undergird both legal and policy efforts in fighting exclusion. Clear legal protection offers a beginning in reversing implicit and explicit discrimination. It has proved critical in Canada, New Zealand, and the United States. Racial discrimination was widespread in South Africa during Apartheid and in Cuba before Castro took power, and data on discrepancies in academic performance, employment, and earnings by race in Brazil suggest that discrimination is prevalent there as well (Meerman 2005; Skidmore 2003).

These countries have legally barred discrimination. Brazil's anti-discrimination legal action is the most recent (Htun 2004). India passed anti-discrimination laws banning discrimination against Dalits (widely known as "untouchables") in the 1950s, soon after independence, in tandem with affirmative action and preferential policies. Much of Latin America has adopted some form of legal prohibition against discrimination, although enforcement of statutes remains weak. Malaysia has adopted affirmative action toward the indigenous Malay population, but at the expense of ethnic Chinese and Tamil, in order to promote Malay prospects and foster greater equity and political harmony across ethnic groups (Lee 2005).

Japan has avoided legislating against discrimination. This policy has left the minority Burakumin clan—which despite being ethnically Japanese has existed on the margins of society for centuries—without legal protection against abuse by government, employers, and the public. The Japanese believe that nondiscrimination should evolve from within rather than be legislated. Efforts to educate the population about fair treatment for the Burakumin have been only partially successful, however (Meerman 2005).

In the past few decades European countries and the European Union have introduced legal protection against all forms of discrimination. The Roma throughout Europe now have protection under human rights laws and European Union legal agreements on ethnic minority rights, which explicitly address treatment of minorities. Despite these advances, the transition to democracy in Eastern Europe has been accompanied by a rise in discrimination and violence toward the Roma and the emergence of local restrictions regarding their access to public places. Legal protection has led to recent efforts to seek redress for egregious injustice, but discrimination against and marginalization of the Roma persist (Ringold, Orenstein, and Wilkens 2003). Private donors have been pivotal in promoting the rights of the Roma in Eastern Europe

and improving their access to mainstream schools.

In most high-income OECD countries anti-discrimination laws spawned multiple initiatives to integrate minorities, particularly with respect to school enrollment. Some success has been recorded, but despite legal protection and increasingly flexible policies aimed at bolstering the prospects and achievements of excluded groups, minorities continue to lag behind the majority population in education, employment, and earnings.

Anti-discrimination efforts must extend beyond schools. Unless discrimination is aggressively addressed in the labor market, returns to education and the demand for schooling will be suppressed. Discrimination disproportionately hurts girls, as discussed in chapter 2. While discrimination is a broader issue, it is essential to raise it in this context, because the economic consequences of barring trained workers from jobs on the basis of ethnicity, language, or cultural differences has direct links with education.

While not a panacea, the legal framework provides protection and a source of arbitration for excluded groups. Its effectiveness is a function of enforcement and internalization by the majority population.

### *Affirmative action and preferential policies in education*

Affirmative action attempts to establish equal opportunity, compensate for a history of discrimination, provide advantages to certain groups to hasten upward mobility, and break the intergenerational transmission of low human capital and poverty. Affirmative action is an outgrowth of antidiscrimination efforts, turning discrimination into a positive force to assist the victims of negative discrimination. It has implications for government, the private sector, and households.

Critics of affirmative action argue that it undermines merit as the basis for schooling or employment, skews benefits to a few better off minorities, reduces incentives for self-improvement, and creates divisions within society, which in countries like India and Sri Lanka have led to violence or civil war. Wariness of the credentials and competency of target populations often undermines the effectiveness of affirmative action (Sowell 2004). Ascertaining the impact of affirmative action has proved elusive, though there are some indications that it can have positive effects. But do the benefits outweigh the costs to both the target group and society as a whole?

Affirmative action can take the form of quotas. It can also be less intrusive, by tipping marginal decisions in favor of candidates from disadvantaged groups. The 2003 Supreme Court decision in the United States (*Grutter v. Bollinger*) ruled that ethnicity can be one of many criteria for selection to university, but it cannot serve as a filter on its own.

Loury (2000) proposes an alternative “preferential” affirmative action, which

emphasizes bolstering the performance of disadvantaged students while maintaining common standards. Summer math programs or after-school enrichment programs can strengthen skills and make disadvantaged children competitive. This approach is based on the assumption that minority groups suffer from deficits that can be remediated through tutoring, behavioral guidance, or other compensatory interventions. The approach avoids the distortions introduced by traditional quota arrangements but projects “a direct concern about group inequality and involves allocating benefits on the basis of group identity” (p. 248). Some of the school-based compensatory programs discussed below describe these kinds of interventions.

Despite reservations and only modest results, affirmative action has been embraced by countries as varied as Brazil, India, Malaysia, South Africa, and the United States, all of which have heterogeneous, highly stratified societies based on class, ethnicity, and skin color. This subsection discusses the policies of various countries in attempting to reach out to excluded groups in education.

*Brazil.* Brazil considers itself a positive example of multiculturalism, but it has an intricate social stratification system based on shades of real and perceived skin color. The “color caste” system is based on both cultural perceptions and structural differences; one can be considered lighter or darker depending on one’s socioeconomic status (Guillebeau 1999; Htun 2004). This creates difficulties for policymakers attempting to define disadvantaged minorities.

In acknowledging the prevalence of racial inequality, the Brazilian government implemented a quota system in government, higher education, and the private sector. Imposing quotas for nonwhite students undermines the merit-based university entry culture (based on examinations), but it compensates for the higher quality of private secondary schools available to the more advantaged (Lockheed and Bruns 1990). Critics note, however, that affirmative action strikes at the very heart of Brazilian identity as a harmonious multiracial society (Skidmore 2003).

*India.* Affirmative action policies in India are referred to as “compensatory discrimination.” These policies are intended to counteract centuries of past injustices against and repression of the Dalit. Affirmative action in India began in the nineteenth century, when the British established quotas for Indians from certain disadvantaged groups. It is enshrined in the Constitution and takes the form of quotas in education, government jobs, and elected officials. In the 1950s under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru the Constituent Assembly devised the category of “socially and educationally backward classes,” an amalgamation of more than 4,000 castes. This category includes non-Hindu tribal groups, known as scheduled tribes; low castes on the government schedule for preference, known as scheduled castes; and “other backward castes” (Deshpande 2005; de Zwart 2000). The three groups are similar in socioeconomic status and conditions and account for a significant share of the total population—about 16 percent of the

population belongs to scheduled castes, about 8 percent to scheduled tribes (Census of India 2001). In 1980 it was estimated that other backward castes constituted 52 percent of the population, but this caste-based classification is made on a state by state basis and no recent national estimates are available (Kumar 2005).

The quota “reservation” system in educational institutions reserves 15 percent of places for scheduled castes and 7.5 percent for scheduled tribes (Boston and Nair-Reichert 2003). The results of such policies have fallen short of the intended outcomes. For example, in 2000 at the University of Delhi only 8.6 percent of students were from scheduled castes and 2 percent from scheduled tribes (Deshpande 2005). The quotas have nevertheless improved the status of Dalits relative to higher castes (Galanter 1991).

*Malaysia.* Affirmative action in Malaysia was established in 1971 under Article 153 of the Constitution. Its historical roots are in stipulations by the British colonizers in 1948 that gave preferential treatment to ethnic Malays (bumiputeras) for their elite administrative service. This constitutionally sanctioned policy entitles Malays to preferential treatment that is nonnegotiable and intended to “safeguard [the] ‘special position’ of the Malay community” (Lee 2005:212). The success of these preferential policies has led to a significant and visible Malay professional class in both the public and private sectors. It has also led to increased Malay migration to cities—historically, ethnic Chinese and Indian immigrants dominated business in urban areas, and the Malay majority was engaged primarily in agriculture.

The practice of ethnic segregation in Malaysia under affirmative action has created “ethnic enclaves” and distortions in access to equal opportunity. For example, although 25 percent of the population is Chinese and 7 percent Indian, just 2.1 percent of Malaysia’s public primary school students are Chinese and just 4.3 percent are Indian (Lee 2005). As the Malay middle class grows, so do opportunities for children born into these families to take advantage of preferential policies. Although the original aim of Article 153 was to create equality across the major ethnic groups, the policies have greatly favored ethnic Malays more than other indigenous groups (Lee 2005). Despite these problems, Malaysia has seen robust growth over the past 20 years and a rise in equity. Whether affirmative action played any role is arguable, but it is clear that affirmative action at the very least has not forced a compromise between peace and prosperity.

*South Africa.* In South Africa blacks have been the beneficiaries of educational and employment opportunities since the end of apartheid. These efforts have been directed at black men, leaving women with limited access to education and higher paying jobs. This is largely due to the continued inherent sexism among the nation’s leaders and the presence of institutional discrimination against women (Guillebeau 1999).

