Evaluation of DFID Development Assistance: Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment

Phase II Thematic Evaluation: Education

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Foreword

BY MARK LOWCOCK,
DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR CORPORATE
PERFORMANCE AND KNOWLEDGE SHARING

DFID recognises gender equality and the empowerment of women as essential both for the elimination of world poverty and the upholding of human rights. Since 1985, we have worked to support this area, as laid out in our Strategy Paper1.

In 2005, the international community will consider progress towards the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Many of the hardest-to-reach MDGs are related to gender. Two examples are the goal to reduce deaths in pregnancy and childbirth, which are still unacceptably high, and the goal to increase girls’ education, which has been shown to have many positive knock-on effects including on child health and on economic growth.

2005 also marks the 10th anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. World leaders will be meeting in March to consider progress towards the goals identified in Beijing.

As a contribution to this renewed effort, DFID is currently conducting an evaluation of its policies and practice on gender equality and women’s empowerment. The evaluation will provide independent and systematic evidence of the effectiveness of DFID’s contribution to international gender equality goals. It will draw lessons from experience to inform our future strategy.

This is one of a series of working papers produced in preparation for the main evaluation. These are rapid reviews and provide indicative evidence on eight thematic areas of DFID’s work:

- Voice and Accountability;
- Maternal Mortality;
- Gender Violence;
- The Enabling Environment for Growth;
- Education;
- Conflict and Post Conflict Reconstruction;
- HIV and AIDS; and
- Migration.

Any feedback on this paper should be addressed to Jo Bosworth in Evaluation Department.

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1 Poverty Elimination and the Empowerment of Women. This is currently being reviewed and updated.
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Definitions of Key Terms

Gender Equality
Women having the same rights and opportunities in life as men, including the ability to participate in the public sphere.

Women’s Empowerment
A process of transforming gender relations through groups or individuals developing awareness of women’s subordination and building their capacity to challenge it.

Gender Mainstreaming
A strategy to ensure that women’s and men’s concerns and experiences are integral to the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all legislation, policies and programmes in any area and at all levels.

Twin Track Approach
DFID’s strategy combining focused actions aimed at women’s empowerment and gender-aware actions in the mainstream of development work.

Evaporation
When good policy intentions fail to be followed through in practice.

Invisibilization
When monitoring and evaluation procedures fail to document what is occurring ‘on the ground’.

Resistance
When mechanisms are used to block gender mainstreaming based on ‘political’ opposition (itself embedded in unequal gender power relations) rather than on ‘technocratic’ procedural constraints.

Sources: Adapted from Reeves & Baden (2000); Moser et. al, (2004); DFID (2000); and Darbyshire (2002).
Executive summary

Focus of evaluation

S1 This thematic evaluation module focuses on DFID’s present programme of work in education, reviewing the framework, country commitments, and the multilateral cooperation to which DFID is a contributor from the perspective of a focus on gender equality and women’s empowerment. From a review of issues relating to DFID’s commitments at international and country levels, we develop an indicative framework for the systematic evaluation.

The challenge

S2 Despite concerted efforts, DFID’s 2005 Girls’ Education Strategy highlights the fact that the 2005 Millennium Development Goal (MDG) on achieving equal enrolment of boys and girls at the primary and secondary level is likely to have been missed in more than 75 countries. The challenge is particularly severe in sub-Saharan Africa and south Asia. In total, girls comprise 57% of those out of school. The gender gap in enrolment widens at the post-primary level.

S3 Reasons for the failure to achieve gender parity are now well known – with respect to the demand for schooling, there are direct costs (including school fees) affect girls schooling disproportionately. The demand for their labour in the household also constrains them for attending and completing schooling often from an earlier age than boys. Socio-cultural norms and traditions, such as early marriage, can also be detrimental to their schooling. From the point of view of supply, where schools are situated at a distance from homes there are often fears for girls’ safety to and from school. Lack of appropriate facilities such as separate, private latrines for girls within schools can mean that they are unable to continue with their schooling after reaching puberty. The school environment itself can also be important – teachers may reinforce societal perceptions towards girls, thus undermining confidence in their abilities. In some cases, it has been found that girls can face abuse within the school environment itself (from fellow pupils or even teachers). The curriculum and textbooks can further reinforce gender stereotypes. Although these factors vary in different contexts, they are interrelated and mutually reinforcing.

S4 In recognition of these constraints, and recognition of the importance of girls’ schooling both as a human right as well as a means to reducing poverty, a range of strategies has been implemented internationally. These include, for example, the abolition of school fees and stipends targeting girls; community sensitisation and mobilisation; building of schools closer to homes with appropriate facilities; removing gender stereotypes from textbooks and recruiting more female teachers; making the curriculum more flexible to allow children to study and work; and improving the quality of schooling to make the investment in schooling more worthwhile. It is recognised that, given the multiple constraints girls face, a package of reforms is needed to have an effect. In addition, these strategies will not work unless there is capacity, commitment and leadership to ensure they are implemented.
Executive Summary

Approach and methodology

S5 The evaluation examines three sets of issues:
- the conceptualisation of gender equality and women’s empowerment with respect to education within DFID, key international partners and partner governments
- the aid modalities through which DFID works on gender equality and women’s empowerment through education, and the processes of mainstreaming within these modalities, at policy and implementation levels
- indicators for assessment of impact of DFID’s work on gender equality and women’s empowerment within its education work.

S6 The principal approaches used are an inventory and overview analysis of gender equality within DFID’s education programmes; an inventory of DFID aid modalities, identifying issues relating to gender mainstreaming within national programmes, across projects and programme aid; and the development of an indicative framework for evaluating DFID’s approach to and impact on gender equality and women’s empowerment in education.

Key findings

S7 Gender is an important area of attention in education within international agency policy documents. The possibility of adopting both rights-based as well as economic arguments to support girls’ education make it easier to promote and unify different actors compared with other sectors.

S8 DFID launched a new strategy paper on Girls’ Education in 2005 to signify its commitment to the acceleration of progress towards the education MDGs. This highlights the narrowing focus of attention to the Education MDG, rather than the more encompassing Education for All agenda. By consequence, the main concern is achievement of equal access of boys and girls to schooling. As a result, the main focus of attention in DFID’s work on education has been on primary schooling. This is insufficient to ensure gender equality and women’s empowerment is achieved. Although the Gender MDG targets gender parity at the post-primary level, DFID has fewer programmes at the post-primary level, and these are less likely to identify gender as an area of concern compared with those at the primary level.

S9 There has been a narrowing of the agenda to focus on girls’ education. Consideration of the importance of a gender approach, with a focus on the content of education, addressing issues of masculinities, and wider systems reform from a gender perspective has been neglected.

S10 Despite a steady increase in DFID’s expenditure on education since 1995, the proportion of this expenditure on programmes with a gender component, as measured by Policy Information Marker System (PIMS), has declined. It is not clear whether this reflects more discriminating use of gender markers, the effects of improved harmonisation on education at country level, or whether gender is not receiving as much attention in education as it had previously.
S11 Prioritisation towards gender in education as indicated by financing through PIMs is a reflection of commitments in a small number of large programmes, rather than spread across a large number of programmes.

S12 Based on a review of country education programme documents, it is evident that PIMs are not being used consistently across programmes or countries and so need to be treated with caution.

S13 Considerable knowledge has been generated, including within DFID, with regard to constraints to achieving gender equality in education, and strategies that work to support this goal. However, it is not always clear how this knowledge is being disseminated to, and used by, country programmes.

S14 While all Country Assistance Plans reviewed in this paper accord great importance to education, and some address gender issues in their priorities, only one out of eight plans analysed consider gender equality within education.

S15 Evidence from country programmes reviewed indicates that there is considerable variability in the extent to which gender is considered in projects. Where gender is a consideration, the focus is often on girl-specific initiatives. Those with Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) involvement are more likely to prioritise gender.

S16 DFID is increasingly working through global mechanisms in education, for example the UN Initiative for Girls’ Education (UNGEI) and the Education for All Fast Track Initiative (FTI). There is a need to ensure these have the capacity and commitment towards gender equality and women’s empowerment in and through education. This requires consideration of ways in which DFID is able to influence the agenda.

S17 Education appears to be further advanced than many other sectors in adopting newer aid modalities. However, gender is often inadequately addressed in these programmes. These new approaches make it more difficult for DFID to ensure its priorities towards gender and education are maintained.

S18 Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) are also becoming an important focus of attention in DFID’s work. Education has received greater attention with respect to gender in PRSPs compared with other sectors. However, the focus in these papers is usually on supply-side factors, with limited reference to social constraints. In addition, they often focus on highly generalised strategies aimed at addressing gender disparities.

S19 With respect to gender mainstreaming in DFID’s work there is a dedicated gender and education advisor at DFID HQ, whose role includes raising general international consensus and knowledge on gender and education. The relationship between this role and work on country programmes is unclear in the context of the move towards devolution in DFID.
Executive Summary

Key recommendations

Issues for DFID

S20 Many programmes and projects include broad education indicators on attainment and completion rates, but project monitoring requires process as well as input/output indicators to guide the gender sensitivity of programmes.

S21 DFID needs to develop new approaches to monitor how macro frameworks and global mechanisms can deliver on gender equality.

S22 DFID strategy documents provide broad frameworks, but not the detail of how country offices may use general commitments to achieve women’s empowerment and gender equality. Operational guidelines and tools based on demand form country personnel and tailored to diverse requirements are important.

Issues for the main evaluation:

S23 How effectively are girl-specific initiatives traditionally implemented through projects being translated into programme support, which is becoming the dominant mode of aid delivery for education?

S24 How is DFID influencing global mechanisms, such as UNGEI and FTI, to ensure its commitment to gender equality and women’s empowerment is achieved?

S25 How is knowledge generated internationally being used to inform programmes within countries?

S26 In general, there is a need to assess variations in methods, processes and systems for gender mainstreaming in different country offices, in order to understand the impact gender mainstreaming in DFID’s decentralised operations.
1 Introduction

1.1 Education is one of the key sectors for advancing gender equality and women’s empowerment. Its effects in improving the conditions of women’s lives through enhancing their access to public participation and employment are well documented. In addition, education has the potential of strengthening the position of women through providing them with new skills to negotiate for better conditions of work, pay and domestic rights. The firm belief in the positive role that education can play in improving women’s condition and position, and also through its role in reproducing inter-generational benefits for children, has become a central aspect of international compacts, aid modalities and policy instruments. In addition, civil society movements worldwide are also rallying around the right to education, with a focus on gender. With all of this activity, progress towards gender parity in education has taken root in many parts of the world.

1.2 This thematic module focuses on DFID’s present programme of work in education, reviewing commitments related to education and gender equality/women’s empowerment in international agency work, including DFID; the implications of new aid modalities for gender mainstreaming; and develops an indicative framework. These are discussed in the report under the following headings:

- international policy and knowledge
- DFID policy and knowledge
- impacts of DFID practice
- indicative framework.

