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Educating Girls in Sub-Saharan Africa
USAID's Approach and Lessons for Donors

Karen Tietjen

Technical Paper No. 54
June 1997

Health and Human Resources Analysis for Africa Project



Human Resources and Democracy Division
Office of Sustainable Development
Bureau for Africa
U.S. Agency for International Development

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Contents

Acknowledgments	v
Foreword	vii
Executive Summary	ix
Introduction	1
Overview: USAID education sector support programs in Africa	2
ESS programs' support of girls' education	3
<i>Type of support</i>	3
<i>Building blocks of support</i>	4
Table 1: ESS Program's Support of Girls' Education	5
Figure 1: Trends in Equity for Girls & Rural Children—Access (GERs)	6
Impact and attribution	6
<i>How have these changes in girls' educational status come about?</i>	6
Figure 2: Trends in Equity for Girls—Quality & Efficiency	7
Table 2: Girls' Education Actions and Impacts	8
To what extent has USAID assistance contributed to these outcomes?	9
Table 3: Typology of Government Actions for Girls' Education	9
<i>Basic education reform vs. girls' education</i>	10
<i>Attribution</i>	11
Performance conditionality to support education	11
<i>How have conditions been used to support girls' education?</i>	12
Table 4: Types of Conditionality	13
<i>What has been the impact of conditions to support girls' education?</i>	14
Table 5: ESS Program Conditionality, Characteristics, and Outcomes	15
<i>What have been some problems with conditionality?</i>	16
<i>Lessons on providing donor guidance</i>	16
<i>Lessons on disbursement schedules</i>	17
<i>Lessons on unfulfilled conditions</i>	18
<i>Lessons on the wording of conditionality</i>	18
Projectized assistance to support girls' education	19
<i>How has projectized assistance been used to support girls' education?</i>	20
Table 6: ESS Programs' Projectized Support	21
<i>What has USAID learned about projectized assistance?</i>	22
<i>Lessons on the research design and analysis phase of projectized assistance:</i>	22
<i>Lessons on synchronization of activities</i>	23
<i>Lessons on "genderizing" all reform activities</i>	23
<i>Lessons on donors' financing of girls' education activities</i>	24
<i>Lessons on sustainability</i>	25
<i>Lessons on the role of technical assistance</i>	25
Concluding thoughts	26
Notes	28

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—Karen Tietjen
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Foreword

For the past ten years USAID, other donors, and their African development partners have focused on basic education as one of the key building blocks for development.

USAID's Africa Bureau has especially sought to assure that girls, too, benefit from the provision of an equitable, efficient, and high-quality education.

This report summarizes the experience of USAID's Africa Bureau in supporting efforts to assure that girls enter and complete elementary

school. It takes a frank look at what has worked, what has not worked so well, and it suggests some factors to be considered when designing activities to increase girls' participation in school. We hope the contents will prove useful to our many partners across Africa and beyond.

—Julie Owen-Rea
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Executive Summary

Sub-Saharan Africa suffers one of the lowest primary school enrollment rates in the world. The situation is especially dire for girls: nearly 54 percent never enter primary school, and of those who do fewer than half reach fifth grade. Since 1989, USAID's Bureau for Africa has forged a new approach to education development that centers on the issue of equity. Education Sector Support, or ESS, aims to help countries achieve systemic sectoral changes through the reform of education policy, resource allocation, and institutional organization and policies in order to benefit the majority of its population. ESS calls for a focus on primary education and specifically targets—for the first time—girls and rural children. Eight of USAID's 12 ESS programs include improving girls' education as a facet of their basic education program.

Eight years later many of these countries have demonstrated appreciable progress in getting girls in school and helping them stay there and do better. Increases in girls' enrollment rates in four of the countries equal or outpace rates for boys, and girls' persistence and performance have improved in five. Two countries have made tangible progress toward improving the learning environment for girls by increasing the ranks of female teachers and teacher trainees.

These changes have primarily come about through government actions aimed at alleviating constraints to girls' educational participation. These actions, taken within a context of overall educational reform that was defined and largely financed by the countries themselves, generally fall into one of four categories:

- n **Policy reform** indicates that the government has promulgated, decreed, and put into effect a specific course of action, practice, or standard that will guide its activities, programs,

and interventions to accomplish its stated goal of improving girls' access, attainment, and achievement in primary school.

- n **Institutional reform** refers to changes in the educational delivery system, specifically the ministry of education—its organization, its operations, and its capacity.

- n **Instructional reform** refers to actions that will affect the teaching-learning process.

- n **Reform support activities** are one-off or non-routine activities intended to inform and/or support policy, institutional and instructional reforms.