Despite its endorsement by the African National Congress, affirmative action has

been “passionately resented, even among blacks” (Adam 1997). Affirmative action in South Africa is problematic for two reasons. First, it has been accused of being apartheid in reverse. Second, it has benefited only a small segment of the black population. Sowell (2004) makes the same arguments in criticizing affirmative action efforts in India, Malaysia, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, and the United States. In contrast to the United States, the private sector in South Africa has voluntarily embraced affirmative action because it has widened the pool of available talent and brought in black managers who can help capture the expanding market of black consumers (Adam 1997). The end of apartheid has made discrimination against the majority a poor business decision, which may help explain the response of South African business.

*United States.* In the United States affirmative action takes the form of legal rulings and executive orders. Much of the initiative entails “goals and timetables” for hiring minorities and women in a largely voluntary program. Preferences in university admissions meant to compensate for past discrimination have been successfully contested. Legally, universities can only use preferences for underrepresented minorities as one of many criteria for assessing applicants for admission. Thus, in many respects, affirmative action is a relatively weak instrument in the United States. Nonetheless, laws tend to be systematically enforced (Deshpande 2005).

### ***Administrative rules***

Ministry of Education administrative rules often serve as barriers to girls and children from excluded groups. These consequences are often unintended. Analysis of the negative impact of administrative rules on gender was highly effective in bringing about change in the United States. Some analysis of administrative rules has been undertaken in developing countries. The Forum for African Women Educationalists has shown how administrative rules in Africa on expulsion of pregnant girls prevents them from continuing their education (Wilson 2004). Researchers in Pakistan have examined the impact of administrative rules that require communities to provide single-sex schools (Lloyd, Mete, and Grant forthcoming). As community resources may be limited, boys’ schools tend to be built first while schools for girls are often neglected. Administrative rules regarding use of a national language of instruction often serve as barriers to school participation by children from families who do not speak the national language at home, with particularly negative effects on girls (Benson 2005). Many countries have made strides in providing mother-tongue instruction in the earlier grades. Schools in India offer mother-tongue instruction at the primary level. In Sri Lanka public schools offer instruction in Tamil and Sinhalese.

Administrative rules that require tracking children by ability in the early grades exclude many children from more demanding programs, limiting their future

opportunities. Multi-country studies of student tracking have found that grouping students by “ability” has long-lasting negative consequences for subsequent performance, particularly when students are tracked into different types of schools (Hanushek and Woessmann 2006; Gamoran 2001; Nonoyama 2005). The results of the Primer Estudio Internacional Comparativo in Latin America reveal that schools that did not group students by ability had higher achievement (Willms and Somers 2001). While early tracking of children through competitive examinations has largely been discontinued in developing countries, informal tracking continues.

### *Implications for donors and policymakers*

Donors can expedite integration by fostering alternative forms of positive discrimination and expanding opportunities for girls who otherwise would have no options. The Open Society Institute provided extensive assistance to local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and governments in their efforts to initiate laws and regulations that protect the Roma and make schools safe havens for Roma children. Similar initiatives could be funded in other settings. Donors could also support the analysis of the unintended consequences of administrative rules in education, to raise awareness of these issues.

### **Expanding options for schooling**

Many of the changes that complement overall expansion of educational opportunities entail efforts that facilitate access by tailoring schooling to the needs of specific populations and addressing concerns of households and communities. For girls this may prove critical, because mainstream schools are not an option for many excluded girls, due to the barriers identified in chapter 2. One of the lessons from the high-income OECD countries is that targeted, tailored programs are essential to complement overall schooling investments if excluded populations are to be reached and excluded children are to stay in school.

### *Increasing school supply*

A first step in improving access is making schools or school substitutes available to excluded groups. While expanding access generally occurs under programs for “education for all,” without targeting or tailoring to excluded groups, increasing the number of school places often results in greater access for the historically excluded. In Indonesia a massive school construction program added 64,000 schools over five years (Duflo

2000). A recent analysis shows that this program halved the gender gap in educational attainment, from about 1.4 years to about 0.7 years of schooling, while reducing the urban-rural gap in educational attainment (Jayasundera 2005). Indonesia saw nearly 100 percent of children in school after the investment.

In India a centrally sponsored scheme for districts in which female literacy rates were below average, the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP), added 15,000 new schools and expanded existing schools by 14,000 new classrooms. Enrollment in target districts grew slightly more rapidly (about 1.3 percentage points more) than enrollment in matched nonprogram districts, reaching children who were not in school and having a greater impact for older girls (Jalan and Glinskaya 2003). The program also had a positive net impact on primary school completion. No studies are available that compare student achievement in DPEP and non-DPEP schools.

### *Establishing community schools*

Community schools are educational initiatives grounded in the decisionmaking of communities and designed to shape schooling to meet the needs and ensure the involvement of community members. Community schools are the ultimate means of giving parents voice in the running of local schools. They are formal schools that teach the normal curriculum, adapted to local conditions. They are particularly valuable in reaching girls by offering flexibility in timing, venue, and curriculum, which accommodate the domestic demands, safety concerns, and relevancy requirements of parents.

South Asia pioneered the community school approach with its *Shiksha Karmi* (SSK) Project in Rajasthan, India, in 1987. The project used paraprofessional teachers, allowed the community to select and supervise teachers, and hired part-time workers to escort girls to school. Targeting students from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, the project increased enrollments in SSK schools to 202,000 girls by 2001. A comparison of public and SSK schools in West Bengal shows higher attendance, lower teacher absenteeism, and greater parent satisfaction with SSK schools. In Rajasthan SSK students had higher enrollment, attendance, and test scores at all grade levels compared to their public school counterparts (World Bank 1999). These programs led to better performance and greater satisfaction of parents and students.

In 1997 Madhya Pradesh, with support from the DPEP, launched its Education Guarantee Scheme and Alternate Schools programs, which adopted approaches similar to the SSK but with midday meals added to meet the needs of remote communities (Sipahimalani-Rao and Clarke 2003). By 2000 more than 26,500 schools had been built and 1.2 million children, or about 20 percent of the cohort in government schools, enrolled. Girls' attendance rose 47 percent, and their dropout rate fell 35 percent. Nine other states followed suit with support from the DPEP, establishing 32,000 alternative schools enrolling 1 million students. The Education Guarantee Scheme and the Alter-

nate Schools program targeted girls and remote communities, but their effects on these groups are difficult to determine because of data gaps (Gomes 2004).

Community schools represent an important share of all schools in several Sub-Saharan African countries. Gershberg and Winkler (2003) report that 20 percent of primary schools in Togo, 32 percent in Mali, and most primary schools in Ghana are managed by the community, with the curriculum and in some cases textbooks provided by the central government. According to studies reviewed by Miller-Grandvaux and Yoder (2002), community-based schools in Ghana, Guinea, Mali, and South Sudan increased girls' participation in primary education and in many cases reached greater gender equity in enrollment than government schools. A rigorous analysis in Malawi finds that learning was higher in community schools than in comparable government-run schools (Dowd 2001).

The experiences of these Sub-Saharan African countries is substantially different from those of South Asia. Community schools in Africa have generally emerged as a response to crisis—neglect during the colonial period, an ineffective centralized model in the 1960s and 1970s, and economic and political upheavals in the 1970s and 1980s—rather than a strategy for improvement (Watt 2001). Recently, governments and donors have turned to communities to accommodate the rapid expansion of enrollment associated with the abolition of primary school fees (Riddell 2003). Community involvement in education in Africa remains largely limited to cash and in-kind contributions generally associated with school and classroom construction and maintenance (Watt 2001). The majority of community schools in Sub-Saharan Africa are funded and managed by NGOs. This is in contrast to South Asia, where governments have been active partners in many of the major community school programs.

Because of the dominance of NGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa, data limitations are greater than for other regions. As Gershberg and Winkler (2003: 27) note, “The studies that provide evidence [on the impacts of community-based school management on educational outcomes] must be interpreted with caution, since many are self-studies commissioned by the programs being evaluated, and few have the necessary baseline data and experimental controls to provide statistically reliable results.”

### *Creating alternatives to formal schooling*

Two major alternatives to formal schooling are nonformal schools and distance education. Nonformal schools address gaps or compensate for limitations of formal schools. In some cases they provide basic literacy training, in others they prepare students for mainstream schools. Nonformal schools can be very important in preparing disadvantaged children academically and in developing appropriate social skills and self-discipline. The major drawback of the many nonformal alternatives is their lack of evaluation, which prevents their adoption on a large scale (Gomes 2004). The BRAC

program is an exception.

BRAC is an NGO that established a nonformal primary education program in Bangladesh in 1979 to provide schooling for unenrolled children and dropouts from poor families in rural areas. The program focused on girls, who were least likely to be able to attend school. BRAC schools offer a two- to three-year program that enables 8- to 16-year-olds to transfer to formal schools (Rugh and Bossert 1998). Seventy percent of its students are girls—far higher than the 46 percent female enrollment in government schools. Classes are run out of one-room schoolhouses and taught by paraprofessional teachers (local woman with at least nine years of schooling). Student-teacher ratios are low, pedagogical practices (including cultural activities) child-based, and schedules flexible to allow students to perform agricultural activities and household chores.