1.1 Methodology

1.3 To prepare this thematic module, we have drawn on the following material:

- analysis of secondary data from DFID
- analysis of secondary literature
- interviews with DFID Education Advisers in London, and in country
- inputs from education experts in two countries, India and Malawi, to get an in-country perspective for the evaluation.

1.4 International and DFID HQ documents were reviewed, complemented by a focus on ten countries selected on the basis of variations in progress towards achieving gender parity in education; aid modalities; and governance conditions (Rwanda, Malawi, Ghana, Nigeria and Ethiopia in sub-Saharan Africa, and India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Afghanistan).
2 International policy and knowledge

2.1 International commitments to gender and education

Two internationally set goals provide the foundation for attention, particularly on the part of donor partnerships, towards gender and education:

- eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005
- achieving gender equality in education by 2015.

These goals have developed from the 1990 Jomtien World Conference on Education for All (EFA), and expanded in the follow-up World Education Forum (WEF) held in Dakar in 2000. They are supported by the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) for Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment.

2.2 Although there is a seeming consensus between these initiatives, there are important differences in their approaches. The Jomtien consensus advocated a universal approach towards the achievement of EFA by 2000, though it did note the importance of country level action to eliminate social and cultural barriers that result in the exclusion of girls from the benefits of regular education programmes. The Jomtien Framework only included female literacy as a gender-specific target. The WEF Declaration recognised that the targets were not reached by 2000, and shifted target years to 2015 (in line with MDGs). The consensus at WEF expanded the policy goals to include free and compulsory primary education, and placed greater emphasis on quality of education. Rather than using a universal approach, it included specific focus on girls and others in ‘difficult circumstances.’ Importantly, the WEF Framework includes a gender-specific goal – including targets for both parity and equality across access and achievement – and integrates girls/women as a category of focus across different goals.

2.3 There are two important differences in the emphases of the EFA goals on the one hand and the MDGs on the other. Firstly, EFA goals focus both on gender parity and gender equality in different levels of education, whereas the Gender MDG focuses only on reductions in disparities while recognising education as one of the three levers through which the goal of gender equality and empowerment of women can be met. Secondly, the MDGs focus narrowly only on universal primary completion, whereas the consensus at both Jomtien and Dakar emphasises the importance of education beyond primary schooling.

2.4 Political commitments made by national governments and international agencies in the context of EFA and MDG goals arise from a relatively rich history of efforts to promote girls’ education. Starting with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, which acknowledged the right to education and recognised that elementary education should be free and compulsory, education is now accepted as a basic human right. Following the UNDHR a number of important international conventions and agreements affirmed this right and in particular that of girls. The most significant are the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979) which was ratified by 173 counties and established the principle of non-discrimination as a binding agreement, and the 1990 Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) that affirmed the right of all children to education. These international agreements collectively offer a comprehensive set of legally enforceable commitments concerning rights to education and gender equality. A significant milestone in this process is the 1995 Platform for Action drawn up at the Fourth
World Conference for Women held in Beijing, China, which offers a detailed analysis of problems relating to gender equality within education systems and offers critical perspectives on how countries can move forward.¹

2.2 Key issues in gender and education

2.5 The EFA/MDG focus on girls’ education, and the lead-up to the 2005 goal of girls’ education saw a range of reports prepared and/or commissioned by international agencies on the issue (Global Campaign for Education 2003; UNESCO 2003; UNICEF 2004; Millennium Task Force 2005).

2.2.1 What do the goals mean?

2.6 Gender parity in education is a foundational commitment. Measured as the female to male ratio value of a given indicator, gender parity measures the equal participation of boys and girls in different aspects of education. Gender parity indicators are static, measuring the numbers of girls and boys with access to, and participating in education, at a particular moment of time (Subrahmanian 2003). The Gender MDG focuses on the relative proportions of girls and boys in school (Gender Parity Index – GPI). However, progress in the GPI does not guarantee high numbers in school nor does it measure improvements in the quality of the schooling experience for girls.

2.7 Gender equality in education focuses both on equality of opportunity and equality of treatment. This recognises that to secure equal outcomes from education for both women and men, there is a need to focus on gender equality in the process of education – whether girls and boys have the same opportunities in education (rather than access to education of unequal quality), are equally treated within educational processes, and whether education unlocks equal opportunities for men and women post schooling. The Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO 2003) views these as interlinked dimensions of a rights-based approach: equal access to schooling, equality within schooling, and equality through schooling.

2.8 A twin-track approach is thus necessary, to focus both on girls’ education as a political priority and a gender approach as a way of signalling an understanding that this priority means addressing the issue of male and female identities together with male and female education.

2.2.2 Why have the goals been set?

2.9 The goals highlight international consensus on the importance of improving gender parity and equality in education both from a rights-based perspective, as well as a means to achieving poverty reduction and economic development (see section 2.3). As the 2005 DFID Girls’ Education Strategy highlights female education is seen as important not only in achieving women’s empowerment through the promotion of economic independence and political representation, but also for the achievement of other MDGs through the reduction of infant mortality, smaller families; improvement in family health; preventing the spread of HIV, as well as raising of family income. While primary schooling makes a difference, many of these benefits require secondary schooling to be effective (Dollar and Gatti, cited in Kabeer 2003). In addition, availability of post-primary opportunities can be a key determinant of demand for primary schooling.

¹ For details see contents, appendix 3.
2.2.3 What are the key obstacles to progress?
2.10 Despite concerted efforts in the last decade resulting in considerable increases in enrolment in many countries, girls’ enrolment, retention and attendance and completion of primary school still lags behind that of boys. DFID’s 2005 Girls’ Education Strategy highlights the fact that the 2005 Millennium Development Goal (MDG) on achieving equal enrolment of boys and girls at the primary and secondary level is likely to have been missed in more than 75 countries. It estimates that 23 million girls are out of primary school in sub-Saharan Africa, and 23 million in South and West Asia. In total, girls comprise 57 percent of those out of school. The Strategy notes that 72 percent of girls out of school are in DFID’s 25 priority countries, with India leading the figures with the largest number of out of school girls. In particular, access of girls from socially excluded groups (ethnic minorities, oppressed castes, ultra-poor, migrant, geographically remote, disabled) remains a major challenge.

2.11 The challenge becomes even more evident at the post-primary level. The vast majority of girls are not enrolled in secondary school in sub-Saharan Africa. In countries where girls have more limited access to primary schooling than boys, the gender gap often becomes even wider at the secondary level (DFID 2005a).

2.12 Reports highlight challenges for gender parity and equality in education:
• domestic responsibilities are an important reason for girls’ dropping out of school at an earlier age than boys
• direct costs of education are a constraint on girls’ participation based on the perception of low economic returns to female labour
• distance of schools from the habitations of marginalised groups is a significant factor affecting access, with particular concerns for girls’ safety
• school environments can be a deterrent to girls’ learning and completion of schooling including the availability of sanitation facilities for adolescent girls; schools secure from abuse including by fellow pupils and teachers; and well lit roads and transport arrangements to minimise threats to girls’ safety.
• lack of female teachers and lack of gender awareness in teachers reduce both potential role models as well as often reinforcing perceptions that girls are either not interested in schooling or not fit for learning.
• socio-cultural norms and traditions such as early marriage, dowry and initiation ceremonies at the onset of sexual maturation can also be deterrents.

2.13 While constraints to achieving gender-related education goals are increasingly evident, research highlights the importance of recognising that factors are context-specific, and also that many of the factors are inter-related and mutually reinforcing at the level of the state, society, household and school (Colclough et al 2003).

2.2.4 Strategies that are known to work
2.14 Rapid progress in enrolment made in the last decade highlights the urgency of policies and reforms to ensure that girls stay in school, learn and complete their education alongside boys. Responses tailored to address each of the obstacles identified above are likely to catalyse girls’ education and promote gender equality if carried out using a gender-aware approach. Four areas that have evidence to show that they work effectively for girls’ education include:
• **making girls' schooling affordable** through cutting of school fees, covering indirect costs and compensating for children’s work, particularly scholarships, stipends, school health and nutrition programmes

• **building local schools**, reducing the distance to school, with community support and flexible schedules

• **making schools more girl-friendly**, with separate latrines ensuring privacy and safety for girls, teaching methods that discourage gender stereotyping and provision of female teachers

• **focus on quality schooling**, with enough teachers who have improved training and education levels, appropriate curriculum that encourages girls in maths and science, and provision of adequate supplies of learning materials including textbooks (Herz and Sperling 2004).

2.15 The promotion of an enabling environment is also needed:

• **the role of mothers** can be important in playing an active role in education encouraging girls’ education at local level

• gender sensitisation and mobilisation **within communities** is important, with School Management Committees and Pupil–Teacher Associations potentially playing an important role

• in schools, the way in which the **curriculum** addresses gender roles and how **teachers** transact the curriculum may also play a role in motivating or encouraging female learners, and contribute to changing social perceptions

• **Gender-sensitive management systems** require attention, including teacher training, monitoring systems, accountability mechanisms, equal opportunities for women and gender-aware recruitment and conditions of work for all staff.

2.2.5 **Challenges for gender and education programming**

2.16 Given the multiple constraints to achieving gender parity and equality in education, it is recognised that independent strategies are unlikely to be effective, but that a package of reforms is required (Colclough et al 2003). Furthermore, despite the attention received, it is acknowledged that we still do not know enough about what to do. Kane (2004) notes that there is a paucity of materials to draw on for design and implementation, and that most studies are either incomplete reports, evaluations of poorly described projects, second-hand reviews of the literature or glossy, semi-promotional materials circulated by donor agencies or commercial subcontractors. Where reports are available, they are often at least 10 years old, with insufficient information on context, or on what worked and what did not – and why, let alone what they cost.

2.17 Possibilities of evaluating specific strategies are complicated by the complexities of the education system. Positive policy action to tackle one constraint may have negative knock-on effects on other aspects of provision. For example, an adverse consequence of the abolition of primary school fees aimed at improved access in a number of countries has been the deterioration in the quality of government primary schooling, together with limited secondary school places for the increasing numbers of primary graduates. This has a further knock-on effect on provision, with private schools becoming increasingly prevalent in countries in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia at both the primary and secondary levels (particularly in more densely populated urban and peri-urban areas). This expansion is often happening by default, rather than as a result of conscious policy choice.
2.18 Private providers can range from those providing better quality services to those who can afford it, to those offering ‘last chance’ opportunities where insufficient school places are available. The gender implications of the expansion in private schooling can vary, depending on the type of private provider. Parents may choose to pay to send sons rather than daughters to a better quality private primary school, or to continue their schooling in a private secondary school. Given that private provision of education is most evident in countries where the government is failing to provide, government capacity is also likely to be too weak to regulate. Even where regulation does occur, regulatory measures usually do not include concern for gender parity or equality (Rose 2004).

2.19 Where public schooling is poor quality or fails to motivate girls, alternative schools may provide an important resource for girls (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) schools in Bangladesh are an important example of this). However, alternative schools that are largely run by NGOs are not uniformly available and can also raise concern of the creation of a two-tier system, with girls increasingly marginalised into alternative schools with limited opportunities to transfer to higher levels in the formal system.