In general, the most significant impacts have occurred in those countries where:

- n the greatest number of actions have been taken;

- n the actions include a number of broad policy reforms and represent a significant response to a key constraint;

- n the actions cover a wide range of subsectors of an education system, work in different arenas to effect change, and include special support activities; and

- n experimental activities, such as pilot projects, are properly evaluated and acted upon, i.e., gone to scale, and incorporated into government operations and budget.

In structuring its support of girls' education, USAID has learned that there is significant variation in the support approaches and modalities used to advance girls' educational participation in Africa.

In those countries where USAID has made the girls' the focus and primary client of its ESS program, has helped the government define the policy reform framework and programs around girls, has used performance conditions to leverage broad-reaching policy changes, and provided significant project and technical assistance to the government to put in place its reforms, the greatest progress in terms of system and student change has occurred. Countries that have included girls in their beneficiaries and supported special activities aimed at girls have also enjoyed success. Conversely, in countries where the ESS program did nothing in particular to assist girls, except to disaggregate data and express general hope that girls' performance improves, little progress has been demonstrated.

In considering what USAID has learned in the years it has sought actively to support girls' educational participation in sub-Saharan Africa, a few general observations stand out:

n Girls' education is uncharted territory. Solutions to increase girls' educational participation are context-specific, which should make one wary of wholesale adoption of interventions tried elsewhere. A sound research and analytic base is required for the development of a national strategy to increase girls' education.

n Efforts to improve girls' educational participation cannot be separated from the reforms of basic education, which in many countries is essential to laying the groundwork for the equitable and efficient distribution of resources aimed at often neglected populations. Increasing girls' participation will not be feasible if the underfunding of primary education prevents the availability of school places, ineffective teaching and curricula limits the successful acquisition of basic literacy and numeracy skills in the short time window available to most girls, and a hostile, unwelcoming school environment alienates and discourages those few girls who make it through the school doors.

n Girls' education cannot be done "at the margin." A host of small activities such as school contests and publicity campaigns aimed at girls will not achieve in isolation the systemic, structural changes essential to the expansion and improvement of primary education. Basic education reform should be defined around girls' needs—not boys', as is most often the case. Integrating the consideration of girls' education issues throughout the system reform effort—in school placement, teacher recruitment, curriculum development, textbook design, teacher training, and financing—will have sustainable and far-reaching impact. Making schools more accessible to girls and the teaching-learning process more girl-friendly will benefit all children.

n The critical role for donors is "enabling," not "doing" girls' education. While donor-funded incentive programs or pilot experiments may be more manageable, their futures may be limited. Because girls' education is so culturally embedded, a national definition of it as a problem and a national consensus on a strategy to address the problem are essential to long-term success. Possibly the most useful form of support donors can provide to host countries is assistance on how to structure and implement a broad-based policy dialogue and public information process, construct a research base on which to make policy decisions, and help overburdened ministries set priorities. The most important lesson for donors is that they should not "leave at the door" what they have learned about educational development when they deal with girls' education. All the tenets of sectoral adjustment should obtain, such as systemic change, government-led reform, and sustainability.

n Finally, it is clear that a simple declaration of the goal of improving girls' education, either by donors or government, will not produce results. While it is difficult to isolate the impact of girls' education activities from overall

educational reform efforts, USAID's experience in Africa demonstrates clearly that those countries and programs where girls' education concerns are woven throughout the reform effort and incorporated into the education system itself—in terms of policy,

institutional, and instructional changes—are more likely to net improvements than programs in where girls' education activities are compartmentalized and conceived only as additive activities to the ongoing business of educational development.

Educating Girls in Sub-Saharan Africa

USAID's Approach and Lessons for Donors

Introduction*

Equitable access to and participation in primary school—especially for girls—are prominent objectives of USAID's basic education sector support (ESS) programs in sub-Saharan Africa. In recent years, insightful research has been conducted and published by donors, including USAID, about the various strategies and interventions to improve girls' access to, attainment, and achievement in school such as scholarships, revised curricula, and appropriate facilities. This paper does not specifically analyze or advocate particular education policies or programs targeted at girls, which are, presumably, African ministry of education prerogatives and context-specific. Instead it scrutinizes how USAID has supported African government reform initiatives to improve girls' education, focusing on the use of conditionality and project assistance to support equity objectives.

Beyond stating general gender-equity objectives in education USAID has yet to define a standardized approach to improving girls' educational participation in Africa. USAID's efforts to support girls' education are a myriad of com-

binations of conditionality and projectized support. To date, much of the Agency's reporting on its girls' education efforts has been in the form of descriptions of country-specific activities and case studies. In 1994 USAID presented some of the design and early implementation issues involved in its education programs' development, and speculated about USAID's role and ways in which USAID girls' education activities could be strengthened. In 1996, with several of its ESS programs closing on five or more years of operation, evidence of impact and experience with different assistance techniques became more robust. This paper is one of the first attempts to tease a common order and structure out of a diverse array of USAID activities in girls' education, place them within a sectoral adjustment framework, and draw together lessons learned about donor support.