Spin-offs of BRAC operate in other countries, including India and Morocco (Jain 2003). Community involvement in BRAC schools exceeds that in traditional government schools. Parents participate with BRAC staff in selecting a local teacher; establishing a school calendar; committing to sending their children, especially their daughters, to BRAC schools regularly; and agreeing to attend monthly meetings. In addition, along with the school management committees, parents manage and maintain the schools and ensure regular student and teacher attendance, playing an important monitoring role (Rugh and Bossert 1998).

The BRAC nonformal education program, which currently serves about 8 percent of primary school children in Bangladesh, has significantly increased the availability of schooling, especially among low-income households and girls. Between 1985 and 1999, 1.5 million students graduated from nonformal schools.

BRAC has had a significant impact on attainment and performance. Dropout rates among BRAC school children are one-quarter those of children at government schools, and, according to an assessment of 720 randomly selected children across rural Bangladesh, BRAC graduates are about 2.6 times more likely to have achieved basic education skills (as measured by test scores in life skills, reading, writing, and numeracy) than graduates from the formal system (Nath, Sylva, and Grimes 1999). Given its adaptability, strong focus on implementation, and emphasis on girls, the BRAC approach offers a viable and adaptable approach to other countries for enrolling and retaining excluded girls.

Informal classes, often provided in conjunction with income-generating activities for women, typically provide short-term literacy training. Other informal classes for excluded children offer instruction in the language used in school, teach social skills, and supplement formal school activities with culturally relevant activities. Because they typically are NGO driven, informal classes reflect the community in design and rely on the community for implementation. Programs are shaped around cultural themes and respect the local calendar for times and days for teaching. Involving parents and investing in topics of interest to them has prodded change (Gomes 2004).

At the primary level distance education rarely provides a suitable alternative on

its own because it usually relies on the ability of learners to manage their own learning. Where distance education has been effective with young children, as in the Australian outback in the 1950s, parents provided the supervisory structure for its success (Conway 1989). But there are many substitutes for educated parents. Even in remote areas radios are usually available. Primary education programs that combine radio delivery of a high-quality curriculum with local monitoring of children's progress have been rigorously evaluated and found to boost learning.

The most widely evaluated program is interactive radio instruction, which has broadcast professionally developed curricula to children in remote regions of Belize, Bolivia, Cape Verde, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Lesotho, Papua New Guinea, South Africa, Thailand, and Venezuela (Bosch 1997). Lessons teach core instructional material, each curriculum is designed according to proven instructional design principles, and each 30-minute lesson incorporates sound pedagogical principles, including the active participation of students. Randomized control evaluations have found that the programs increase learning by as much as 2.1 standard deviations for rural children, compared with an increase of 2.8 standard deviations from a year of traditional schooling, with 70 percent greater cost-effectiveness (Bosch 1997). Despite its proven effectiveness and cost-effectiveness, because interactive radio instruction has been largely donor driven it has not been widely adopted after donor support ended.

### *Establishing girls' schools*

Girls' schools have proven effective in attracting, retaining, and teaching girls, particularly in countries where girls and women are secluded or isolated. In developed countries single-sex education is typically confounded with private education, and many of the early positive findings regarding the effect of single-sex education on girls' learning achievement may be attributed to different selectivity and schooling arrangements (Lee and Lockheed 1990). In New Zealand Maori girls in single-sex schools outperformed other 15-year-olds on the Programme for International Student Assessment, but their higher performance has been attributed to the higher socioeconomic status of private school students (New Zealand Ministry of Education 2004).

In some developing countries, such as Pakistan, the requirement that primary education be segregated by gender combined with poor performance in the construction and staffing of girls' schools has led parents to send their girls to nonpublic coeducational primary schools (Lloyd, Mete, and Grant forthcoming). In contrast, Bangladesh has made dramatic inroads with coeducational primary schools combined with targeted efforts to bring girls into both primary and secondary school (forthcoming 2006).

A few studies from developing countries suggest that the absence of boys in the

school creates a more positive learning environment for girls, resulting in higher performance, particularly at the secondary level. In Nigeria and Thailand in the 1980s girls in single-sex secondary schools outperformed girls in coeducational schools on math tests, but the results may have reflected the schools' greater selectivity (Jimenez and Lockheed 1989; Lee and Lockheed 1990). In Kenya girls' probability of dropping out of coeducational secondary schools was affected by their in-class experience: preferential treatment by teachers given to boys and harassment of girls by male classmates increased girls' dropout rate. In contrast teachers who considered that difficult subjects were important for girls reduced girls' dropout rate (Lloyd, Mensch, and Clark 2000). In rural northeast Brazil math performance by primary school girls was substantially lower than that of boys in classes taught by male teachers, while there were no gender differences in classes taught by female teachers, suggesting some discriminatory practices (Harbison and Hanushek 1991). In some cases the quality of inputs to girls' schools is lower than the quality of inputs to boys' schools. In Egypt the major difference in quality between all-girl and all-boy schools is the level of discipline, which is stricter for boys (Lloyd and others 2003). The benefits from single-sex schools are thus likely to be situation specific.

### ***Creative approaches to secondary school: teaching an international language***

Creative alternatives may help reach girls. Munshi and Rosenzweig's (forthcoming) study of English-language and Marathi-language schools and labor force participation in Bombay, India, suggests that certain types of education can overcome caste-based discrimination. They find that both boys and girls educated in English-language schools had higher achievement and enjoyed higher rates of return to education than did students educated in Marathi-language schools. This finding is not surprising, as competence in English is a major means of upward mobility in India, eclipsing traditional routes. Because of social networks built around traditional male working class occupations, boys are more likely to be sent to the Marathi-language schools than are girls. As a consequence, girls are able to take advantage of the returns to English education in both labor and marriage markets, with better employment options, higher relative wages, and the opening up of the marriage market outside of their caste. Indeed, 31.6 percent of the older siblings of students in English-language schools married outside their caste, compared with 9.7 percent of the older siblings of students in the Marathi-language schools (Munshi and Rosenzweig forthcoming). Targeting disadvantaged girls with programs teaching an international language may offer a low-cost alternative that provides high returns in marriage and income.

### ***Separate schools for the excluded: not a good idea***

Building separate schools for children from ethnic, cultural, and linguistic minorities has not succeeded as a policy. Canada, New Zealand, and the United States sought to educate their indigenous populations through separate day schools, special schools on reservations, and boarding schools away from reservations. Similar programs have been implemented for educating children from scheduled tribes in India. Because these programs often removed very young children from their families and were often designed to socialize the children for their subordinate place in society, they failed to bridge gaps in educational attainment. Moreover, separate schools are inherently unequal and suffer from poor quality.

### ***Implications for donors and policymakers***

A trust fund for multilateral programs targeting excluded girls could provide the financial basis for expanding successful efforts of donors and governments. Lack of funding often prevents experimentation with innovative means of expanding schooling to difficult-to-reach groups or adapting effective programs to new contexts.

First, donors can play a catalytic role in devising and financing alternative schooling options. NGOs and donors have already demonstrated success in increasing school enrollment and completion through such programs as BRAC in Bangladesh and the *Shiksha Karmi* projects in India. Both launched innovative approaches and financed them for extended periods, demonstrating the feasibility of alternative schools in raising educational levels for girls. Donors could expand these kinds of approaches to other settings.

For older children, innovative programs, such as immersion classes in an international language such as English or computer training as an alternative to secondary school, could be effective. These programs could provide girls with marketable skills in a global marketplace.

Second, a girls' education evaluation fund to finance rigorous evaluations of new and ongoing programs aimed at reaching girls would help fill a major gap and offer guidance to both policymakers and donors eager to use their resources to promote girls' education. A particularly glaring omission is knowledge regarding exclusion, gender, and schooling in Africa. Too little is known about a continent that is home to more than 30 percent of the world's out-of-school girls and an estimated 40 percent of excluded girls.

Third, alternative schooling offers an ideal opportunity for donors to complement public efforts and meet the needs of an out-of-school population that is underserved and relatively expensive to reach. Governments in low-income countries struggle to provide basic education; the alternatives proposed here go beyond what

these countries can afford. Donor financing is thus critical to finance complementary investments that help bring children up to a basic level and permit them to join the educational mainstream.

### **Improving the quality and relevance of schools and classrooms**

Keeping girls in school is as important as getting them into schools. It is particularly important for excluded groups. Improving the quality of the schools these children attend is essential, given past histories of neglect.

#### ***Providing basic inputs***

Children from excluded groups often attend schools that lack the basic inputs needed for learning.<sup>1</sup> Failure to provide basic inputs drives even the poorest people away and lowers achievement of those who remain. In Pakistan there are fewer schools for girls, and those that do exist lack essential inputs. As a consequence, parents withdraw their daughters, preferring to send them to private coeducational schools. The surge in girls' enrollment in private coeducational schools reflects the poor quality and lack of public schools (Lloyd, Mete, and Grant forthcoming; Andrabi, Das, and Khwaja 2006).