2.20 Moreover, experience of addressing gender concerns in the education sector over the past decade has highlighted the importance of addressing processes of change if well designed strategies are to be effective. Central leadership is found to be crucial. The challenge is to address potential conflict between the agenda of urban elite modernisers and traditional leaders. At present, the agenda is often driven either by international agencies or strong national leadership or strong civil society organisations (and committed individuals within them), with limited collaboration between them. Attainment of gender commitments is likely to be most feasible where they work together, with the stronger partners playing a supporting (rather than dominating) role (Rose 2004).

2.3 International donor perspectives

2.21 As EFA and MDG goals are particularly used by donors to facilitate their coordination and harmonisation, and to make their policies clear to partner governments, the policies of leading donors on girls’ education are reviewed in brief. Documents of five agencies that contribute significantly to financing education were reviewed, which can then be compared with DFID’s approach as elaborated upon in section 3.²

2.22 Agencies differ on the extent to which they emphasise human rights or economic and social gains as the driver of their strategy. The World Bank and USAID emphasise female education as one of the most important investments for social and economic development, while acknowledging the empowering potential of education (World Bank 2002a, 2002b); USAID (2000, 2002, 2004a, 2004b). By contrast, the Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency (SIDA) emphasises the link between human rights, democracy and education, and the importance of shifting the focus from simply concentrating on the contribution that education can make to economic development (SIDA 2001). The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) focuses on basic education as a human right, and also a means for poverty reduction and sustainable development, and sees gender equality as a prerequisite for ‘education for all’ (CIDA 2002). The Japan

² For details please see Appendix 4 (refer to Table of Contents).
International Co-operation Agency (JICA) similarly underscores the importance of education as a basic human right and the basis for a healthy, peaceful and stable world, and commits to addressing the achievement of gender equality through reviewing socio-economic structures, policies and systems which produce gender gaps, promoting women’s empowerment and women participation in all development processes, including decision-making (JICA 2002a; JICA 2002b).

2.23 In line with these diverse commitments, agencies also differ to some degree on their programmatic approach. JICA focuses on supporting the higher education and vocational training sub-sectors, working through technical cooperation programmes. USAID has a more broad-based reform approach focusing on classroom quality, community participation, institutional strengthening, education policy reform, non formal education, Information Communication Technologies (ICT) and education partnerships. The World Bank focuses on outcomes, through support for policy reform, education quality and learning achievement. SIDA’s approach to gender equality in education focuses on gender mainstreaming, both through targeted initiatives as well as systems-wide focus on gender equality. CIDA emphasises focus on marginalised groups, including girls, the poorest, indigenous peoples, minority groups, working children, and children in conflict areas, amongst others, as well as a focus on education systems. In addition to actions related to their stated approaches, most donors have a wide array of direct actions in support of their goals.

2.24 Targets used by these agencies are varied, with all of the five agencies reviewed referring to the Dakar EFA framework, and only JICA including the MDGs in its list of targets. In addition, most agencies include their own programmatic targets and indicators, which move beyond the scope of the EFA and MDG goals.

2.25 Despite clearly articulated programmes of action, and wide-ranging endorsement of the importance of gender parity and equality in education, the financial commitments of donor agencies to achieve these goals is not clearly discernible. As the Global Monitoring Report highlights, the disaggregation of funding to ascertain how much is spent on backing commitments to gender and education is ‘not easy to ascertain’ (UNESCO 2003: 245).
3 DFID policy and knowledge

3.1 Education and the achievement of gender equality and women’s empowerment: a review of DFID objectives

3.1 DFID attaches great importance to addressing gender gaps in education for several reasons – education as a basic right, and female education as a key lever for pro-poor growth, productivity enhancement, social development and governance, amongst others. It can be argued that of all the sectors that DFID supports, education has attracted the most significant attention to gender issues.

3 Three key DFID documents lay out the strategy for DFID on gender and education. These are:
- the TSP for education ‘The Challenge of Universal Primary Education’ (2001)
- the most recent Girls’ Education Strategy Paper (2005a).

The TSPs were preceded by a DFID Policy Paper on ‘Learning Opportunities for All (1999), and supported by an Issues Paper on ‘Children out of School (DFID 2001) which aimed to identify ways to step up national and international commitments. The link between the TSPs and more recent Girls’ Education Strategy is not clearly articulated.

3.3 All three key documents highlight the key factors that explain the gender gap in education along the lines of the analysis in Section 2.2 above. While all documents endorse the MDGs and the EFA targets, they recognise that the challenge is broader. Four issues emerge from an analysis of these documents, which merit attention in a fuller evaluation.

3.4 First, while the discussions in all the three TSPs focus on a substantive conceptualisation of gender inequalities, there are some similarities and differences. DFID, like other donors, emphasises the importance of education both as a human right as well as a development objective. On targets, the TSPs draw on the Jomtien/Dakar EFA agenda, while the Girls’ Education Strategy focuses more narrowly on MDGs as a key reference point. The Education TSP is distinctive because it uniformly includes reference to UPE and gender equality across the document, and views the targets as important but not the only source of targets for actions. The recent Girls’ Education Strategy refers primarily to ‘girls’ education’ and is cautious in the use of the technical term ‘gender equality’ referring instead to ‘the weak position of women in society’. Further the Strategy makes limited reference to indicators, citing the MDG on reducing gender disparities as its primary reference point.

3.5 This suggests that DFID is clearly treading a careful line in terms of ensuring that their advocacy initiatives build consensus rather than alienate potential partners in countries, which results in a narrower approach to girls’ education than they might otherwise follow. For example, consultations with NGOs and researchers over draft versions of the Girls’ Education Strategy stressed the need to adopt a gender perspective, with consideration of men and masculinities, for example, in the discussion of constraints and ways forward.

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3 Please see Appendix 5 (refer to Table of Contents).
However, the final version of the paper has a more pragmatic focus on girls’ education. Some within DFID are concerned that it has lost the more radical approach evident in earlier versions of the paper (as well as in the Education TSP), while others considered it is important strategically to get those who might otherwise be resistant to support the Strategy. The pragmatic argument is persuasive, given the importance of continuing to build political commitment, but its implications for DFID’s advocacy and strategies on the ground will need to be assessed. If this means that DFID focuses more on targeted initiatives that provide high profile to ‘girls’ education’, this may result in a weakened focus on gender mainstreaming across education systems, an issue given greater prominence in the Education TSP.

3.6 Second, the Girls’ Education Strategy is for a broad political and public audience and accompanying material is required for those implementing the recommendations. One proposal is that, given the commitments DFID has made to girls’ education, it could be used as part of the existing internal corporate monitoring systems with indications of progress towards targets for girls’ education highlighted within the annual plans of Directors of Africa and Asia Divisions, for example. Given that these plans in any case are linked to the MDGs, this focus ought to be included in any case. A related question arises of how the strategy might be used within country offices to support their work towards achieving the MDGs, and other country targets. The next stage of developing clearly specified indicators in the ‘what works paper’ will be important guidance for shaping country programmes. Given the wider concern about accountability systems within DFID for ensuring that wider commitments to gender equality are translated into organisational practice (DFID 2005a), the position vis-à-vis the strategy paper needs to be clarified.

3.7 Third, the document is clearly oriented to DFID’s current approach to aid, which reflects a shift towards programme aid, and greater levels of multilateral funding and donor harmonisation. On the other hand, it also highlights the importance of girl-specific initiatives (such as stipend programmes). One suggestion is that the Strategy could be used as an influencing tool, both for discussions by DFID advisors to influence sector-wide programmes, as well as to provide support for girl’s education-specific initiatives outside of these programmes. The paper highlights the importance of working together with other international organisations, seeing the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) as tasked to take the lead role on girls’ education, including through leading the UN Girls’ Education Initiative (UNGEI) (see Section 3.1).

3.8 Fourth, it is clear that the approach used in education, both in the strategy as well as in DFID’s work, more generally is now closely tied to the MDGs which are regarded to have a narrower focus both on gender than the TSP, as well as a focus on primary schooling compared with the broader Education for All agenda. A focus on MDGs is argued to allow greater policy coherence as well as enable a focus on poverty. However, the attendant risks include neglect of post-basic education which is considered crucial for the achievement of gender equality and women’s empowerment in society. The importance of reviewing evidence of the relation between levels of schooling and poverty reduction assumes significance as a result.
3.9 The extent to which DFID is influenced by, and influences, MDG related processes such as the Millennium Task Force reports on the MDGs is one dimension of assessment required. A second dimension is the extent to which DFID is mainstreaming gender into its cross-cutting development concerns which receive mention in the Strategy paper. For example, the Girls’ Education Strategy Paper has a section on the importance of working in ‘fragile states’, yet the DFID (2005b) paper ‘Why we need to work more effectively in fragile states’ has no gender perspective, although a gender analysis is fundamental.

3.2 DFID commitments to gender and education

3.2.1 Financial commitments

3.10 DFID’s financial commitments to back its strategies in education, and gender equality within education, can be assessed through the analysis of Policy Information Markers (PIMs) included in the design of programmes for monitoring purposes, which include for education UPE; Post-primary education; and literacy and lifeskills. In addition, there are a total of 12 education-related input codes that programme documents can identify – including six for different levels of education, plus ones for non-formal education, education policy, education training and facilities, development awareness, and education research.

3.11 Financial commitments as indicated by education PIMs have experienced some fluctuations as Figure 1 illustrates. The data suggest that there has been a steady increase in DFID’s expenditure on education over the decade. While there has also been an increase in expenditure on education programmes with a gender-related component, the increase has been less than proportional. Expenditure on education programmes with a gender component comprised one quarter of the total in the first half of the decade, diminishing to eight percent in the latter half of the decade. This could be explained by changes in the way that gender markers have been used (perhaps they have been used in a more discriminating way, for example).

3.12 The apparent proportionate decline in financial commitment to gender in education would need to be followed up at the country level. Moser et al 2004 note, for example, that in Malawi, while donor harmonisation on gender mainstreaming is important, it is limited by the lack of widespread commitment to gender mainstreaming in many other donor agencies. However, given that DFID education advisors also consider that DFID plays a lead role in these sectors processes with respect to gender, the apparent decline in its importance in terms of financial expenditure is a potential cause for concern.

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4 See for instance, UN Millennium Project 2005
3.13 An alternative explanation might be that expenditures reflect historical commitments as expenditure on programmes usually occurs over several years. It would, therefore, be appropriate to compare commitments in the first and second half of the decade to assess changes in this.

NB some programmes include ‘P’ for more than one education PIM so the commitments cannot be totalled as this would result in double counting.