This paper presents an overview of USAID's approach to sectoral adjustment for education in Africa; develops a typology of USAID's approach to girls' education; reports results of USAID's efforts to promote girls' education; examines the effectiveness of USAID's support of girls' education initiatives; and presents emerging lessons that USAID and other donors can apply to assist countries to provide better education to more girls.

This paper is based on an analysis of numerous design documents and progress reports associated with USAID's basic education programs in Africa, and is informed by the recent experience of staff in the Africa Bureau's Office of Sustainable Development in working with both field missions and governments to develop their strategies and programs in girls' education. It draws on the analysis presented in two earlier documents, *Basic Education in Africa:*

*This paper was initially prepared for the Special Program of Assistance for Africa's (SPA) Working Group on Gender and Economic Reform in Africa, held in Ottawa, October 1995. While the analysis and tables have been updated to include data presented in 1996, the reader should note that many of USAID's basic education programs have since changed or expanded their support of girls's education, which is not reflected in this paper.

USAID's Approach to Sustainable Reform in the 1990s (1995) and *An Analysis of USAID Programs to Improve Equity in Malawi and Ghana's Education Systems* (1995). It is intended to lay the groundwork for future analysis of USAID support of girls' education.

Overview: USAID education sector support programs in Africa

Since 1988, USAID has taken a new approach to educational development in Africa. In contrast to earlier forms of project assistance that work directly to remedy specific weaknesses in the education sector, the ESS approach targets reform of the education system itself. Rather than providing solutions to the system's problems, ESS programs help African governments and education systems identify and remedy their own problems.

Systemic sectoral change requires fundamental reform in education policy, resource allocation, and institutional organization and operations, including changed roles for schools, teachers, and communities. These are the cornerstones that permit governments to achieve sustainable improvements in the access, equity, and quality of primary education. Such "sectoral adjustment" also entails fundamentally changed roles for donors—rather than "supplying" solutions with the requisite technical assistance and commodities for their implementation, donors "enable" or "empower" host-country governments to carry out educational reforms they have identified and defined.

USAID's ESS approach emerged in response to several factors: a consensus that a sectoral approach was required for enduring educational change; a recognition that governments and donors must plan and act within existing resource constraints; a renewed appreciation of basic education as a foundation of economic and social development; and the willingness, even the mandate, to commit relatively large sums of money to basic education, as expressed

by USAID's Development Fund for Africa and the multi-donor Special Program of Assistance.

Six key elements distinguish USAID's ESS approach:

▫ support of national or government-led sector reform;

▫ budgetary support conditioned on performance, according to mutually-established criteria;

▫ support of systemic educational change encompassing the entire primary education subsector;

▫ institutional development to expand and improve host-country capacity to identify constraints, determine appropriate policy and programmatic solutions, and plan and implement within resource constraints;

▫ donor coordination, to ensure that donor resources, activities, and conditions are harmonized in supporting host-country objectives and systemic reform; and

▫ measurable impact in student access and performance.

A significant support modality of most ESS programs is budgetary support or non-project assistance (NPA), which disburses funds to governments in tranches when mutually-established conditions are met. These conditions reflect the implementation of key policy, institutional, and expenditure reforms. ESS programs also employ on a limited basis "projectized assistance"* in the form of technical assistance, training, limited commodity procurement, and special activity financing to strengthen education ministries' capacity to plan, manage, and assess their own reform efforts.

USAID has had ESS programs in 12 countries: Benin, Botswana, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, and Uganda. Of these, only three—

Botswana, South Africa, and Swaziland—have not used the NPA modality. In fact, over 66 percent (\$308 million) of USAID’s sector assistance in Sub-Saharan Africa is provided through NPA, in either cash transfers to national treasuries or applied to debt service repayment.

Although various ESS programs have different priorities and work in different ways that reflect national objectives and reform strategies, all ESS programs aim to support government policy reforms in basic education. In general, sectoral priorities and foci fall into a limited number of categories: resource reallocation and financial sustainability, increased technical and internal efficiency, expansion of opportunity, equitable provision of educational services, improved instructional quality, and greater community involvement and private sector support.

USAID’s recently completed initial analysis of its approach to basic education assessed its effectiveness and feasibility, and identified several factors that contribute to effective education sector support. First, the political and economic context plays a large role in determining what an education reform can achieve. ESS works where government commitment to reform is strong and sectoral strategy is well-defined. Second, reform priorities and strategy must be related to institutional capacity. Moreover, educational reform and its corresponding capacity-building must explicitly focus on the school to address student learning directly. Finally, the use of donor funds to finance reform has proved successful, albeit controversial, as sustainability remains an open question.