While there is some debate about the importance of basic inputs in boosting achievement (see, for example, Hanushek and Luque 2002), provision of basic inputs to the poorest schools has yielded positive results. In Brazil, for example, measures of school quality—education of teachers, quality of physical facilities, private ownership of schools—were associated with significantly higher test scores (Albernaz, Ferreira, and Franco 2002). In northeast Brazil a program designed to deliver basic inputs—physical facilities, writing materials, and textbooks—to schools resulted in significant gains in achievement, with no gender differences (Harbison and Hanushek 1992). In Egypt lower quality schools—those with multiple shifts and temporary teachers—increased the likelihood that girls left school, whereas schools with adequate facilities and in-service teacher training decreased their likelihood of dropping out (Lloyd and others 2003).

Schools targeting indigenous children in four of Mexico's poorest states (Chiapas, Guerrero, Hidalgo, and Oaxaca) were provided with supplementary funding to ensure the necessary quantity and quality of books, didactic materials, teachers, school infrastructure, distance education technologies, and institutional strengthening to bolster local management and budget functions. Spanish tests scores rose 42.3 percent in the program group compared with 16.5 percent in the control group. The impacts were greatest for the poor, but the program had less impact on the poorest, the excluded population in

1 Basic inputs include knowledgeable teachers, sufficient learning time, good curriculum and instructional material, and an adequate physical environment (Lockheed and Verspoor 1991).

### **Box 4.1. How Chile reduced the achievement gap between indigenous and nonindigenous students**

About 5 percent of Chile's population identifies itself as indigenous, 90 percent of them Mapuche. In 1997 Spanish test scores for indigenous eighth-grade students were nearly half a standard deviation below scores of nonindigenous students, and math test scores were nearly as low. Three years later, these gaps had dropped 30 percent for Spanish and 25 percent for math. Two-thirds of the Spanish test score convergence and all of the math score convergence occurred within rather than across schools, among students with similar family characteristics, largely due to school reform.

Three education reforms were implemented in Chile in the 1990s: the 900 schools program, or P-900; the Equity and Quality Improvement in Education (MECE) program; and the Full School Day reform. Beginning in 1990 the P-900 program provided the lowest performing 10 percent of schools, as identified from test scores, with a package of school inputs, including textbooks, in-service teacher training, and tutoring for low-achieving children. In 1992 all publicly funded schools received a wide range of instructional materials from the MECE. The program also funded school improvement projects intended to boost student learning achievement and provided special assistance in multigrade learning to small, publicly funded primary schools. The third reform, initiated in 1997, subsidized an extended school day in publicly funded schools, initially in schools that were not operating on a split-shift system, such as rural schools.

None of the three reforms targeted indigenous schools, and neither mother tongue nor ethnicity was a criterion for participation. Because indigenous students' performance is lower than that of nonindigenous students and they more frequently attend small rural schools, however, the effect of the reforms was greater in indigenous schools. By 2000, 45 percent of indigenous students and just 23 percent of nonindigenous students were participating in the P-900 program, and 26 percent of indigenous and 8 percent of nonindigenous students were participating in the Full School Day program. Thus without specifically targeting ethnicity or language differences, Chile was able to significantly improve the learning of indigenous children.

*Source:* McEwan (2006).

rural Mexico. The gender differential of impact was not addressed (Paqueo and Lopez-Acevedo 2003). In Chile 10 years of programs providing additional support to the worst performing schools have significantly reduced gaps in achievement between indigenous and nonindigenous students (McEwan 2006) (box 4.1).

Targeting school resources to the poorest performing schools and improving management help retain excluded children, particularly girls, in school. It also boosts these students' learning achievement.

### ***Offering mother tongue-based teaching and bilingual education***

The issue of language in OECD countries has proved central to progress in indigenous

education. For example, in New Zealand an emphasis on bilingualism has raised the importance and relevance of the Maori language and improved secondary school retention and completion by Maoris. The 2001 census showed improvement in educational attainment for Maori and non-Maori alike, a shift from the stagnation among the Maori between 1986 and 1996 (Census of New Zealand 2001).

A mismatch between the home language and the language of the school has several negative consequences for children (Benson 2005). It may reduce their likelihood of enrolling in school because parents may not understand communications from the school regarding enrollment procedures. It may increase their likelihood of dropping out, as not all of these children acquire sufficient proficiency in the target language to remain in school. And failure and fear of failure may lower these children's aspirations for further education. Girls suffer disproportionately, as they have less access to the world outside their communities and therefore less familiarity with the national language than do their male counterparts.

Corson (1993) notes that "unjust" language policies are particularly detrimental to poor girls who do not speak the language of instruction. Effective bilingual education programs start by developing the child's reading, writing, and thinking skills in the home language, which requires that the teacher be fluent in that language. At the same time, the target language is taught as a subject. The United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (Benson 2005) describes some bilingual education programs but notes that they are often poorly implemented, as understanding of the theory on which they are based is often lacking, leading to poor design. However, research (Klaus 2003, King and Benson 2003, Hovens 2002, and Benson 2002, all cited in Benson 2005) finds that mother tongue-based bilingual education can help break down barriers faced by girls:

- More girls enroll in school when they can learn in a familiar language.
- Use of the home language in school increases parent participation and influence.
- Teachers from the same linguistic and cultural communities as their students are less likely to exploit girls.
- Girls in bilingual classes stay in school longer.
- Girls learn better and can demonstrate their learning in their mother tongue.
- Bilingual teachers treat girls more fairly than do teachers who do not speak their language.
- Bilingual women are more likely to become teachers and role models for excluded girls.

Parker, Rubalcava, and Teruel (2005) find that access to a bilingual school mitigates the negative effects of a monolingual indigenous mother on enrollment in Mexico. In Guatemala students in bilingual primary schools have higher attendance and promotion rates, lower repetition and dropout rates, and higher achievement scores in all subjects, including Spanish (Hall and Patrinos 2006). Despite the higher cost of

bilingual teachers and supplementary curriculum materials, bilingual education produced cost savings of \$5 million in 1996—equivalent to the cost of primary school education for 100,000 children in Guatemala—due to lower repetition rates. In Mali bilingual programs led to sharp declines in dropout and repetition, with rural children in bilingual schools outscoring urban children (World Bank 2005c).

Bilingual programs provide access to excluded groups and may be a necessary means of making public schools acceptable to families, particularly for girls. The downside of bilingual education is that if the program is not well implemented children do not master the majority language, limiting their opportunities for upward mobility.

### ***Strengthening curricula and classrooms and making them more open to diversity***

Schools need to reflect the diversity of children in them. Early efforts focused on textbooks and included such actions as ensuring that girls and women were represented by nonstereotyped images, that pictures of people from excluded groups appeared in textbooks, and that textbooks did not refer to urban or international experiences that would be foreign to rural children. These changes were intended to improve student motivation and their perceptions that schools were relevant to them. The effect of these interventions on learning achievement were not evaluated, but the changes are believed to have other benefits, such as those given above (Lockheed and Verspoor 1991).

Pedagogical processes in the classroom need to be changed to increase inclusion. Status expectations that shape interpersonal behavior in classrooms can be addressed by restructuring the learning environment to celebrate differences. Approaches such as cooperative learning or complex instruction require that students work together on complex tasks—teachers are trained to point out the positive contributions of each student in the group's completion of the task (Cohen and Lotan 1997). Evaluations of complex instruction find significant treatment effects. Students in treatment classrooms or groups gained more than those in control classrooms or groups, and the gains were larger for low-status children (Bower 1997; Sharan and Shachar 1988). Cooperative learning and complex instruction approaches can be taught to teachers and become sustained in schools with appropriate levels of supervisory support (Cohen 1997). In a review of major Latin American school interventions to boost learning, Anderson (2005) finds that in-service training for teachers that focused on better pedagogy in the classroom is highly effective in boosting the language achievement of children from poor areas, raising scores 0.8 standard deviations.

### ***Implications for donors and policymakers***

Donors can help children transition into mainstream schools by underwriting bilingual schooling to complement public education programs. Donors could, for example, finance informal or community schools for preprimary-age children in difficult-to-reach areas, providing local teachers, materials, and books in local languages. The need for bilingual entry for all children, but especially girls, is crucial for both enrollment and retention of students who come from homes where the national or regional language is not spoken.

Teachers can be agents of change and tolerance, a characteristic of particular importance in ethnically mixed classrooms. Bilingual teachers in particular are often torn between their cultural roots and integration into the national culture. They have the opportunity to change perceptions and behaviors by majority and minority populations (Kudo 2004). Sensitizing teachers and providing them with tools to cope with and address inevitable ethnic and gender tensions in the classroom can contribute to both learning and the integration of cultures.