5 Data for this graph include expenditure for all programmes with a PIMS marker for universal primary education/post-primary education/literacy and gender.
### Table 1  Share of financial commitments and programmes education and gender, 1995/6–2004/5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gender – P</th>
<th></th>
<th>Gender – S</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% commitment</td>
<td>No. of programmes</td>
<td>% commitment</td>
<td>No. of programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPE – P</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-primary – P</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy – P</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DFID statistics

3.14 Figure 2 and table 1 show that more emphasis has been placed on the primary level over the past decade compared with post-primary and literacy, both in terms of financial commitment and number of programmes. Financial commitments to programmes at the primary level are also more likely to emphasise gender, compared with those supporting post-primary education and literacy. This suggests that the emphasis on the primary level has been important for attention to gender. However, the more limited attention to gender at post-primary in particular is a cause for concern, given its importance for a move towards gender equality and women’s empowerment.

3.15 The focus on primary schooling in DFID’s commitments has partly been a result of the focus in the Education MDG on primary school completion. This is, however, not compatible with the Gender MDG which also highlights the importance of gender parity in post-primary education. As DFID considers a shift towards increasing support for secondary education, it will be important to ensure that increased attention is paid to gender at this level than is currently the case.

3.16 Focusing on the primary level where most resources are concentrated, it appears that there has been a substantial increase in commitment in absolute terms in general, as well as for those with a gender component over the decade (Table 2). In contrast to expenditure, it seems that commitments (particularly where gender is considered a significant component) has been maintained and, if anything, increased, over the decade. This requires further investigation of whether there has been evaporation of spending against commitments on those programmes that have a gender focus in particular, or whether there is a time lag with expectation that expenditure over the next five years on gender-related programmes will increase.

### Table 2  Financial commitment to UPE and gender, 1995–2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1995–9</th>
<th>2000–5</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£</td>
<td>% of UPE</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total UPE – P</td>
<td>489,078,451</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>782,924,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPE – P, gender – P</td>
<td>29,086,593</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>56,194,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPE – P, gender – S</td>
<td>311,500,706</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>661,514,602</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DFID statistics
3.17 Between 2000 and 2005, commitments where UPE and gender are marked as principal account for seven percent of UPE commitments. Almost two thirds of this commitment refers to one programme (Lok Jumbish II in India). As Table 3 indicates, large commitments to programmes in Bangladesh and Pakistan where gender is identified as principal is due to one relatively large programme in each, rather than commitment across a range of programmes. Within the Education Division Contracts, the high proportion to gender as a principal is primarily due to resources allocated to the Commonwealth Education Fund (£10 million). This highlights the importance of disaggregating composite figures to obtain an accurate picture. Prioritisation towards gender as indicated by financing through PIMs is a reflection of commitment in a small number of large programmes, rather than a spread across a large number of programmes.

3.18 There are only nine country programmes in total which identify PIMs as principal for both UPE and gender (five of which are south Asia, with three in India and three in sub-Saharan Africa). There are a further nine projects in the Education Division which identify both UPE and gender as principal. Not only do extremely few projects in sub-Saharan Africa identify gender as a priority area in this way, but these only include one percent of total financial commitments.

3.19 The ten countries chosen for our analysis absorb two thirds of the total commitments to UPE-priority programmes over the decade 1995/6–2004/5 with UPE marked as principal (mainly due to India and Bangladesh programmes). India has the largest programme, with commitments over one third of the total to UPE-priority programmes. None of the sub-Saharan African countries selected have programmes where gender is marked as principal, which is not unusual for countries in the region (table 3).

3.20 It is evident that financial data drawing on PIMs are being used to evaluate DFID’s financial commitments to gender and education in the context of the MDGs, and are potentially an important resource. However, there is concern for ways in which they are used (see section 4.2). As such, analysis of financial commitments using these markers needs be treated with caution.
Table 3  DFID Financial commitments to UPE and gender in selected countries in sub-Saharan Africa and south Asia. 1995/96-2004/5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rwanda</th>
<th>Nigeria</th>
<th>Ghana</th>
<th>Malawi</th>
<th>Ethiopia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender – P</td>
<td>£ 0</td>
<td>£ 0</td>
<td>£ 0</td>
<td>£ 0</td>
<td>£ 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender – S</td>
<td>13,530,000</td>
<td>16,421,346</td>
<td>51,948,580</td>
<td>87,498,433</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>635,964</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>496,112</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,696,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14,165,964</td>
<td>16,421,346</td>
<td>52,444,692</td>
<td>87,498,433</td>
<td>1,696,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% SSA UPE commitments</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% total UPE commitments</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Bangladesh</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>Nepal</th>
<th>Afghanistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender – P</td>
<td>£ 34,586,358</td>
<td>£ 21,700,000</td>
<td>£ 6,000,000</td>
<td>£ 0</td>
<td>£ 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender – S</td>
<td>352,026,806</td>
<td>134,734,756</td>
<td>11,832,126</td>
<td>6,108,666</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>79,732,525</td>
<td>520,000</td>
<td>2,032,000</td>
<td>220,000</td>
<td>6,328,666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>466,346,689</td>
<td>156,954,756</td>
<td>19,864,126</td>
<td>6,328,666</td>
<td>6,328,666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% SA UPE commitments</td>
<td>70.8%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% total UPE commitments</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Education Division contracts</th>
<th>Total UPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender – P</td>
<td>£ 15,756,380</td>
<td>£ 85,280,973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender – S</td>
<td>5,758,371</td>
<td>973,015,308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>2,738,985</td>
<td>213,706,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24,253,736</td>
<td>1,272,003,126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% total UPE commitments</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbers in [square brackets] refers to the number of programmes with separate project keys. In some cases, a programme has more than one project key (eg Lok Jumbish III), in which case all are counted.

Source: DFID Statistics
3.2.2 Programme commitments: knowledge generation

3.21 DFID has developed a Knowledge Development and Communication Strategy on Girls’ Education with the purpose of contributing to deepening understanding of how to achieve gender equitable basic education. Three components contribute to the aim of sharing new knowledge, critically examining practice and undertaking new strategies for communication and learning between policy makers, practitioners, academics and the general public. A project running between January 2003 and December 2005 with a total budget of £ 557,050 has been developed to deliver on this commitment.

3.22 The project ‘Gender, Education and Development: Beyond Access’ is one component of the strategy, which through a series of seminars, published articles, a website and newsletter, aims to bring together the latest research based on which a policy report is planned. This project has recently undergone a mid-term evaluation which highlights the project’s success in developing a network across a wide constituency of researchers, civil society organisations and statutory bodies in the UK and elsewhere. Having successfully produced newsletters and academic publications, attention is now turning to advocacy and media profiling of gender equity in education.

3.23 Other outputs proposed under the project include support for the Oxfam/Global Campaign for Education report, which was published in 2003 (Oxfam/GCE 2003), case studies of process lessons on Sector Wide Approaches and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers in four countries, evidence-based examples of innovative approaches to girls education (six per year), and key policy-related lessons in an accessible format available on the girlseducation.org website, one new summary per month.

3.24 In addition to these gender-specific activities, gender-related research has also been undertaken as part of DFID’s Education Paper Series – including on access and achievement (Swainson et al 1998; Kutnick et al 1997; Brock and Cammish 1997; Stephens 1998); literacy, gender and empowerment (Fiedrich and Jellama 2003); and abuse of girls in school (Leach et al 2003). This work contributes to the increasing body of knowledge generated internationally.

3.25 It is evident that there have been significant activities at the international level with respect to knowledge generation on gender and education. What remains less clear, is how this work contributes to gender mainstreaming within DFID’s education work both at HQ, as well as how this knowledge is disseminated and adopted in country programmes. In addition, there is limited evidence that the knowledge generated (including through ‘Beyond Access’ as well as other DFID-supported research activities) is working together with the Girls’ Education Strategy to ensure a coherent approach towards DFID’s work in gender and education is achieved.

3.2.2 Programme commitments: multilateral commitments

3.26 As the Girls’ Education Strategy highlights, DFID is increasingly working through global initiatives to fulfil its commitments in education – the Education for All Fast Track Initiative (FTI), and the UN Initiative for Girls’ Education (UNGEI) are of particular significance with regard to the achievement of DFID’s commitments towards gender equality and women’s empowerment.
3.27 The FTI has been developed as a mechanism to leverage additional resources from donors for education. It evolved in response to the commitment made by the international community at the Dakar World Education Forum in 2000 that ‘No countries seriously committed to Education for All will be thwarted in their achievement of this goal by a lack of resources’. The motivations for a new Global Initiative were related to the lack of progress towards EFA since the 1990 Jomtien Conference, attributed in part to insufficient donor resources, and a lack of effective coordination of donor efforts (Rose 2005). Countries eligible for support through the FTI are those with ‘credible’ education plans and a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). Twelve countries are currently included on the FTI, with the expectation that more countries will join over the next two years. By 2004, the FTI partnership includes over 30 multilateral and bilateral agencies and regional development banks, with varying levels of engagement (UNESCO 2004). DFID has played a key role in shaping the FTI, in particular by raising concern that ‘donor orphan’ countries should not be excluded. DFID is providing financial support to the FTI, with an allocation of £12 million over a three-year period (2004–7) to the Catalytic FTI through a multi-donor trust fund to provide transitional financing to FTI countries which have inadequate donor support. In addition, a DFID advisor is seconded to support the FTI Secretariat in the World Bank.

3.28 One of the challenges of the FTI has been to determine criteria for a ‘credible’ education plan. A set of indicative benchmarks were initially devised on the basis of EFA success countries, with the intention that countries would prepare FTI proposals linked to these. A number of criticisms emerged from this raised by NGOs as well as donor partners (including DFID), resulting in greater emphasis on country-led processes (Rose 2005). Importantly, gender was invisible in the original version of the FTI, with indicators not even including gender-disaggregated data on enrolment or completion. DFID is strategically placed to address these criticisms and gaps. Gender-disaggregated indicators are being developed along with consideration of capacity requirements, and need to be included within the assessment criteria for deciding whether countries are ready to be endorsed on to the FTI (FTI Secretariat 2004).

3.29 Even with improvements in the development of gender-related indicators, concern remains that countries most off track to achieve the MDGs, including those where the gender gap is widest, which are also often countries which do not have support from donors (including fragile states), will not have the capacity to develop a ‘credible’ plan and so will remain excluded from the FTI process as it is currently designed.

3.30 With regard to UNGEI, the Girls’ Education Strategy notes that ‘UNICEF is tasked with the lead role on girls’ education’ (DFID 2005a: 23). UNICEF is leading on UNGEI, a global partnership established at the Dakar World Education Forum in 2000 to raise the profile of girls’ education. In 2003, DFID provided £64 million to UNICEF, and has pledged increased resources as part of the Girls’ Education Strategy. UNGEI is working in 25 countries in particular, where it considers support is needed to accelerate progress in girls’ education. UNGEI is also playing an important role in developing indicators for the FTI. However, as the Strategy notes, UNGEI requires support to its capacity if it is to fulfil its mandate with respect to girls’ education, and indicates DFID’s commitment to provide such support, including co-chairing the UNGEI advisory committee. The slow initial progress made by UNGEI and its lack of a clear agenda (see UNESCO 2003), make the question of

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6 The programme header sheet for the Catalytic Fund includes a Significant PIM for gender, although the logframe does not include gender.
UNICEF’s leadership, and DFID’s influence and how it will seek to use it, critical to assess. This is particularly pertinent given the differences in the ways in which DFID and UNICEF work on the ground, as UNICEF often continues to work in project mode rather than within sector-wide systems.