*“Projectized assistance” refers to USAID funding of technical assistance, commodities, and training used *in conjunction with* non-project assistance or NPA (general budgetary support) as part of a national sectoral reform program. The term is used to differentiate it from “project assistance,” which also purchases technical assistance, commodities, and training, but for discrete or stand-alone development activities.

ESS programs’ support of girls’ education

The goal of USAID’s ESS programs is to increase the number of children entering and completing primary school and to improve the quality of their learning in ways that are efficient and sustainable. These four dimensions—*access, quality, efficiency, and sustainability*—are given various emphasis according to the needs of the individual country, but nearly all USAID ESS programs include a fifth dimension that addresses *equity* for traditionally disadvantaged children, such as poor children, rural children, and girls. Indeed, the legislation defining the Development Fund for Africa, a congressionally-mandated instrument for providing U.S. assistance to Africa, specifies gender as a key consideration in program design and outcomes. All USAID programs are expected to disaggregate beneficiary data by gender.

While the goal of USAID’s ESS programs is to increase access to quality primary education, their strategy aims at improving the policy framework, institutional structure, educational services, and system outcomes of the national primary education system. Equity considerations are generally cited as secondary, although not unimportant, objectives of ESS programs, reflecting to a large degree the priorities of each country and a rationale that posits that initial donor support and government reform efforts must go toward restructuring and “stabilizing” the primary education sub-sector. (There is a similar tendency in the macroeconomic sector, the subject of much debate, to put “stabilization” issues over “distributional,” or equity, issues.) Nonetheless, certain ESS programs contain notable girls’ education components.

Type of support

USAID’s ESS programs in Benin, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, and Uganda specifically identify girls’ educational participation as a purpose or target, address it

through a conditionality or covenant, provide specific assistance for government efforts to improve girls' education, and/or measure girls' access, attainment, or achievement as part of the expected ESS program impacts. They can be loosely classed into four categories:

▮ **Program focus** countries define their ESS programs in terms of girls—not only as targeted, primary beneficiaries, but in terms of policy reform and programmatic content. The promotion of girls' education is woven throughout the system reform effort, from school mapping/construction to teacher recruitment/training to education finance and curricula. The ESS program in Malawi falls into this category.

▮ **Program component** countries cite girls among targeted beneficiaries, include a girls' education component in the ESS program design consisting of project and technical assistance, and incorporate explicit provisions concerning girls into conditionality. The majority of of programs—Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea and Mali—fall into this category.

▮ **Program target** countries cite girls among targeted beneficiaries, and incorporate explicit provisions concerning girls into conditionality. The programs in Benin and Uganda occupy this category.

▮ **Program peripheral** countries cite improved girls' education as a goal or measure of success, but make no specific provision for supporting the objective, beyond non-targeted support of system reform. The ESS program in Lesotho falls into this category.

The two outliers—Malawi and Lesotho—reflect some of the factors that have influenced USAID's decision to support education in a country, as well as the design of the ESS program.

First, *sector need* is and should be a primary factor. As girls' enrollment, persistence, and achievement in primary school appear to significantly exceed that of boys' in Lesotho, neither its national education reform nor USAID's ESS program makes special provisions for addressing gender disparity.

In the majority of countries where USAID has ESS programs, gender disparity varies in severity, with girls' educational participation especially lagging behind boys' in rural areas. However, while most ESS programs mention equity concerns in their purpose statements or delineate it as a target, only in Malawi does the ESS program define increasing girls' educational participation as its sole purpose and measure its student-level impact in terms of girls, despite its support of comprehensive educational reform. Sector need alone cannot explain this; in many respects the educational statistics do not appear to be as severe for girls in Malawi as they are, for example, in Mali or Guinea.

Second, *political constraints* (or their flip side *windows of opportunity*) were factors informing the focus of the ESS program in Malawi. The Government of Malawi had been unwilling to confront seriously a key development constraint: a high fertility rate. USAID's focus on girls' education allowed it to indirectly address this problem, as there is a high statistical correlation between girls' education and decreases in fertility (within the region and in Malawi itself). When USAID initiated its program, the Ministry of Education was not particularly interested in addressing gender inequities in the education system, and Malawi had already embarked on an educational reform intended to expand and improve the education system. USAID's ESS program supported ministry goals, and by defining its ESS program in terms of girls, USAID also helped Malawi address family planning issues.