Donors can support classroom improvements in poorly performing or underfinanced schools by providing school improvement grants. By complementing or supplementing public investments, such grants could support activities designed jointly with recipient communities and teachers to respond to local conditions, build in local monitoring and oversight capacity, and ensure an impact on learning. School improvements benefit both boys and girls, but families consider dilapidated environments less suitable for girls. Combined with concerns over safety, inadequate facilities may tip the balance away from enrollment of girls. Such investments therefore have a strong gender component.

### **Supporting compensatory preschool and in-school programs**

As the OECD experience suggests, simply providing adequate schools will not ensure that excluded children are educated. Additional initiatives are needed.

### ***“Book flooding” to overcome language problems***

Millions of children are required to learn, to read, and to write in languages they do not speak at home. One way of helping these children master the language used in school is to “flood” their classrooms with books in the target language and to train teachers in using these books effectively. Variations on the “book flood” strategy have been evaluated in Fiji, New Zealand, Singapore, South Africa, and Sri Lanka (Elley and others 1996). In all of these settings students whose teachers used the approach made rapid and sustained gains in learning the target language.

In a Sri Lanka evaluation involving 16,000 students in 20 book flood schools and 10 control schools, pretest to posttest progress for students in the intervention schools was nearly three times that of students in the control schools (test scores rose about 11 percent for the test group and less than 4 percent for the control group). In a review of interventions in Latin America, Anderson (2005) finds that having a classroom library boosted language achievement by 0.8 of a standard deviation, but it was not effective for the subsample of students from poor areas.

### *Compensatory preschool programs*

Compensatory programs have had mixed results in OECD countries. Programs that remove children from their classes for compensatory instruction have not been successful, while extending the school day or adding programs shows promise.

Evaluations show that the most effective and long-lasting compensatory education programs occur during preschool (Myers 1995). Evidence from the United States and a number of developing countries suggests the vital importance of preschool for children whose parents did not go to school. In developing countries preschool programs need to encourage parental involvement, so that parents are aware of what goes on in classrooms, and to ensure that children are prepared to stay in school once they enter primary.

One of the earliest programs aimed at excluded children whose parents had little if any education was the Head Start program in the United States. Head Start focused on cognitive development, school readiness, and social and emotional development of disadvantaged children between the ages of three and five. Financed by the federal government in the 1960s, Head Start now covers 17 percent of preschool enrollment and has been supplemented by state and municipal programs that provide additional services to low-income parents. Head Start focuses on child development and socialization of children and parents, and it requires the participation of parents. Head Start and programs like it offer outreach services and counseling to parents to help them bridge the gap between home culture and preschool for their children. Recent evaluations find positive impacts (Garces, Thomas, and Currie 2002; Love and others 2005). Similar approaches have been adopted in various forms by many countries and programs.

A study of early childhood programs in Brazil finds that the number of years of preschool has a positive and statistically significant impact on the schooling ultimately attained. It also has a positive and significant impact on the probability that children will reach a given grade at a specific age. An additional year of preschool also reduces repetition by 3–5 percentage points (Pães de Barros and Mendoça 1999).

In 1982 researchers at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul, Turkey, conducted a randomized evaluation of a program to see whether educating poor mothers of three- and five-year-olds improved their children's learning outcomes and whether the effects

lasted longer than those of programs that only educated children. The program was evaluated at the end of the project and again seven years later. A series of assessments, tests, and interviews were used to establish a baseline. Mothers were divided into three groups: those with children in an educational preschool, those with children in a custodial daycare center, and those with children at home. Both treatment and control groups were established by random assignment. The intervention involved early childhood enrichment and mother training in low-income areas of Istanbul. All mothers in the project had similar socioeconomic and demographic characteristics—young, rural residence, low levels of education and income. After seven years 86 percent of the children whose mothers had received training were still in school compared with 67 percent of the children whose mothers had not been trained. Scores on primary school math tests were significantly higher for the mother-trained group. Verbal cognitive performance was also higher (Kagitçibasi 1996; Kagitçibasi, Suna, and Bekma 1993).

In Bolivia a large-scale, home-based early childhood development and nutrition program, *Proyecto Integral de Desarrollo Infantil*, provides daycare, nutrition, and educational services to children who live in poor, predominantly urban areas. Children between the ages of six months and six years are cared for in groups of 15 in homes in their own neighborhoods. The community selects local women to become home daycare mothers. These nonformal, home-based daycare centers, with two to three caregivers, provide integrated child development services (play, nutrition, growth screening, and health referrals). The women receive child development training before becoming educators, but they are usually not highly trained and come from the same socioeconomic backgrounds as the parents. Scores of children 37–54 months old participating in the program improved about 5 percent on tests of bulk motor skills, fine motor skills, language skills, and psychosocial skills (Behrman, Cheng, and Todd 2000).

In 1982 an early childhood education project was launched in six states in India, with four more states joining in subsequent years (Bihar, Goa, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Nagaland, Orissa, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, and Uttar Pradesh). The project established 65 early childhood education centers in underprivileged, underdeveloped regions of each state, all attached to primary schools. The centers offered a development-oriented curriculum and encouraged parent participation. Dropout rates were lower among children with early childhood education experience than among children without early childhood education. Retention in primary grades was greater for girls than for boys, especially through grade 4 (Kaul, Ramachandran, and Upadhyaya 1993).

### ***Compensatory primary in-school programs***

Compensatory programs may be critical to keeping children from excluded group in school and compensating for the absence of educational reinforcements at home. They may also be necessary to keep students on track and able to keep up with their peers.

The preferential policies that Loury (2000) identifies fall into this category: extra investments for students to ensure that they can raise their skill and capacity levels to effectively compete.

In the United States “accelerated schools” offer programs for ethnic and social minorities to compensate for deficits at home (Hopfenberg and Levin 1993). After-school programs for the disadvantaged have also shown positive effects. In the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil, an extensive after-school program focuses on socialization, tutoring, and curriculum enrichment. Schools with the program enjoyed higher enrollments, lower repetition and dropout rates, and rising tests scores (Pães de Barros, Mendonça, and Soares 1998).

An education program launched in 20 Indian cities by a Mumbai-based NGO provides remedial education to groups of 15–20 children who are lagging behind. Using young female high school graduates from the same slum communities in which the schools are located, the *Balsakhi* program teaches core competencies (basic numeracy and literacy) to second and third-graders. Teachers follow a core curriculum, but there is considerable flexibility in tailoring it to the needs of the children. Teachers are paid \$10–\$15 a month, and turnover is high, suggesting that the program is built on a workable concept rather than the charisma of a leader or the commitment of a few teachers.

A randomized evaluation of the *Balsakhi* program in two Indian cities reveals significant academic progress. Participation in the program increased learning by 0.15 standard deviations in the first year and 0.25 in the second year, with the largest gains recorded for the most economically disadvantaged students. In Vadodara, one of the two cities, test scores of children in the program rose 40 percent more than those of children outside the program. Comparisons between children in the public schools without remedial education and those in the *Balsakhi* program show that remedial education is more than 10 times more cost-effective, suggesting that it may be more efficient than expanding the public teaching force to compensate for repeaters (Banerjee and others 2003).

Spain’s School Monitoring Program in Madrid has developed partnerships with Roma-focused NGOs to help integrate Roma children into the public school system. Part of the effort entails tracking the attendance and progress of students. The program promotes preprimary education, completion of compulsory education, and improvement in education habits and socialization skills. The program works with Roma families, social workers, and teachers on education topics, using their input to adjust the curriculum and extracurricular activities to engage Roma children. As of 2000, 16 schools in 3 districts had launched School Monitoring Programs. Student absenteeism is down, participation and engagement in extracurricular activities is high, and contact between Roma and non-Roma students is growing (Martin 2000).

Some Roma parents in these districts still keep their children at home, which points to the difficulty of reaching parents from excluded groups and finding the right

mix of enticements and comfort levels that will allow countries to reach the last 1–5 percent of children. These families require affirmative action or preferential policies to convince them that they and their children will not be worse off if their children go to school.

Supplementary assistance appears to pay off for minorities and other excluded groups. Two separate effects appear to be at work: parental education and the achievement levels in the community that reinforce demand for education. Policies that can overcome lack of parental education may need to be supplemented with additional support when “neighborhood” effects must also be overcome.

### *Parental involvement and support for education*

Excluded children typically come from illiterate, disadvantaged families who live in marginalized communities. Parents often lack the time and the capacity to provide educational support to their children.

Research has repeatedly shown parent involvement as a strong predictor of student achievement (for example, Postlethwaite and Ross 1992). Parent involvement includes engaging parents and communities in the governance of schools as well as encouraging parents to provide a supportive home environment in which children can learn. Involving parents also helps assure them that their girls are safe at school.