3.31 While UNICEF is expected to be the lead agency on gender within the education sector in Malawi and prioritises girls’ education within its work, their role is not as visible as USAID was previously, through its ‘Girls’ Attainment in Basic Literacy and Education’ (GABLE) programme. A recent evaluation of UNICEF girls’ education strategy in Malawi concluded that the lack of integration and synergy of activities with cooperating and strategic partners has resulted in limited visibility of UNICEF’s efforts outside UNICEF, and a diluted intensity for girls’ education efforts.7 Given these concerns, the extent to which the approach of DFID taking a ‘back seat’ at the country level is appropriate will need to be explored more deeply.

3.32 DFID also provides support through other multilateral arrangements including strengthening of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation’s (UNESCO’s) coordinating function with respect to Education for All; as well as by seconding Education Advisors to World Bank programmes in Nigeria and Sri Lanka with the aim of improving harmonisation across international agencies. While this is important, there is a need to pay attention to mechanisms to ensure DFID’s commitments to gender equality and women’s empowerment are addressed where it is not playing a lead role in these relationships.

3.33 In addition, DFID supports NGOs and civil society organisations, including the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE – a pan-African NGO of prominent female educationalists) as part of its agenda to promote education through sector-wide approaches and poverty reduction strategies (DFID 2003b). It also provides support to the Global Campaign for Education and Commonwealth Education Fund (DFID 2003b). Given these place particular emphasis in their work on improving girls’ education, support for these organisation can be important for achieving DFID’s commitments.

3.34 DFID practice in country programmes can be reviewed through analysis of internal documents relating to education programmes, both projects as well as sector or sub-sector support. While Country Assistance Plan (CAP) documents are available for all our focus countries, limited and incomplete information is available on programmes. Based on documentation available to us from the DFID central database, we highlight below some issues relating to the impacts of programmes. These examples highlight some of the complexities of gender mainstreaming in the context of changing aid modalities, explored further in Section 4.

3.35 To the extent that government priorities influence DFID country strategies, much of the analysis of the gender commitments of DFID depends on understanding and unravelling processes of mutual influence between partner governments and DFID country offices. The most recent Country Strategy Papers (CSPs) and CAPs generally support country Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) processes and national vision/plan documents.8 Within

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7 Kadzamira. Annex 8
8 For example, the priorities set down in the CAPs for Rwanda, Malawi and Ghana explicitly refer to the country PRS. In South Asia, the Nepal and Bangladesh CAPS explicitly refer to the PRS documents of these countries and the India CSP makes extensive reference to its support of the 10th Five Year Plan, a document that has been accepted by the donor community as India’s PRSP.
these, education is cited as an important sector for investment and attention. Gender equality more generally, as well as within education, receive little attention in the statement of core commitments in the CAPs, with a few exceptions.

3.36 Table 4 provides a checklist for whether gender and education commitments are reflected in DFID CAPs in selected countries. Only one CAP mentions gender equality in education as a priority commitment of the CAP. All CAPs reviewed emphasise education as a priority sector, while gender issues only receive attention in five of the eight CAPs.

3.37 The MDGs are the principal point of reference in all CAPs for targets and indicators on gender and education, with a few countries adding their own additional indicators drawing on national strategies. None of the documents make reference to the EFA documents, or national plans for EFA as key influences.

Table 4 Gender equality and education in CAP priorities

<table>
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<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education sector</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender issues</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender equality in education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.38 A few issues arise from a review of programme information for four countries for which information was available. A summary of programme information is presented below in table 5.

Table 5 Summary information on selected DFID-supported education programmes in four countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant education programmes with gender dimensions</th>
<th>Ghana</th>
<th>Malawi</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Bangladesh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Widespread Exclusion of Rural Girls from Education</td>
<td>Partnership in Capacity Building in Education (PACE) 2003–6</td>
<td>Lok Jumbish, Rajasthan (Completed 2004)</td>
<td>BRAC Non Formal Primary Education II and III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender PIM: S</td>
<td>Gender PIM: S</td>
<td>Gender PIM: P</td>
<td>Gender PIM: P</td>
<td>Gender PIM: P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender PIM: S</td>
<td>Gender PIM: S</td>
<td>Gender PIM: S</td>
<td>Gender PIM: S</td>
<td>Gender PIM: S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 See contents, appendix 6 for details.
10 For instance, the Project Completion Report for ESTEEM, a DFID-supported project in Bangladesh, notes that the EFA plan following Jomtien and the draft EFA plan post Dakar have little bearing on education plans and policies in the country.
3.39 First, there is a significant difference between projects managed by NGOs and sector-based approaches, with the former often engaging more innovatively and deeply with gender issues. In Malawi, the Partnership in Capacity Building in Education (PACE), which works with civil society organisations to achieve equitable primary schooling with improved quality, has a relatively strong gender focus in its design. A concern with this programme is the need for mechanisms to ensure gender interventions are followed through, with a main challenge being the absence of a ‘gender champion’ in the DFID office to liaise with programmes of this kind (Moser et al 2004).

3.40 Illustrating from the India examples, in Lok Jumbish (LJ), the NGO–state partnership programme includes several gender indicators, covering not just quantitative outcomes in education but also focused on the establishment of women’s groups in the community, their participation in local planning and reviews, development of microplans with strategies for out of school girls, the participation of women teachers, guidelines for addressing sexual harassment and promoting gender sensitivity, and the extent to which the majority of women report better relations with teachers and government staff. Project goals in LJ include enhancing community involvement in primary education in ways that are more socially inclusive, gender-sensitive and sustainable, and establishing equivalent alternative education centres which address cultural, gender and equality constraints.

3.41 This contrasts with the gender focus in Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), the sub-sector programme for universal basic education. The focus here is on reduction of gender gaps in participation by at least 50 percent. SSA focuses largely on targeted initiatives such as the provision of free textbooks to girls at primary and upper primary levels, training of community leaders, preferably women, and extra funding for innovative activities for girls’ education amongst others. Although SSA does include reference to curriculum change and gender training for teachers, amongst others, the programme approach is not supported by a clear policy statement. While girls’ education is identified as a policy priority, plan and programmatic interventions do not always reflect an unequivocal commitment. The Tenth Plan document (India’s PRS), gender and equity issues, more broadly, do not find place in terms of guiding policy. Further, gender issues are not considered beyond elementary education.11

3.42 This highlights a second area that deserves attention – namely that gender equality in sector support programmes appears to be weakly addressed, and seems to be focused largely on sex-disaggregated data collection and little in the way of analysis.

3.43 Third, the use of PIMs is in these programmes is arbitrary. A programme exclusively focused on rural girls’ education in Ghana has a ‘significant’ Gender PIM, the same as the Education Sector Support Programme (ESSP) in that country where the inclusion of a gender focus appears to be relatively weak. While gender is a primary focus of PACE in Malawi, this also is marked as ‘significant’ – the same as the Education Sector Support programme which does not include as strong a gender focus.

11 Jha, Annex 8.
3.44 Fourth, related to this, there could be confusion over the extent to which gender should be ‘targeted’ or ‘mainstreamed’. While DFID’s wider approaches to mainstreaming recommend a twin-track approach, including both types of programming, on the ground there appears to be some confusion on what this mean. For example, in Ghana, a report in support of the development ESSP noted that in the discussions on the ESSP, a proposal was made to revise the plan to include a separate policy for gender equality and women’s empowerment. However, this was resisted in favour of a universal approach, without specific mention of gender. An Output to Purpose Review (OPR) of Ghana’s ESSP carried out in April 2003, notes the weak political commitment to primary education, and the continued high dropout rates for girls as worrying. In the context of these sorts of disagreement and debate around the visibility accorded ‘gender’ and education (i.e. is there a need for a separate policy or is mentioning gender across the document sufficient?), there is a need for improved reporting systems in order to record the rationale and justification for particular decisions more fully. This would reduce instances of policy evaporation, and also place on institutional record the reasons why particular decisions are taken so that they may be revisited at a different time. This would also allow for checks and balances to be put in place so that those responsible for gender mainstreaming may follow up and assess the implications of such decisions, and perhaps design further actions such as advocacy and training.

3.45 Fifth, the challenges of institutionalising gender-aware change are considerable, and need explicit strategies and approaches addressing the broader issue of governance and administration. The case of the ESTEEM project in Bangladesh is illustrative. The project aimed at improving the quality of schools through capacity building and institutional development approaches. Working to bring professional models of functioning into the government system and the office was located within the Ministry of Education. Equity considerations were integrated across the main outputs of the project. An effort to make gender sustainable was made through establishing a Women’s Resource Development Group within the Department of Primary Education, which was meant to meet regularly to raise awareness around gender equity. This initiative was not successful partly as a result of transfers and changes in the staffing, and partly because some of the women staff members’ posts were degraded, or their salaries had not been paid for several months. There was also a vacuum in the leadership of this initiative, and the group eventually collapsed. While the project tried to improve the gender balance in recruitment within the field management offices of government, there were still gaps particularly in remote areas (Wood et al. 2004).

3.46 Finally, policy evaporation is a key concern in policies and programmes that have a significant gender dimension. Moser et al. (2004) highlight the mismatch between information in the available documentation in Malawi and what is found on the ground, pointing to the need to look beyond documentation. The full evaluation would, therefore, need to complement a review of documentation with field visits in order to get a complete picture of country programmes on the ground.
4 Impacts of DFID practice

4.1 New aid modalities and the challenge of gender mainstreaming

4.1 Since the 1990s, there has been a shift in DFID towards greater sectoral programme aid and general budget support. Within education, a trend is particularly evident away from education sector support towards general budgetary support (DFID 2003b). This coincides with a shift to management by internationally agreed targets, and towards supporting country-owned PRS processes, with education often seen as one of the key pillars of pro-poor change. The move is important for donor harmonisation and coordination, but creates challenges for identifying commitments to education specifically, let alone to gender within education.

4.1.1 Sector-wide approaches

4.2 Education is arguably further advanced than other sectors in adopting sector-wide approaches. One explanation is that the education sector lends itself more easily to this kind of approach than health, example. The sector is more contained – usually with one main Ministry (perhaps with some aspects in other ministries), is standard in forms of delivery (through schools, teachers etc), and mainly state delivered. By contrast, in health there are more diverse forms of delivery with discrete components, and more involvement of non-state providers. The influence of donors through sector-wide approaches is likely to be determined by the overall framework negotiated by donors and states, which is also likely to vary between countries. In India, for example, DFID’s active engagement with four states on a wider set of policy issues may enhance its leverage for state-level implementation, providing opportunities for DFID to influence gender objectives within these states.