Building blocks of support

Table 1 summarizes the structure of USAID's support of girls' education within a sectoral

adjustment framework. It is clear that the building blocks for supporting national girls' education initiatives under a sectoral adjustment approach are relatively few and straightforward, although the details composing them are complex and there is great variation among countries. Support modalities include:

- **conditionality** specifying government actions required for disbursement of budgetary support;
- **projectized support**, which can include technical assistance, commodity procurement, participant training, and activity funding; and
- **activities** such as publicity campaigns, which are frequently administered through a special host-country account or budget line item, rather than through the traditional "project" mode, whereby an institutional contractor undertakes a turn-key operation.

Nearly all the ESS programs include either a condition or covenant that addresses girls' education, as well as provides some form of projectized assistance to assist or augment government equity efforts. While only the Malawi ESS program funds a long-term technical advisor for girls' education, many other ESS programs have periodically employed short-term

technical assistance to develop mission assistance strategies, train ministry personnel, or conduct research.

Impact and attribution

Within the past two years, the more mature ESS programs have begun to report changes in student-level indicators. Table 2 presents results pertaining to national progress on improving girls' educational participation. This summary of the more noteworthy results indicates that African government education reform efforts—and by extension, donor efforts that support national reform—have brought about increases in girls' access, persistence, and performance in primary school. Increases in girls' enrollment rates have ranged from 33 percent to 64 percent in Benin, Guinea, Malawi, and Mali. (Ghana did not report specifically on girls, but it is reasonable to assume that girls' enrollments increased as rural enrollments increased.) Moreover, these growth rates outpace those for boys, possibly indicating the success of efforts aimed specifically at girls or, alternatively, a pent-up demand for girls' schooling—an analysis that deserves to be done on a country-by-country basis. Girls' performance measures also show gains in Benin and Mali, as does girls' persistence in Guinea. (See figures 1 and 2.)

How have these changes in girls' educational status come about?

The short answer, and one critical to a sectoral adjustment approach, is that they have been brought about by host-country government actions. Table 2 lists some of the major reforms and activities aimed spe-

cifically at girls undertaken by governments as part of their educational reforms. They fall with four categories, as shown in Table 3.

Policy reform: *Fee waivers* for girls have been implemented in Malawi and Benin. Recent analysis¹ links enrollment increases to the waivers, but also points out many of the concomitant problems girls face, such as overcrowding, insufficient school places and overtaxed teacher capacity, adverse effects on school budgets and sector finance, and heightened parental expectations of “cost-free” education.

The governments of Malawi and Guinea have eliminated punitive *pregnancy policies*, so that girls can return to school after delivery. Although little is known as yet about the impact of this change, it promises to be significant in Malawi where 76 percent of girls drop out of school due to pregnancy. In Guinea, however, the estimates of schoolgirl pregnancy are between 5-10 percent, so its impact may be limited.

The Government of Mali has recently promulgated an *equal intake policy* for boys and girls in grade 1 and 2, and growth in the first grade admission rate for girls exceeds that of boys.

The Government of Ghana formulated an *equity improvement policy*, which exempts girls in grades 3 through 6 in underserved regions from book fees, provides them with free supplies, and promises teachers in certain remote regions bicycles. The government, however, failed to stipulate how this policy package would be implemented, and it has gone largely ignored by the targeted regions and districts.² It is not surprising that no improvement in girls’ educational status in Ghana has been reported.

Institutional reform: The governments of Guinea, Malawi, and Mali have formed *gender units*. Although they have diverse functions and are housed in different institutional locations, the gender units are generally charged with undertaking research and analysis of gender issues, advising the ministry decisionmakers on reform measures and actions to improve girls’ educational participation, and often implementing gender-support activities, such as training or information campaigns. Pregnancy policy reforms in Guinea and Malawi can be traced directly to these “in-house” girls’ education advocates. Teacher training modules and gender-sensitized curriculum are the result of the Gender Appropriate Curriculum Unit’s work in Malawi. In Malawi and Mali, the “advocacy” network has been expanded to the regional levels and includes school inspectors. In some regions of Mali, it extends into the school itself with teachers serving as “girls’ education advisors.” The government of Guinea has recently enacted a policy that ensures that all districts will have at least one female school director. Also in Guinea, research on educational demand for girls’ schooling in rural areas, conducted under the direction of the Ministry of

Education's "Equity Committee," provided the basis for a national dialogue on girls' schooling and is informing the development of the national strategy to improve equity.

Instructional reform: School directors and teachers received training in gender issues and "girl-friendly" classroom practices in Malawi and Mali. In Ethiopia, strong attention is being paid to gender equity in the school leadership training program. These training modules are now incorporated into the teacher training cur-

riculum. In Malawi, the curricula and textbooks for the first three primary grades have been revised, or supplementary material developed, to eliminate gender biases and make them more gender-sensitive. Likewise, in Ethiopia the curriculum is undergoing analysis for gender bias.