Children of parents who have not been to school, are illiterate, or simply do not have books at home are at a disadvantage. Books in the home signal a commitment to education—their absence suggests not only a low regard for education but also restricted access to books and reference material that enrich and support education, explicitly and implicitly. Numerous studies have identified the impact of parental support of education on achievement. The International Association for the Evaluation of Achievement’s (IEA) 1991 international assessment of reading literacy across 26 countries finds that such proxies for parental support of education as the number of books in the home were positively correlated (corr. = 0.20 or higher), with achievement in 19 of the countries studied (Postlethwaite and Ross 1992). IEA’s 1995 international assessment of mathematics achievement finds that students from homes with large numbers of books, a range of educational study aids, or parents with university-level education had higher mathematics achievement (Martin and others 2000; Beaton and others 1996). A repeat of the study in 1999 (TIMSS) involving 41 countries created an index of home educational resources that included books in the home, study aids (a computer, a study desk or table for the student’s use, and a dictionary), and at least one parent with a university education (Mullis and others 2000). Across all countries, students with a high level of home educational resources scored 128 points (about 1.25 standard deviations) higher than students with a low level of home resources—about the same difference as between the highest scoring country (Singapore) and the international average.

IEA's 2001 international assessment of reading achievement at the primary level in 35 countries (PIRLS) finds that children of parents who engaged in early home literacy activities (such as reading a book, playing with alphabet toys, or reading aloud signs or labels) scored 40 points higher (about half a standard deviation) than did children whose parents did not engage in such activities—about two-thirds of the difference between the highest scoring country (Sweden) and the international average (Mullis and others 2003).

Evidence from OECD countries suggests the importance of local activism and control over schools (Lindert 2004). In Colombia, Iran, and Thailand local decision-making about supplies and the hiring of teachers led to higher test results in both mathematics and science (Woessmann 2000). In the Republic of Korea the establishment of parent-teacher associations under the US occupation following World War II increased parental involvement in and contributions to primary schooling, which drove the surge in enrollment and completion in the 1960s (Lewis 2005).

Reaching parents as part of efforts to attract excluded children, particularly girls, is fundamental to success in developing countries as well. Town meetings, one-on-one canvassing, and other means of reaching parents to explain the purpose and the plan for education programs are critical. For example, in Himachal Pradesh, India, regular meetings of parents and local officials have led to effective community oversight of teacher attendance and performance and a shared burden in overseeing student attendance and the safety of schools for girls (De and Drèze 1999).

### ***Busing***

Sometimes reaching a better school rather than upgrading an existing one represents the best or most affordable option, especially where geographic divisions are effectively segregating schools. Integrating schools through busing proved both highly controversial but highly effective in the United States (Weatherford 1980). Integrated schools provide the ultimate socialization for excluded children.

In Vidin, Bulgaria, the Open Society Institute and a local NGO experimented with busing Roma children to mainstream schools as a way of improving the quality of education. The program encompassed intensive efforts with school administrators, teachers, and Roma parents. School monitors ensured that Roma children were not mistreated, a common complaint of Roma parents. Roma children were also provided with free lunches and shoes. The results were 100 percent enrollment, a doubling in the initial number of children in school to 920, and parity in test scores with non-Roma children, a major achievement (Ringold, Orenstein, and Wilkens 2003). It is not clear whether parents responded to the free lunches or shoes, the monitors, or the schooling option. What is evident is that the package of interventions made a significant difference in altering behavior of a large group of out-of-school children.

### *Implications for donors and policymakers*

Financing the compensatory costs associated with reaching excluded children can provide parents with a major incentive for keeping children in school. After-school supervision and academic support, remedial programs for those behind on entry, special summer enrichment initiatives, and the like have been shown to be effective in OECD countries. They deserve attention and investment in low-income settings.

Children who do not receive reinforcement at home need school-based support to succeed. But like other extras, such programs are not generally affordable in developing countries. Simple after-school activities can build social capital among children or ensure that students have a place to complete homework. Both kinds of efforts deserve donor attention. Ensuring that girls in particular have a place to do their homework is critical because they are more likely to be expected to perform domestic chores, which reduce the time available to complete homework.

Financing transportation for excluded children, possibly separately for girls, could respond to the safety concerns of parents whose daughters must travel to other villages for secondary school. In less accessible locations older women could be paid to accompany girls to schools outside their villages. A logical extension of the transportation issue is construction of basic infrastructure, not only roads but communications as well. Roads make it easier for teachers and textbooks to reach schools and students; communication and electrical infrastructure broaden the schooling options beyond teachers and textbooks. Traditional school buildings, materials, and latrines tend to be underfinanced, especially in the poorest areas.

“Flooding” rural schools and those serving disadvantaged groups with books and libraries—and training teachers to encourage students to use them—can only help foster reading. A major impediment to demand for literacy among adults is the limited need for literacy skills. Most schools in developing countries lack libraries. What better way to reinforce classroom learning than by making books available on loan?

Parents from socially excluded groups need to be involved if new programs are to be successful. Programs that engage parents in parent-teacher associations or other venues that get them involved help parents who have never been to school understand the process and objectives of schooling and bring them into the decisionmaking process. Not including them can prove disastrous if they see little value in the innovations offered to their children, and the greater sensitivity regarding daughters means that involving parents is particularly important for girls.

Middle-income countries, such as Brazil, Chile, and Mexico, have pioneered means of reaching the excluded, but many countries cannot afford the extra efforts. It falls to donors to pick up the cost of these necessary but costly initiatives.

## Creating incentives for households to send girls to school

Cultural taboos, the opportunity cost of labor, low demand for education, and reluctance to allow children, especially girls, to enter mainstream schools contribute to low enrollment, completion, and achievement rates among excluded groups. Several efforts to overcome some of these concerns—or simply to make it financially worthwhile for families to change their views regarding schooling for girls—have shown promise. With few exceptions, efforts have not yet focused on excluded groups, who may require more than income supplements to send their girls to school. In targeting the poor, however, they are more likely to capture marginalized girls.

Conditional cash transfer programs implicitly embrace Pritchett's (2004) contention that getting children into school pays off whether or not learning occurs, because girls who attend school will send their daughters to school, initiating a virtuous cycle. There is strong evidence that paying parents to send their children to school increases attendance. But simply going to school may not be enough with excluded groups, as the behavior of blacks in the inner cities of the United States, the Japanese Burakumin, and the Roma, among others, demonstrate. Conditional cash transfers alone may not yield the payoffs achieved in homogeneous populations because of the discrimination and pain excluded groups suffer at heterogeneous schools. But this hypothesis has yet to be tested.

Scholarship programs for girls have also demonstrated their effectiveness in encouraging parents to send girls to school and in helping girls complete school. Whether underwriting education costs will be sufficient to attract and keep excluded girls in school remains to be seen.

### *Conditional cash transfers*

Conditional cash transfers provide resources to households that engage in desirable behaviors, such as enrolling and keeping their children in school. Although challenging to administer in many settings, conditional cash transfers offer incentives to families to invest in education (at least in terms of the opportunity costs of their children's labor) and put the onus on the family to make sure that children go to school—something that school officials often find impossible to do. Seven major conditional cash transfer programs have been evaluated (table 4.1).

Brazil's *Bolsa Escola* was the first such program. It remains the largest, currently enrolling more than 5 million families. *Bolsa Escola* has proven to be one of the most successful anti-poverty programs in Brazil, and school attendance has risen nationwide, reflecting expanded school attendance by low-income children. The program has recently undergone a radical restructuring that combines multiple social programs under a single federal agency with a new name, *Bolsa Familia*.

**Table 4.1. Impacts of selected conditional cash transfer programs**

<b>Program (country and date)</b>	<b>Design</b>	<b>Coverage</b>
<i>Bolsa Escola</i> (Brazil 1995)	Federal program administered by local government for dedicated credit card–based transfers to mothers in poor households, conditional on children 6–15 maintaining 85 percent attendance. Participants must attend after-school activities and cannot work.	5 million families, 8.6 million children in 98 percent of municipalities in Brazil.
<i>Bono de Desarrollo Humano</i> (Ecuador 2003)	National program targeting poorest families. Program links school attendance to cash transfer to women of \$15 a month.	1,391 households, 3,072 school-age children, representing 40 percent of poorest households.
<i>Food for Education</i> (Bangladesh 1993)	Centrally designed and administered monthly food transfer program to poor households conditional on 85 percent attendance by primary school-age children (ages 6–10).	2.1 million students (12 percent of all primary students) in 1,247 municipalities covering all 64 districts.
<i>Programa de Asignación Familiar</i> (Honduras 2000)	Centrally designed and implemented program for cash transfers to mothers. Phase I: Education voucher provided to mothers of up to three children in grades 1–3. Phase II: Education voucher for primary school–age children conditional on attendance; program included nutrition and health voucher component.	70,000 households in 50 municipalities of 7 departments.
<i>Progresal/Oportunidades</i> (Mexico 1997)	Federally designed and administered program for cash transfers to mothers in poor households, conditional on school-age children maintaining 85 percent attendance. Grants increase with grade, higher for girls in secondary school. Noncompliance leads to temporary or permanent loss of benefit.	2.6 million families in 2,000 municipalities and 31 states (40 percent of all rural households).