4.3 It is often argued that the SWAp approach provides greater opportunities for gender mainstreaming. However, drawing on evidence from Ghana, India and Uganda, Sibbons et al (2000) conclude that experience with SWAps in education has resulted in:

- problems of policy evaporation
- failure to promote gender policy by development partners for fear of undermining the local SWAp ownership
- focus on girls’ enrolment in primary enrolment, rather than gender issues in education provision or post-primary education
- lack of attention to power relations in the countries concerned, and to the involvement of women’s rights groups.

4.4 On this basis, the study concludes that ‘a focus on girls and women may not meet the ideal of gender mainstreaming. It may, however, be the most appropriate pragmatic response at the particular level of gender equity currently evident, and the capacity and capability of available staff’ (Sibbons et al 2000: 29). Moser et al (2004) also consider that the shift in Malawi from programmes and projects to sector-wide approaches and direct budgetary support is likely to raise even more challenges for issues of evaporation, invisibilisation and resistance, and is further supported by the analysis of country programmes in section 3. This underscores the concern raised in DFID (2005a) that, in the transition from projects to sector wide approaches, there may difficulty in focusing down on concrete actions for gender equality in the short term.
4.5 Another important issue pertains to capacity within sectors. For example, the evaluation and project completion report for DFID’s ESTEEM project in Bangladesh, points out the difficulties of moving from projects to SWAs. ESTEEM was intended to prepare the Government of Bangladesh to manage a programme approach to the primary sub-sector (DFID now supports PEDP II), as it focused on capacity building and institutional development. The Project Completion Report notes many forms of resistance to gender-specific reforms (in particular, the Government’s refusal to publish sex-disaggregated data collected through the project’s developed Education Management Information System) (Wood et al. 2004). This raises an important issue of the role of governance advisers in helping to link sectoral reform processes within overall administrative and institutional reform efforts, and relatedly, how gender mainstreaming can transcend sectoral boundaries to become a wider governance issue.

4.1.2 General budgetary support and Poverty Reduction Strategies

4.6 As table 6 indicates, all except two of our focus countries have received some form of poverty reduction budget support over the past five years. According to Foster (2004: 13), no methodology has been prescribed for attributing budget support to particular sectors. Where this is undertaken, it appears that three alternatives are used (with the first most popular):

• extrapolation from budget of recipient country (for example, if the government budget spends 30% on primary education, score 30% of budget support as primary education)
• use of notional earmarking figures where these exist
• scoring against those sectors where there is maximum dialogue (for example, health or education or civil service reform etc).

4.7 Where proportions for education are identified, as presented in table 6, these are likely to be relatively arbitrary. Where no figures for education are included, it is likely that no breakdown was provided by country programmes. With newer forms of aid modalities, it is particularly important to track experience related to gender. In Uganda, for example, funding is now being provided through budgetary support, with no DFID education advisor to monitor the effect on the education sector in general, or with respect to gender in particular. In this case, it is important to assess whether DFID’s priorities in these areas are being maintained.

4.8 Concerns related to macro processes, where negotiations take place primarily between the Ministry of Finance and International Monetary Fund, can be detrimental to the objectives set at the sectoral level. For example, in Zambia, the freezing of funds by the IMF was due to a higher budgetary deficit than anticipated. As a result, the government has been forced to impose a wage and hiring freeze. This has occurred at a time when, owing to considerable enrolment increases following the recent abolition of primary school fees, it is not possible to recruit additional teachers. This increases pressure on teachers in the system, who then have to cope with unmanageable class sizes, raising a threat of teacher strikes. Under such circumstances, gender concerns are likely to be evaporated, invisibilised and resisted.

12 http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/issues/education/gce_zambia_imf.htm
Table 6  Expenditure on poverty reduction budget support (£m) (includes general and sector budget support)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2000/1</th>
<th>% ed</th>
<th>2001/2</th>
<th>% ed</th>
<th>2002/3</th>
<th>% ed</th>
<th>2003/4</th>
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<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>65</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>33</td>
</tr>
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<td>Nepal</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18.75</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DFID statistics

4.9 Given that budget support is linked to a country’s poverty reduction strategy, assessment of the PRSPs needs to consider whether gender is appropriately addressed. Education has received greater attention with respect to gender in PRSPs compared with other sectors. On the one hand, it is commendable that education is one of the few areas for which gender disaggregated indicators are included in PRSPs, and several analyses point out that gender issues are raised most frequently with respect to education and health. However, the focus is usually on supply-side factors, with limited reference to social constraints. In addition, the papers often focus on highly generalised strategies aimed at addressing gender disparities (see Subrahmanian 2004 for a discussion). On the other hand, given that gender often continues to be discussed within PRSPs at the sectoral level, the opportunity for including a diagnosis of poverty which integrates a gender analysis is missed (Kabeer 2002; and Whitehead 2003, cited in Lucas et al 2004). Moser et al (2004) further raise the concern that gender concerns have become subsumed under poverty reduction with a narrower focus on gender to one that identifies problems that make poor women and children particularly vulnerable. They suggest this is an indication of policy evaporation.

4.10 Country education advisors corroborate some of these views. PRSPs that make a reference to gender inequality (e.g. Malawi) are often light on analysis of the issues underlying gender inequality, and tend to suggest isolated or targeted actions which are quantifiable (for example, latrines). Even where gender is a cross cutting theme in the PRS (e.g. Rwanda), there is no strategic action that clearly links to the analysis provided. Support for girl-specific initiatives (such as FAWE schools in Rwanda) suggests that governments are more in favour of such initiatives as these can be easily highlighted as evidence of their commitment, as opposed to more complex broad-based reforms which require far deeper constituency building and institutional change.

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13 See interviews with/questionnaires completed by country education advisers carried out for the Girls’ Education Strategy Paper.
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4.1.3 Projects
4.11 Despite DFID’s increased support for SWAps and general budgetary support, it continues to fund specific projects in some contexts. For example, in Nigeria a Girls’ Education Project has recently been established, jointly supported by UNICEF and DFID (with UNICEF taking the lead in implementation). While there were initial concerns of limited government ownership in the design of the project which could limit its effectiveness, steps have been taken to address this. It is also important that, where projects are adopted, they are clearly linked within the education system more generally, with clear mechanisms and monitoring of how this influences the broader agenda. For example, the Girls’ Education Project in Nigeria would need to be related to the World Bank Universal Basic Education programme that is the main focus of DFID’s support.

4.12 While girl-specific initiatives are valuable in keeping the issue of gender equality on the agenda and getting results in the short run, the question of translation into programme and general budgetary support, which is becoming the dominant mode of aid delivery, is a key issue for the full evaluation. The choice of approach will depend on a particular country context, and capacity as well as political will to monitor gender through less targeted approaches.

4.1.4 Monitoring under new aid modalities
4.13 The issue of monitoring and impact assessment of aid under programme approaches is a key issue to be addressed in the context of new aid modalities. Attribution is likely to be difficult given the participation of many donors in supporting one programme. The large range of issues targeted under a programme approach may invisibilise gender issues, and may reduce the profile of a donor’s commitment to gender equality. For example, in India, agencies like UNICEF and the Netherlands Embassy are more likely to be associated with a concern for gender equality and women’s empowerment than DFID because they have supported gender-specific initiatives in education.

4.14 Joint Review Missions (JRM) are a key monitoring tool for donors under programme approaches, and attention will need to be paid to the framework used by donors to monitor progress of governments. Outcome indicators alone are unlikely to provide sufficient insight, given the periodic nature of these reviews (bi-annual in most cases). Process indicators that are systematically reported on are likely to provide a more nuanced insight into how policies and programmes are addressing gender inequalities. DFID’s internal policies on gender equality in education, and the extent to which it filters down to its country offices (or is indeed shaped by them directly) will be a crucial determinant of how it uses its leverage during the monitoring of programme support. The JRM process in Ethiopia is an example of good practice, which involves a twin-track approach of addressing gender within each of the themes of the review, together with a separate gender-specific theme for monitoring of progress.

4.2 Gender mainstreaming within DFID

4.15 Four core components of a gender mainstreaming approach have been identified for DFID by Derbyshire (2002):
- context-specific sex-disaggregated data to inform policy development and monitoring
- support of senior officials for gender equality
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- capacity building backed by sufficient resources
- measurable outcomes to create a framework for gender-sensitive implementation.

These are also important at the national level, in addition to strong policy on gender equality, and gender advocates to establish standards and hold governments accountable.

4.16 A full evaluation would have to consider all these four dimensions of DFID support to education and internal management of its support. Secondary project documentation available is insufficient to draw conclusions about these. Given that girls’ education has in recent times received high levels of attention globally, gender gaps in education are certainly widely mentioned in terms of the desired outcomes of intervention. Sex-disaggregated data is also now widely emphasised (though not always readily available), although the range of indicators remain limited to measuring access to education, and the achievement of gender parity. Moving towards measuring progress in improving quality of education and more complex aspects of gender equality, particularly in relation to post basic education, is an important challenge ahead. Indicators and targets, in particular, appear weakly defined in DFID’s own strategies, though the country-level dimensions of monitoring will require most attention, given the shift to sector and budget support.

4.17 Gender mainstreaming in education is not immune from the more general problems faced by DFID in gender mainstreaming internally (Derbyshire 2002; Macdonald 2003), though it would be important to see if there was less resistance in this sector than in other sectors. Problems of evaporation prior to project implementation continue because of lack of attention to incentives systems, adequate terms of reference, absence of advisory support, adequate time and resources to sustain actions, amongst others. These suggest that the organisational change dimensions necessitated by a gender mainstreaming approach have not necessarily been addressed (Kanji and Salway 2000). Evaluations of gender mainstreaming within other agencies point to similar problems. These include the question of ‘who owns’ gender mainstreaming, especially if there are problems making it operational (Freeman et al. 2003).

4.18 Education is unique in having a dedicated social development advisor working on gender and education based at HQ. The role of the social development advisor at HQ level covers: raising political awareness: contributing to general international consensus and knowledge on gender and education (for instance, the recently released Girls’ Education Strategy paper and the programme for Knowledge and Communication for Girls’ Education) and working to support country offices with gender mainstreaming in education. Paradoxically, the apparent achievement of gender mainstreaming with support from social development advisors in-country has resulted in monitoring falling off the agenda - there are no systematic reviews of country programmes, and no feedback system that works effectively to allow for oversight processes and few incentives for education advisors to integrate gender mainstreaming into their personal development plans. While country programme advisers file annual reports on their programmes, there is no system for these to be checked or followed up by the mainstreaming nodal points in HQ.

4.19 PIMs as a method for monitoring DFID’s programming are used with great variability, as we have already discussed. What the existence of a marker may do is increase opportunities to ask questions about gender in evaluation/monitoring of project processes and outcomes, particularly if the persons carrying out the study are not particularly gender-
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aware However, they may introduce an element of arbitrariness that is unlikely to benefit either understanding of the programme or improvements in processes and outcomes on the ground. Also, there is no way of knowing whether the project not being marked for gender reflects the outcome of consensus, or politics in the development of the project that results in gender being eased out, which would be a very relevant concern for gender mainstreaming in DFID work. Relevant questions for evaluation include how PIMs are set, who sets them, and the extent to which there is an oversight mechanism that allows the markers to be checked.