Reform support activities: Reform support activities are special activities intended to inform and support policy, institutional, and instructional reforms that have been implemented by governments. For example, Guinea, Malawi,

The Government of Uganda has combined community mobilization and school incentive grants to redress problems of girls' persistence. The original idea was to award grants to schools that showed commitment to promoting girls' schooling, with the

and Mali have launched social marketing and publicity campaigns. Mali and Guinea have broadcast informational and entertainment programs about girls' education on radio and television; local personages, entertainers, and journalists are disseminating and endorsing messages; and schools have or soon will have established competitive award programs. Malawi pioneered the use of a "theater for development" troupe in order to identify community concerns and solutions about girls' education, and develop messages to be shared with other villages.

While there is little evaluation data available as yet about the impact of these programs on girls' participation, there is some anecdotal information about their effectiveness. For example, in Malawi some communities decided to include the message that girls should complete schooling in the pervasive and influential initiation rite training for girls. In Ghana the government put in place equity improvement pilot projects intended to test the effectiveness and feasibility of certain interventions (such as scholarships) to improve girls' participation. Although poor research design, lack of valid monitoring and evaluation systems, and little attention to the financial implications of replication diminished their utility to generate policy options, the government based its Equity Improvement Policy on the results. As noted above, this has gone largely unimplemented.

stipulation that the grant money would be used to improve school quality and increase girls' persistence. A recent evaluation indicates that the program is plagued by design flaws, has been pushed off course by including all disadvantaged children as beneficiaries (not just girls), and lacks coordination between the mobilization component and the school component. In Ethiopia, a community-schools grants program has been planned with a strong focus on girls' education.

To what extent has USAID assistance contributed to these outcomes?

Based on the "input-output" information provided in Table 2, it is tempting at this point to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of USAID's support of girls' education. Certainly on the surface the picture is encouraging. Most countries where USAID's ESS programs have targeted girls' education have shown appreciable improvements since USAID began its sector support. Most countries where USAID has used a hybrid of conditionality and projectized support aimed at girls' education have shown increases in girls' enrollment, persistence, and/or performance, and most have done so with some technical assistance. Those countries where the most significant results have been reported are those where:

∩ the greatest number of actions and interventions were undertaken;

∩ these actions include either a number of policy reforms or a single policy reform known to be particularly effective (e.g., fee waivers);

∩ these actions cover a broad range of system components (e.g., teacher training, curriculum, materials) and arenas for implementation (e.g., at the policy, institutional, school and/or community levels); and

∩ these actions were complemented by special one-off or support activities (e.g., social marketing or information campaigns).

This suggests that improvements girl's education are most often brought about through a series of actions that includes policies and programs to carry them out, and that takes place simultaneously in several areas and at several levels in an education system. Is it fair, then, to conclude that by employing a combination of conditionality, projectized support, and technical assistance, USAID can ensure improvements in girls' educational status? Unfortunately, the answer is not so straightforward.

Basic education reform vs. girl's education

Much critical information is missing. To define USAID's approach to girls' education, this paper artificially isolated USAID's efforts aimed specifically at girls from the rest of its ESS program approach and the national educational reform setting. While some USAID-supported government reforms focused exclusively on girls' education—fee waivers, for example—it is clear that these actions alone cannot succeed without overall sectoral adjustment. In the case of the fee waiver example, more resources must flow to primary education to ensure that more school places and better instruction are available to meet the stimulated demand.

Donors, in deciding which policies or actions to leverage with conditionality or

projectized funds, must ask themselves not only how effective certain reforms aimed at girls have been, but how efficient they are compared with other, more general policies and programs. The positive (although often problematic) impact of fee waivers on enrollment is well-documented around the world, and goes far in explaining why girls have flooded into the education systems of Benin and Malawi.

However, evidence of the influence of the other reform measures aimed at girls is less compelling. For example, in Guinea, the evolving reform package for girls has probably not had as large an impact on girls' enrollment and persistence as the general expansion of school places and improved instructional quality. In Mali, the government's decision to authorize community schools (with their flexible schedules and calendars) may do more to bring about increases in girls' enrollment than the current reform package directed specifically at girls.

With the growing appreciation of the importance of educating girls, there may be a tendency now for donors to think only in narrow terms of girls' education. A frequently heard question these days is "if girls' education is so good, why don't we do only girls' education?" The response that sustainable improvements in girls' education can only occur if the entire education system is reformed is not always welcome in a period of tremendous pressure to produce quick results. The special needs of girls' and the factors affecting their educational participation cannot be ignored, but enduring and sustainable improvements in girls' education cannot be divorced from improvement of the primary education system in general. Perhaps the best demonstration of how to unite these two goals is the approach USAID adopted in Malawi, in which it defined its support of education reform in terms of girls. While the system-wide changes are central to the program, the beneficiary characteristics—used as reference points in teacher training, curricula design, and materials development—are those of girls.