Targeting mechanism	Impact <sup>a</sup>
<p>Municipal eligibility determined by poverty indices, child eligibility determined by local committee. Child is ineligible if per capita monthly income of family is more than \$36 (half the minimum wage).</p>	<p><i>Enrollment:</i> No formal estimates of impact. Earlier school entry age.  <i>Attendance:</i> Rose 79 percent on average.  <i>Dropout:</i> 0.40 percent (5.6 percent for nonbeneficiaries).  <i>Performance:</i> 80 percent promotion rate (72 percent for nonbeneficiaries), no difference in learning outcomes between beneficiaries and nonbeneficiaries.</p>
<p>Obscure eligibility criteria led to poor targeting. Current targeting uses a poverty index (Selben) based on household characteristics.</p>	<p><i>Attendance:</i> Rose 10 percentage points, with largest increases in secondary school, where all new enrollments occurred.  <i>Dropout:</i> Declined 3.1–3.6 percentage points.</p>
<p>Backward areas identified by the government. Households chosen by local committees of parents, teachers, local representatives, education specialists, and school donors.</p>	<p><i>Enrollment:</i> Rose 44 percent for girls, 28 percent for boys.  <i>Attendance:</i> Rose 70 percent (58 percent in nonparticipating schools).  <i>Dropout:</i> 6 percent (15 percent for nonbeneficiaries).</p>
<p>Municipality-level targeting based on height-for-age data for first graders. All households in municipalities with children in relevant age group are eligible.</p>	<p><i>Enrollment:</i> No measurable change in primary school enrollment.  <i>Dropout:</i> Some reduction.</p>
<p>Localities identified by “marginality index” of poverty and illiteracy, with verification by local officials. Eligible households informed of responsibilities at local general assembly.</p>	<p><i>Enrollment:</i> Increased 0.7–1.1 percent for boys and 1.0–1.5 for girls in primary school, 7.2–9.3 for boys and 3.5–5.8 for girls in secondary school. Earlier school entry age.  <i>Attendance:</i> No impact.  <i>Dropout:</i> Lower dropout rates and higher school re-entry rates among dropouts.  <i>Completion:</i> Increase in transition to secondary school (6th to 7th grade): 20 percent for girls, 10 percent for boys.  <i>Performance:</i> Better grade progression. No change in achievement test scores.</p>

(Continues on next page)

**Table 4.1. Impacts of selected conditional cash transfer programs (continued)**

<b>Program</b>	<b>Design</b>	<b>Coverage</b>
<i>Red de Protección Social</i> (Nicaragua 2000)	Centrally designed and administered cash transfer program providing education subsidies to households with children 7–13 enrolled in grades 1–4, conditional on 85 percent attendance. Health subsidy conditional on scheduled health visits and information lectures.	10,000 households in 6 municipalities in 2 of poorest states.
<i>Subsidio Unitario Familiar</i> (Chile 1981)	Local government–administered program that provides mothers in eligible families (income < \$2,400) a family subsidy if pregnant, caring for invalids, or with school-age children in school. Covers children up to age 18. Eligibility reassessed every two years.	5.6 million people (36.5 percent of population).

a. Impact reported only for some countries and for some characteristics.

Source: Morley and Coady 2003; Schady and Araujo 2006.

While Nicaragua's *Red de Protección Social* increased primary enrollment 18 percentage points, other conditional cash transfer programs in Central America have met with mixed success (Morley and Coady 2003). For example, Honduras's *Programa de Asignación Familiar* showed no impact on primary enrollment, though it did lead to a modest decline in dropout rates, due in part to enhanced administrative and oversight capacity (Caldes, Coady, and Maluccio 2004; Coady 2004).

Mexico's *Progresá* program is three separate transfer programs—for social assistance, health, and education—each with its own eligibility criteria. In education mothers receive bimonthly stipends contingent on sending their children to school at least 80 percent of the time. Results show a 3.4 percent increase in enrollment for grades 1–6. This achievement is less than it appears at first sight, as primary education was already close to universal (Schultz 2004). Lower secondary school enrollment was 64 percent before the program was introduced and 76 percent afterward. Enrollment by girls rose almost 15 percentage points (figure 4.1). Although the program targeted the poorest states in southern Mexico, it did not explicitly address ethnicity; the degree to which indigenous groups participate is not known.

De Janvry and Sadoulet (2004) suggest that the efficiency of the *Progresá* program could be enhanced by adjusting eligibility criteria, particularly at the lower secondary school level. Their proposal would directly affect excluded groups in remote areas, as these are the least served and the most difficult to reach. Sixty-four percent of those receiving transfers would have gone to secondary school without the transfer, and 24 percent of eligible children do not attend school, meaning that their parents choose to

**Targeting mechanism**

**Impact**

Poor municipalities targeted on basis of education and health access and organizational capacity. Submunicipal units and houses were then targeted on basis of poverty and marginality index; 21 treatment units, 21 control units.

*Enrollment:* 22 percent increase in new enrollment, 29 percent increase in continued enrollment.  
*Dropout:* 41 percent decline.  
*Performance:* Grade progression increased 8.2 percent for progression from first to second grade, 7.3 percent from second to third, and 6.2 percent from third to fourth. Additional improvement for beneficiary cohort that progressed beyond grade 4.

Proxy means test based on household data. Responses scored according to a weighting scheme; 90 percent of benefits go to poorest 40 percent of population.

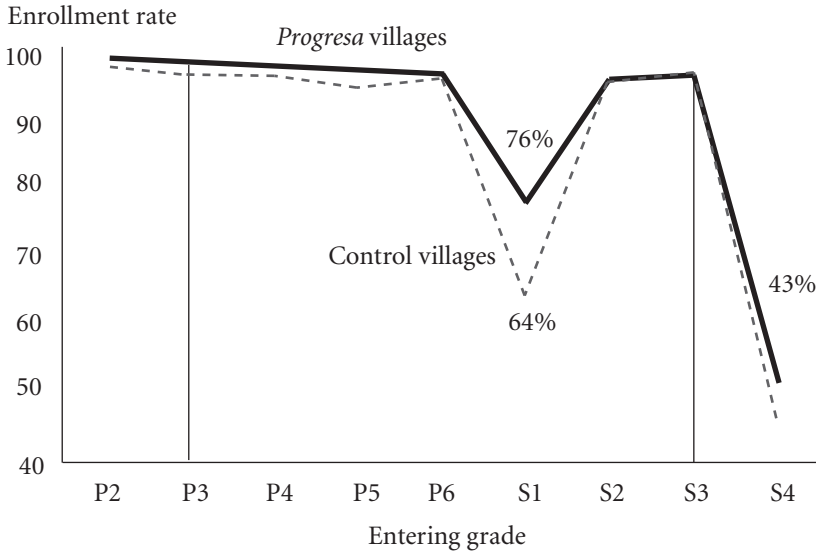
forgo the roughly \$200 a year stipend. De Janvry and Sadoulet argue that focusing on cases where the conditionality will alter behavior would improve efficiency. Targeting difficult-to-reach children, those with an indigenous parent, or girls living in communities without a secondary school would help bring the most excluded into the schooling system and would disproportionately affect girls. Attracting and retaining girls in lower secondary is the needed next step.

Ecuador’s *Bono de Desarrollo Humano* program showed much more impressive results than Mexico’s program, with primary school enrollment rising 10 percentage points. The difference probably reflects initial variations in national enrollment levels. Ecuador’s primary enrollment averages 90 percent, but the figure is lower in rural, indigenous, and low-income areas. Average years of schooling are 6.5, with the rate for indigenous groups half that. The largest program effects occurred among poorer households and older children who continued on to secondary school. Contact with parents regarding the need to send children to school in order to receive the transfer fueled the growth in enrollment, particularly at the secondary level. Despite the lack of enforcement, enrollment increases have not been reversed, possibly because households may not want to risk losing the transfer (Schady and Araujo 2006).

In Bangladesh, where in-kind rather than cash transfers are provided, impact assessments consistently show improved attendance, declines in child labor, and increased completion. The transfers had the same effect on school attendance as cash transfers, but child labor declined only slightly, in contrast to other settings (Ravallion and Wodon 2000).

The Community Support Program in Balochistan, Pakistan, provides a variant

**Figure 4.1. Mexico has had some success in education under its *Progresa/Oportunidades* program, 1998**



*Note:* *Progresa* intervention starts in the third year of primary and ends after the third year of secondary.  
 P = primary, S = secondary.  
*Source:* De Janvry and Sadoulet 2004.

on the conditional cash transfer by targeting communities without schools and communities with low schooling attendance among girls. The successful program included roles for the community and parents as well as transfers to households. Because it is the only conditional cash transfer–type effort with a parental involvement component and there were no controls, no conclusions are possible, but it suggests the importance of linking conditional cash transfer with other initiatives when attempting to reach the hardcore holdouts to primary schooling (Kim, Alderman, and Orazem 1998; Khalid and Mukhtar 2002).