4.20 The PIMs imply that there is greater commitment to gender in education in South Asian countries than sub-Saharan African ones (table 3). This could partly be due to DFID channelling funding through NGOs in the former. Other explanations could include that differences may be person-specific. India, for example, is considered to have a very strong social awareness, and stronger capacity within the country for looking at social issues. Leadership is another important consideration – a strong individual can make considerable difference, and can turn commitment around (either positively or negatively). It is also important to consider if there has been a shift over time of the ways in which gender is looked at. Another issue to be considered is whether other donor partner programmes are taking the responsibility for gender where the focus is on donor harmonisation. In such cases, it might be in some countries that other donors are taking responsibility for gender, so DFID is prioritising other areas, so it is important to look at aid to education in a country holistically.

4.21 DFID Malawi’s gender audit concludes that ‘the fact that so few programmes have a PIM leads to the conclusion that this is not a useful monitoring and evaluation tool. Either Gender Mainstreaming is resisted on the basis that it is not considered of importance in the majority of DFIDM’s portfolio, or staff members drafting key sheets are not sufficiently skilled in gender issues to include them.’ Given complications in using the markers, there is a need for clearer guidelines for their use, where they are adopted.

4.22 However in the shift to sub sector and sector wide approaches, the relevance of PIMs are likely to reduce further, as most programme approaches in education are highly likely to mark gender as Significant, as we have already seen. The more pertinent question for mainstreaming revolves around new methods and approaches to trigger analytical, design, implementation and monitoring mechanisms for established desired gender equality outcomes in education.

Devolution and the management of gender mainstreaming

4.23 Gender mainstreaming, along with other dimensions of DFID programming has been devolved to country offices, and an important aspect of the full evaluation would have to be to take on board the extent to which country offices have effective mainstreaming systems. There are likely to be variations in the methods, processes and systems for mainstreaming gender in-country, and collection of information on these would be valuable to understand gender mainstreaming in DFID’s devolved operations.

4.24 Country programmes have instituted their own processes for gender mainstreaming, including gender budgets, gender audits, gender strategies and monitoring based on PIMs (Watkins 2004). For the fuller evaluation, all of these would need to be analysed to assess
the extent to which gender equality in education meets the analysis laid out in broader frameworks, both external to DFID (EFA/MDG), as well as internal to DFID (TSPs, Girls’ Education Strategy).

4.25 Country programmes often use broader indicators than those available in DFID strategy documents, as these would be tailored to particular contexts, and also influenced by government processes and indicators, as well as other donors, where harmonisation is in place. The relevance of HQ guidance on indicators, for example, will vary depending on the extent to which donors are bound in to government set indicators. These would need to be reviewed in detail for the full evaluation. Further, ways of fostering closer partnership between countries and HQ in terms of monitoring gender issues in programming and implementation need to be established.

4.26 Country advisers indicate the need for specific guidance tools which could be coordinated and provided by HQ (Moser et al 2004). These include user friendly briefing notes for use of the gender manual, as the manual is considered too complex; ‘reader-friendly briefing notes’ on the most important issues in DFID’s gender strategy, including the twin-track approach to gender mainstreaming; and reader-friendly guidelines on integrating gender mainstreaming into routine procedures including logframe, gender objectives, and Objectively Verifiable Indicators (OVIs).

4.27 Despite committing to a twin-track approach to gender mainstreaming, evidence suggests that in education, gender mainstreaming has been a one-track approach, focusing largely on focused actions for girls, and not succeeding to a great extent (with some exceptions) in getting approaches to girls’ education, and more importantly, the management of/gender-aware interventions, systematised within larger programmes. A very clear theme emerging from our analysis is the continued separation of girls’ education from a gender approach, starting with the latest DFID strategy and continuing down to country frameworks and programmes. While girls’ education may be singled out to underline political commitment, and may successfully enhance political visibility, as we have noted earlier, a gender approach is still required to address the systems, rules and procedures that reproduce gender inequality.

4.28 While DFID’s approach is a reflection of wider global compacts, DFID’s role as a leader within education as well as more generally in pushing for better quality and more systematic and sustained attention to gender equality and women’s empowerment needs to be examined more closely.
5 Indicative framework

5.1 Hypotheses

5.1 We have raised several issues that need to be incorporated into the full evaluation of the contribution of DFID’s programming in education to gender equality and women’s empowerment, which form the basis for hypotheses to be tested in a given situation:

- Indicators used to monitor DFID progress draw increasingly on the MDGs, and quantifiable outcome indicators. However, the absence of process indicators that reflect on gender equality and women’s empowerment as opposed to quantifiable measures of gender parity (see Subrahmanian 2003) means that there continues to be an emphasis on parity in enrolment in primary education which is not the same as gender equality. While many programmes and projects include broader indicators such as attainment and completion rates, project monitoring requires process not outcome indicators to guide the gender-sensitivity of programmes. This is an area which both needs assessment in the full evaluation, but also further work within DFID.

- Variations and arbitrary use of gender mainstreaming methods are likely to occur given the decentralised nature of DFID operations. Better coordination between DFID country programmes and HQ is necessary, but existing methods are not satisfactory. The development of new communications, new formats and new ways of keeping the discussion on gender mainstreaming alive needs to be based on understanding and reviewing the approaches currently used in DFID country offices, and in dialogue with Social Development Advisers (SDAs), Education Advisors and HQ. The role of HQ in particular is important to address, as is the need to clarify the ‘twin-track’ approach.

- The transition from projects to SWAps and general budgetary support is a major challenge for gender mainstreaming at all stages (as we identify below – design, monitoring and commitment). DFID needs to develop a new approach to gender mainstreaming to match these developments. This does not imply a standardised approach – the diversity of approaches being used in-country should in turn feed into a common basic approach with variations to suit different contexts.

- The shift to greater global mechanisms such as FTI and UNGEI in DFID’s commitments to education need to be closely analysed. Gender may well evaporate in dealing in macro frameworks, particularly in relation to the financing of initiatives, and the way in which these macro frameworks can monitor and deliver on gender equality.

- DFID strategy documents provide broad frameworks, but not the detail of how country offices may use general commitments to women’s empowerment and gender equality. Operational guidelines and tools based on demand from country personnel and tailored to diverse requirements are important.
5.2 Figure 3 maps the range of actors and sites and their interlinkages, for which indicators would need to be developed for the systematic evaluation. There are a range of quantitative indicators that might be used for assessing progress towards gender equality and empowerment in education. Drawing from the analysis in this paper, we identify indicators relating to four dimensions of achieving gender equality and women’s empowerment in education – outcomes; design and implementation; monitoring; and commitment. These indicators can be applied to DFID, as well as to the national programmes on education that it supports.

5.2 Outcomes

5.3 Outcomes are focused on individuals, not systems or programmes and provide the most significant ways of assessing the impacts of programmes in this area. Drawing on a framework developed in the Global Monitoring Report 2003/4 (UNESCO 2003), gender-aware outcomes need to measure equal rights to education (access), rights within education (participation and learning), and rights through education (promoting gender equality in other spheres). Suggested indicators are presented in table 7 below.
Table 7 Measuring equal outcomes in education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Equal access to education</th>
<th>Rights within education</th>
<th>Rights through education</th>
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<tr>
<td>Gender-disaggregated:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>• enrolment rates</td>
<td>Subject choice by gender</td>
<td>Male/female employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• survival rates</td>
<td>Learning outcomes by gender</td>
<td>across different levels of education by gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• completion rates</td>
<td>[performance in examinations]</td>
<td>Gender differentials in wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• regularity of attendance</td>
<td>Teacher–learner ratio</td>
<td>across different levels of employment/education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• repetition rates</td>
<td>Gender balance within the classroom</td>
<td>Political participation by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• the average years of</td>
<td>Qualifications of teachers</td>
<td>males/females</td>
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<tr>
<td>schooling attained</td>
<td>Level of training of teachers</td>
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<tr>
<td>• the transition between</td>
<td>Other factors shaping</td>
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</tr>
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<td>levels of education</td>
<td>participation and performance</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social discrimination within the classroom/society</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of teachers, and</td>
<td>[context-specific indicators would be necessary]</td>
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<tr>
<td>proportion of female to</td>
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<tr>
<td>male teachers.</td>
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</table>

Italicised indicators refer to those that are measurable, but not treated as conventional indicators. ‘Factors shaping performance’ are those indicators that could be best developed at local-level for educators to manage their own schools. This is by no means an exhaustive list, merely an indicative one.


5.4 The choice of indicators would need to be made based on availability of data in a particular country context, as well as to fit with priorities set in country plans.

5.5 However, while quantitative indicators can provide some measure of progress towards achievement of targets, it is crucial to consider processes through which these are achieved. We, therefore, identify three stages of programme development at which gender mainstreaming content, processes and outcomes require assessment. These are: design and implementation, monitoring and commitment. These require consideration whether a specific programme is being designed, support is being provided through a sector-wide approach of general budgetary support, or global mechanisms such as the FTI and UNGEI are leading the initiative.

5.3 Design and Implementation

Evaporation ───── Implementation

14 This builds on a framework developed by Caroline Moser for the Malawi Gender Audit.
5.6 Framing questions include:

- Is gender included in the design of the programme/sector-wide approach etc, specifically to include:
  - analysis (including of demand-side constraints, direct and indirect costs, cultural constraints, and in-school factors including gender-based violence etc.)
  - objectives to address identified constraints
  - budget to support achievement of the objectives?
- Has available research (including locally available, and commissioned by DFID) informed the gender analysis?
- Is gender a consideration in OVIs and OPRs? If so, which indicators, and how are they measured? What outcomes are measured?
- Is there coherence between the different documents available (CAP, PRSP, programme, country education plan...)?
- Has the gender manual been used to inform the design? How useful is the gender manual to country advisers?
- How do DFID country advisers influence partners (government and civil society) on gender; how do they advocate for gender awareness in projects and programmes that they support; and are the Girls’ Education Strategy paper and TSPs used for country level advocacy?