Attribution

USAID's ESS programs and its efforts to promote girls' education do not take place in a vacuum. Although in most cases, USAID began its support of the sector in the early stages of the government reform program and is a major donor to the sector, other actors cannot be discounted. One of the conundrums of sectoral adjustment programs is the issue of attribution. This has been particularly acute for USAID, whose approach of enabling African governments to undertake their own reforms frequently conflicts with its own quest for accountability.

Donor collaboration—including joint donor financing of sector reform—further complicates the issue of attribution. In short, sectoral reform may be the work of so many different actors that it is frequently impossible to assess a single actor's contribution in terms of overall sectoral outcomes, except to state that it was part of a reform effort that—in sum—produced certain system reforms that led to improved student outcomes. In addition to the political difficulties it can create, this type of attribution does little to further a donor's understanding of the effectiveness of its own assistance modalities.

Thus, it may be helpful to analyze along finer lines USAID's support by examining its use of and experience with conditionality and projectized assistance. Although causal relationships may not be clear, and USAID's efforts to support girls' education have not been universally successful, some general observations can be made:

▮ In many instances, USAID ESS programs **put girls' education "on the map"** of national education reform. As recently as 1991, many countries did not recognize—at least, in any official way—the importance of schooling girls. For example, the reform strategies in Ghana, Guinea, Malawi, and Mali either did not target or provide for support measures to improve girls' educational participation. Only when USAID initiated a program—either

through conditionality or projectized assistance—did the issue of girls' education draw national attention. Although legitimate debate surrounds the issue of "forcing" unwanted donor priorities and reforms on countries through conditioned assistance, at least in the cases of Malawi and Guinea, the evidence is clear that girls' education has been embraced by the ministries of education.

▮ In several countries, USAID's ESS programs—either through sector analysis, research, or policy dialogue—have helped countries to define the issues affecting girls' education and to begin to **develop a policy and program framework** to address gender equity.

▮ USAID's ESS programs have helped to **create girls' education "champions" or advocates** within ministries of education who support action research, technical assistance, and training, and who have supplied critical funds and guidance in getting attention-grabbing activities off the ground and stimulating national debate.

Performance conditionality to support education

The use of performance conditions are a notable feature of sectoral adjustment programs and have proved the source of much controversy, misunderstanding, and misuse. Broadly defined as donor attempts to influence recipient behavior by means of resource transfer and as instruments to advance policy goals, performance conditionality has been aggressively used by USAID in its agriculture programs since the early 1980s to (depending on the perspective) promote, support, persuade, leverage, or extort policy reform. In its ESS programs, USAID disburses NPA contingent on governments' meeting specified, prearranged conditions. While conditionality has been found to serve several purposes, USAID employed it primarily to en-

sure that certain policies or actions, *seen by both parties as essential to the success of the ESS and government reform programs*, take place. As previously noted, nearly all the ESS programs addressing girls' education use conditionality.

Table 4 presents an overview of the conditions and covenants³ used in the ESS programs that specifically address girls' education issues. Again, readers are cautioned that they are presented out of context of the entire ESS program and national reform. USAID's ESS programs employ other conditions not listed here (e.g., resource reallocation to primary education) to support educational reform objectives that benefit girls.

How have conditions been used to support girls' education?

Performance conditions concerning girls' education run the gamut of applications and uses. This is hardly surprising, given that these conditions are the first generation of conditionality used by USAID in its education programs. Previous experience with conditionality, for any purpose, was limited, and as experience with conditionality has matured in the sector, so have its uses.⁴ Nonetheless, the ESS program conditions pertaining to girls show an unprecedented diversity and lack of uniformity in policy intent and purpose. They are strikingly unlike the ESS conditions used to support overall primary education reform, which strongly resemble each other across the different ESS programs and whose intent is obvious (e.g., more resources to the sector, more school places, better trained teachers, more textbooks and materials). Instead, the conditions dealing with girls' education are more likely to relate to the particular context of the country, reflect the stage the government is at in the policy formation process, reflect the lack of baseline data required to understand the issues affecting girls' educational participation, or even respond to the counterpart needs of a particular USAID-sponsored or projectized activity, such as publicity campaigns. This grab-bag of conditions demon-

strates, on the one hand, USAID's commitment to girls' education and, on the other, its initial uncertainty in how to best support it. That conditions addressing girls' education figure in its grant agreements with governments indicates the importance USAID has attached to the issue. However, neither USAID nor other donors had experience with using a sectoral adjustment approach to improving girls' education. The diverse and tentative uses of conditions must be understood as the first efforts of a donor agency entering a new field (girls' schooling) and attempting to master a new approach and modality.