Other incentives and subsidies for households have shown promise in bringing girls into school. Using a randomized evaluation Kremer, Moulin, and Namunyu (2002) show that in-kind provision of textbooks and uniforms (as well as classroom construction) to seven schools in rural Kenya led to a 15 percent increase in schooling after five years—two years sooner than in schools that did not receive the intervention.

In Japan Burakumin children attend secondary school at about two-thirds the rate of the majority population. National programs to provide free textbooks for Burakumin students in the 1970s, as a way to induce school attendance, initiated the practice of government-financed textbooks in Japan. In addition, some jurisdictions provide stipends to

encourage parents to send their adolescents to school (Meerman 2005).

Significant administrative capacity is needed to ensure that transfers reach target families and that the link between school attendance and stipends is maintained. In countries with limited capacity, operating a conditional cash transfer may not be feasible if done through government channels.

### *Scholarships for girls*

Scholarships for girls offer both financing for and encouragement to stay in secondary school (Herz and Sperling 2004). Scholarships compensate families for the direct and indirect costs of education. For them to attract new students into the system, households must view cost as an impediment. Scholarships for excluded girls may need to be accompanied by other forms of compensatory support to help them succeed. In the United States offers of college tuition payments have led to mixed results among minorities, partly because children did not have the academic fundamentals needed to excel and partly due to peer effects of the community.

The best known and most effect scholarship program for girls is in Bangladesh. It produced remarkable results in a short time. Introduced in a quarter of Bangladesh's administrative districts, the program increased girls' enrollment to 44 percent—roughly twice the national average—after five years (Khandker, Pitt, and Fuwa 2003). The program was then expanded nationwide. Girls recently overtook boys in school completion in Bangladesh, which may partly reflect the expansion of the program. Given its homogeneous population, Bangladesh may not provide the best example for reaching excluded groups, but it does demonstrate that conservative parents in developing countries will respond to financial incentives and that their reluctance to educating their daughters can be overcome.

Stipend programs compensate parents in much the same way that scholarships and conditional cash transfer programs do, though they are at least notionally tied to school inputs such as uniforms, books, materials, and transportation. These efforts can be linked to specific purchases or provided as transfers to households that allow them to allocate the funds as they see fit. The programs offer flexibility and avoid the bureaucratic management of funds for books and school supplies. For this reason, stipends may be particularly relevant in some settings, especially those with weak administrative capacity.

Stipend programs have led to significant increases in enrollments, often in alternate schools. In Kenya learning and performance rose among girls who received scholarships. Test scores of nonscholarship boys and girls attending schools in which some girls received scholarships also rose, teacher and student attendance increased, and study habits improved—all positive externalities of the program (Kremer, Miguel, and Thornton 2004). Because the stipends were meant to cover fees and school costs, teachers and schools benefited from reliable, if not increased, revenues.

### *School feeding programs*

School feeding programs appear to be tied to higher attendance and enrollment. In some cases they have also been associated with reduced dropout rates and higher student achievement.

Many of the relevant evaluations have been plagued by statistical problems. For example, studies based on unrepresentative samples, biased selections of schools or unreliable data result in ambiguous findings. Often socioeconomic status cannot be captured, as studies tend to be school-based, so the equity implications cannot be drawn.

Some studies have overcome these obstacles. Based on evaluations in eight countries, Levinger (1986) concludes that school feeding programs are most effective in meeting school attendance objectives. Success is enhanced where attendance is relatively low at the outset and children come from low socioeconomic households.<sup>2</sup> Attendance declines, however, sometimes dramatically, when food programs are suspended (Levinger 1986; Del Rosso 1999). Evidence from India suggests that school feeding has contributed to increases in school enrollment (Drèze and Kingdon 1999).

Despite the uncertain long-term effects of feeding programs, they offer a means of drawing families into the school system. Parent committees often manage the food or prepare the meals, increasing their concern and involvement in school issues (Levinger 1986; Janke 1996; World Food Program 2004). Low-income communities outside Buenos Aires operate community gardens to grow food for the lunches that local women prepare for underprivileged school children. Parental engagement is a valuable byproduct of school feeding programs (Lewis 2005).

In Kenya, one of the world's most heterogeneous countries, a randomized evaluation shows that school meals in 25 schools raised attendance 30 percent relative to 25 schools without the free lunch. Test scores rose 0.4 standard deviations in contrast to the control schools that showed no change in scores (Vermeersch and Kremer 2004). But the program appeared to benefit boys more than girls. The program boosted the weight of boys but not girls, and it boosted girls' written test scores, but not their oral performance, a pattern often associated with negative expectations of teachers. While small, this carefully conducted study suggests the potential value of providing food for children. Obviously, the long-term implications are not clear. But the Vermeersch and Kremer (2004) study reinforces the findings of less rigorous studies, and the food program serves to attract otherwise out-of-school children into the educational system.

### *Implications for donors and policymakers*

Governments and multilateral donors have forged partnerships for conditional cash

2. Programs in Colombia, Jamaica, and the Philippines had minimal impact, because enrollment and attendance were already close to universal (Levinger 1986; World Food Program 2004).

transfers in much of Latin America. Expanding these initiatives to additional countries and to harder to reach groups could increase enrollment of excluded girls. Providing conditional cash transfers to families of excluded girls and initiating rigorous evaluations would help determine whether these initiatives work. Testing such programs in Africa is a priority, given the dearth of evidence and the lack of experimentation and evaluation across the continent. Donors could finance and manage conditional cash transfers for low-income countries that lack the managerial capacity and resources to conduct such programs.

Scholarships for girls have demonstrated such promise that donor initiatives to expand such programs to lower secondary, higher secondary, and tertiary education would do much to increase the stock of educated women in low-income countries. These women, who are not from the elite, offer both potential leadership and role models for girls. Stipend programs also hold promise. Donors could provide the funding needed to ensure that girls enroll and stay in school.

Financing school meals can attract children to school. Feeding programs also provide employment for and involve parents, reinforcing the school as a focus of community life. Meals offer a potentially important draw for excluded families in poverty. The ability of such programs to attract excluded girls remains untested. Donors could fund feeding programs targeting excluded girls to determine whether such programs are effective. Such programs offer an entry point to help upgrade schools, and provide the potential for additional help to children from excluded groups whose attendance or performance are faltering.

## Conclusions and recommendations

The evidence suggests a menu of possible interventions for increasing enrollment and achievement by girls, particularly girls from excluded groups. All options will not be appropriate in every setting. Some options to consider include:

- Eliminating legal and administrative barriers to girls' education.
- Expanding opportunity through a trust fund for multilateral programs targeting excluded girls. The fund could support alternative schooling options, innovative programs for adolescent girls, transportation for excluded girls, and some targeted construction of basic infrastructure.
- Improving the quality of schools serving excluded girls by underwriting primary schools, financing the provision of books and textbooks, training teachers to promote tolerance and inclusion, and providing school improvement grants.
- Establishing safe havens for girls in school by creating an inviting environment that gives parents confidence that their daughters will not be harmed or abused. Gender diversity training for teachers, which can be provided inexpensively, could help.

- Promoting positive discrimination through compensatory interventions that help excluded children overcome past inequities.
- Creating demand by financing compensatory costs associated with reaching excluded children, promoting outreach programs for parents, building partnerships for conditional cash transfers, providing scholarships for girls, and providing school meals.
- Supporting heterogeneous countries to participate in international assessments and to measure learning outcomes generally and across subgroups.
- Expanding the knowledge base about what works to improve the school participation and achievement of excluded girls by creating a girls' education evaluation fund that would finance evaluations of initiatives to build the knowledge base for policy.
- Addressing the need for bilingual teachers, books, and instructional materials in lower primary grades in schools serving indigenous populations.

Vouchers will have little effect where demand for education is low. Just building schools is also unlikely to entice families for which the opportunity cost of sending their children to school is high (as it is in many rural areas, where children work in agriculture), families that fear that their daughters will not be safe en route to or in school (as is the case in much of Africa and South Asia), families that expect mistreatment by school administrators and teachers (as the Roma in Eastern Europe do), or families that question the value of schooling or consider it too expensive for their daughters. These groups require more tailored approaches and engagement—and incentives that address these constraints.

Scholarships, which have shown great promise in many settings, may make a difference, but if girls face discrimination within the classroom or have inadequate preparation or study skills, monetary incentives may not be enough to keep them in school. This has been the case among excluded groups in high-income OECD countries, where supplementary investments, engagement of parents, and other targeted initiatives have been required to overcome low demand for education.

Donors have a panoply of investment options that complement government actions, substitute for lack of government funding, or foster collaboration across donor organizations and the multilaterals. Big-ticket items such as a girls' education evaluation fund or a trust fund for multilateral programs permit funding and contracting able organizations to test and implement programs with a high probability of significant impact. This book would not have been possible without similar efforts in the past which are now guiding future investments and actions. Without dedicated investments, the 60 million girls out of school will stay there, to the detriment of their countries and the world.