5.7 Drawing on experience of ‘what works’ (see, for example, Herz and Sperling 2004; Kane 2004), baseline indicators for education systems that could help the design process include:

- Numbers of girls enrolled, attending and attaining education relative to boys based on relevant age group? Data disaggregated by social group (table 7)
- Location of schools and average distance from habitations in school catchment area
- Security of school area, ease with which outsiders can approach students, presence of teachers throughout schooling hours, awareness of teachers on issues of safety and security of learners, particularly girls
- Transportation available within catchment area if school more than reasonable walking distance; quality of lighting on roads, security
- Number of classrooms in school per grade, size and quality of construction
- Availability of water and sanitation facilities – quantity and quality
- Number of teachers per grade, teacher–student ratio; gender/ethnic balance
- Fees charged – direct and indirect; availability of stipends/school feeding to compensate for child work
- Extent of community participation – functioning school committees, regular records kept, participation of women
- Training of teachers on child-friendly schooling environments, redress mechanisms for parents including grievance procedures against teachers
- Gender-aware curriculum; focus on curriculum reform, training of teachers on issues of gender in curriculum transaction
Indicative Framework

• Recruitment and conditions of work for female teachers, teachers working in remote habitations or in conflict areas (including appropriate housing)
• Opportunities for post-primary education – availability of secondary schools, costs, distance, policies to encourage female attendance, focus on adolescent girls and social norms shaping post-puberty options for girls

5.4 Monitoring

| Invisibility | Visibility |

5.8 Framing questions include:
• What is the main source for monitoring (PRSP, government sector plan, DFID documentation), and what processes (JREMs/missions – how frequent; how does DFID input into the agenda of missions where they are not the lead agency?)
• What gender-disaggregated indicators are available from these sources? To what extent do they include process (e.g. not easily quantifiable indicators)?
• Who is responsible for developing indicators, and monitoring progress?

5.9 Drawing on baseline indicators for programme design, the following indicators are suggested for monitoring, particularly the extent to which logframes, project appraisal documents address issues with respect to achieving gender equality:
• Quality of database and collection of verifiable, accurate data on indicators
• Extent and impact of focus on school infrastructure
• Extent of community involvement in planning and establishment of schools
• Support (nature and quality) for community participation, training provided to women for participation in forums, outcomes of community participation – who benefits?
• Extent and impact of focus on expanding school infrastructure
• Impact on teacher recruitment and training, particularly female teachers
• Impact of gender-aware curriculum
• Impact on fees policies, provision for stipends/scholarships/school feeding programmes
• Extent and impact of focus on infrastructure
• Extent to which safety and security concerns are built into community plans, into school building plans; availability of guidelines, training inputs on these issues
• Existence of mechanisms for accountability e.g. grievance procedures Training programmes for teachers established on
• Gender-sensitive management reform, focus on gender balance within education systems, incentives systems for female teachers working in remote areas, focus on gender-aware provision of facilities
• Impact of support for post-primary education – scale, approach and content
5.5 Commitment

| Resistance | Commitment |

5.10 Here, we consider leadership and capacity (individual, organisational and institutional) are crucial to achieve commitment – all of these factors require attention to ensure a supportive environment and successful implementation of well designed approaches. In addition, while not sufficient, legal frameworks are necessary to ensure commitments are achievable (Rose 2004).

5.11 Framing questions to assess processes of building commitment:

- Is there evidence of commitment from political leaders and/or are there opportunities to foster this? (President, Minister of Education, Permanent Secretary, Director of Planning etc)
- Who is leading process of gender mainstreaming? (government, DFID, other donors, NGOs...)
- Within DFID, who is responsible for ensuring gender is addressed (Social Development advisor, Education Advisor, other...)
- Where there is no DFID education advisor, what processes are in place to ensure DFID’s commitments are maintained?
- What is the individual capacity of those responsible?
- What training needs have been identified/provided?
- What involvement does HQ have in design, monitoring and implementation? (do they have the opportunity to comment, particularly where gender expertise is not available in country?)
- Which stakeholders are consulted in the process? (e.g. women’s groups; traditional leaders; political leaders etc.), and what they are consulted about?
- What organisational capacity exists within the government/DFID/other donor agencies leading the process in the case of SWAps etc.
- What organisational structures exist to motivate and reward the achievement of gender commitments in programmes (within DFID as well as externally)?
- What institutional capacity is developed to deal with gender? How does gender get reflected in institutional reform/organizational capacity building
- Is there a supportive legal framework? (e.g. to address gender-based violence)
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### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACPP</td>
<td>Africa Conflict Prevention Pool</td>
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<tr>
<td>ADB</td>
<td>Asian Development Bank</td>
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<td>BRAC</td>
<td>Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee</td>
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<td>BRIDGE</td>
<td>Gender and Development Information Service, IDS</td>
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<td>CAP</td>
<td>Country Assistance Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women</td>
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<td>CHAD</td>
<td>Conflict and Humanitarian Affairs Department</td>
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<td>CIDA</td>
<td>Canadian International Development Agency</td>
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<td>CPCS</td>
<td>Community-Based Policing and Community Safety Programme</td>
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<td>CPPs</td>
<td>Conflict Prevention Pools</td>
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<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organisation</td>
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<td>CSP</td>
<td>Country Strategy Paper</td>
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<td>CSR</td>
<td>Corporate Social Responsibility</td>
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<td>DAC</td>
<td>Development Assistance Committee, OECD</td>
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<td>DAC-GENDERNET</td>
<td>Development Assistance Committee – Gender and Development Network</td>
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<td>DBS</td>
<td>Direct Budget Support</td>
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<td>DDP</td>
<td>Directors Delivery Plan</td>
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<td>DDR</td>
<td>Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration</td>
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<td>DEVAW</td>
<td>Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women</td>
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<td>DPKO</td>
<td>Department of Peacekeeping Operations</td>
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<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
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<td>DTI</td>
<td>Department of Trade and Industry</td>
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<td>DV</td>
<td>Domestic Violence</td>
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<td>EC</td>
<td>European Commission</td>
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<td>EDP</td>
<td>External Development Partner</td>
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<td>EE</td>
<td>Enabling Environment</td>
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<td>EFA</td>
<td>Education for All</td>
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<td>EMAD</td>
<td>Europe, Middle East and Americas Division</td>
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<td>EmOC</td>
<td>Emergency Obstetric Care</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>FCO</td>
<td>Foreign and Commonwealth Office</td>
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<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
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<td>FGM</td>
<td>Female Genital Mutilation</td>
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<td>GBIs</td>
<td>Gender Budget Initiatives</td>
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<td>GCPP</td>
<td>Global Conflict Prevention Pool</td>
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<td>GE</td>
<td>Gender Equality</td>
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<tr>
<td>GoB/ I / N / P / SA / U</td>
<td>Government of Bangladesh / India / Nicaragua / Nigeria / Pakistan / Peru / South Africa / Uganda</td>
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<td>GTZ</td>
<td>German Aid Agency: Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit</td>
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<td>HSR</td>
<td>Health Sector Reform</td>
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<td>ICEE</td>
<td>Investment, Competition &amp; Enabling Environment Team, DFID</td>
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<td>ICPD</td>
<td>International Conference on Population and Development</td>
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<td>IDB</td>
<td>Inter-American Development Bank and Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons</td>
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<td>IDS</td>
<td>Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex</td>
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<td>IDT</td>
<td>International Development Targets</td>
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<td>INGO</td>
<td>International Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>ISP</td>
<td>Institutional Strategy Paper</td>
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<td>JICA</td>
<td>Japan International Co-operation Agency</td>
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<td>JRM</td>
<td>Joint Review Mission</td>
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<td>KFOR</td>
<td>Kosovo Force</td>
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<td>LMM</td>
<td>Lower Maternal Mortality</td>
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<td>M&amp;E</td>
<td>Monitoring and Evaluation</td>
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<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goal</td>
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<td>MMR</td>
<td>Maternal Mortality Ratio</td>
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<td>MOD</td>
<td>Ministry of Defence</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Development and Cooperation</td>
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<td>OPR</td>
<td>Output to Purpose Review</td>
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<tr>
<td>OVI</td>
<td>Objectively Verifiable Indicator</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAD</td>
<td>Project Appraisal Document (World Bank)</td>
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<td>PCN</td>
<td>Project Concept Note</td>
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<tr>
<td>PCR</td>
<td>Project Completion Report</td>
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<td>PCRU</td>
<td>Post Conflict Reconstruction Unit</td>
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<td>PEAP</td>
<td>Poverty Eradication Action Plan</td>
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<td>Pfa</td>
<td>Platform for Action</td>
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<td>PIMS</td>
<td>Policy Information Marker System</td>
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<td>PPA</td>
<td>Participatory Poverty Assessment</td>
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<td>PRISM</td>
<td>Performance Reporting Information System Management</td>
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<td>PRS(P)</td>
<td>Poverty Reduction Strategy (Paper)</td>
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<td>PSA</td>
<td>Public Service Agreement</td>
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<td>PSD</td>
<td>Private Sector Development</td>
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<td>RBA</td>
<td>Rights Based Approach</td>
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<td>RCH</td>
<td>Reproductive and Child Health</td>
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<td>RGC</td>
<td>Royal Government of Cambodia</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAAW</td>
<td>Social Audit of Abuse against Women</td>
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<td>SDA</td>
<td>Social Development Adviser or Service Delivery Agreement</td>
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<td>SDD</td>
<td>Social Development Department</td>
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<td>SED</td>
<td>Small Enterprise Development</td>
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<td>SG</td>
<td>Secretary General, United Nations</td>
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<td>SIDA</td>
<td>Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency</td>
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<td>SME</td>
<td>Small and Medium Enterprise Development</td>
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<td>SRHR</td>
<td>Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights</td>
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<td>SSAJ</td>
<td>Safety, Security and Access to Justice</td>
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<td>SWAp</td>
<td>Sector Wide Approach</td>
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<td>ToRs</td>
<td>Terms of Reference</td>
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<td>TRC</td>
<td>Truth and Reconciliation Commission</td>
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<td>Trade Related Capacity Building</td>
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<td>TSP</td>
<td>Target Strategy Paper</td>
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<td>UAF</td>
<td>Urgent Action Fund</td>
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<td>UN</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation</td>
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<td>UNFPA</td>
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<td>UNGEI</td>
<td>United Nations Girls’ Education Initiative</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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<td>UNIDO</td>
<td>United Nations Industrial Development Organisation</td>
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<td>UNIFEM</td>
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<td>UNMIK</td>
<td>United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in Kosovo</td>
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<td>UPE</td>
<td>Universal Primary Education</td>
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<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<td>VAW</td>
<td>Violence Against Women</td>
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<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organisation</td>
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<td>WID</td>
<td>Women in Development</td>
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DFID, the Department for International Development: leading the British government’s fight against world poverty.

One in five people in the world today, over 1 billion people, live in poverty on less than one dollar a day. In an increasingly interdependent world, many problems – like conflict, crime, pollution and diseases such as HIV and AIDS – are caused or made worse by poverty.

DFID supports long-term programmes to help tackle the underlying causes of poverty. DFID also responds to emergencies, both natural and man-made.

DFID’s work forms part of a global promise to

- halve the number of people living in extreme poverty and hunger
- ensure that all children receive primary education
- promote sexual equality and give women a stronger voice
- reduce child death rates
- improve the health of mothers
- combat HIV and AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- make sure the environment is protected
- build a global partnership for those working in development.

Together, these form the United Nations’ eight ‘Millennium Development Goals’, with a 2015 deadline. Each of these Goals has its own, measurable, targets.

DFID works in partnership with governments, civil society, the private sector and others. It also works with multilateral institutions, including the World Bank, United Nations agencies and the European Commission.

DFID works directly in over 150 countries worldwide, with a budget of nearly £4 billion in 2004. Its headquarters are in London and East Kilbride, near Glasgow.