A loose typology of uses emerges. First, ESS conditions dealing with girls' education address either policies or programs. Policies (e.g., educational finance through fee waivers) are enacted on a national basis, and establish the context for reform or the agenda for action in that area. Programs (e.g., incentive grants) are often targeted and limited in scope, duration, and sustainability.

The conditions addressing either policies and programs are further characterized by a chronological dimension, starting with policy or program **development**, advancing to **declaration or definition** and **implementation**, and finishing with **results**. An example of this chronology applied to a policy is found in Ghana, where equity pilot projects would provide the empirical data to assess effectiveness and identify appropriate interventions or policy options; on the basis of analysis, a policy would be formulated and implemented. An example applied to a program is found in Uganda, where the development of procedures for managing equity incentive grants to schools was a condition for the first tranche disbursement and the implementation of the incentive grants was required for the next tranche disbursement.

That the majority of USAID conditions deal with the development of policy or program options indicates several things: that a research base for policy identification and analysis is missing in most countries; that there are no

clear, or at least immediately apparent, panaceas to improve girls' educational participation; that most USAID program designers were uncomfortable prescribing direct policy action; that solutions are context specific; and that single policy "levers" for girls' education do not exist. These preparatory or "development"-type conditions have been applied to curriculum design, teacher training, national gender strategy development, education data collection, and incentive grants. Although these "development" conditions have not always led to policy or programmatic definition and implementation, they increasingly are being used to support locally-led investigations and research and policy dialogue with a broad range of stakeholders.⁵

Because of the need for a research base in USAID conditionality for girls, straightforward policy prescriptions, seldom appear. In fact, in only one case was a policy "directive" included in a condition for girls—in Malawi for the case of fee waivers. Here, it must be noted that there was a great deal of existing research on the constraints to girls' enrollment, persistence, and achievement in school, so that the selection of fee waivers as a policy option was well-grounded

in research and analysis. Moreover, the subsequent problems with overcrowding in schools and an overtaxed instructional system were more a result of the government's subsequent decision to waive fees for all children than to an influx of girls into the system.

As USAID's understanding of the sectoral adjustment approach grows, and its appreciation of the central role of local ownership in educational reform increases, these "development" conditions are more often viewed as the best way to ensure that sound actions are taken and sustained by governments. Schooling girls has deep cultural ramifications. Policy or program decisions that do not take into account local attitudes, beliefs, and conditions, and that are seen as imposed, are likely to fail. Thus, the very nature of girls' education requires that there be national consensus and ownership of the reform objective and package.

ESS conditions do not always follow a strict chronological sequence, however, although the chronological approach is more evident in the conditions addressing girls' education than in the general reform conditionality. Embedded in many ESS conditions are assumptions that the government will undertake certain actions and

make certain decisions; thus, a condition calling for development of a policy may not necessarily be followed by a condition calling for policy or program implementation. For example, in Ethiopia, a covenant calls for a system for supporting teachers to be developed, but does not state that the system must be implemented, although there is the expectation that it will be.

In only one country—Benin—was there a condition calling for a student-level result. That this condition exists at all is surprising: USAID guidance on conditionality in education is emphatic that student-level results are not an appropriate use of conditionality because they do not specifically leverage a policy or institutional reform—the real intent of an ESS program—and because they are too “risky.” A country that does not produce the required student-level results may well have attempted to do so in good faith. But a strict application of the “letter of the law” guidance on conditionality could deny disbursement of funds and jeopardize both the USAID program and hinder the national reform effort. In Benin’s case, the mission developed the condition after the government had instituted fee waivers for girls and anecdotal evidence of increased enrollments had been reported. While it was almost certain that statistical data would show improvement, and the risk factor appeared minimal, it was, nevertheless, an unnecessary use of conditionality.

Finally, USAID conditions do not necessarily reflect all that a government is doing to advance girls’ education.⁶ For example, the governments in Guinea and Malawi revised pregnancy policies to make them less punitive to schoolgirl mothers without a donor condition. In Benin, the government independently—to many donors’ surprise—exempted girls’ from school fees. The conventional (and increasingly proven) wisdom about conditionality at USAID is that conditions should be limited, direct, and parsimonious. As a consequence, USAID conditions cannot capture the myriad policy or programmatic actions that it is increasingly evident

are needed to effect improvements in girls’ education. But more important may be the phenomenon that even a single conditionality addressing girls may provide impetus for governments to take the issue seriously and take action.

What has been the impact of conditions to support girls’ education?

The “outcome” column in Table 5 suggests that conditionality has had mixed impact. In some instances, a performance condition was met by the country and the intended result ensued. The most notable and easily-traced success of a USAID gender condition is the fee waiver policy implemented in Malawi, which has had a direct impact on the percentage of girls in school. The most notable and easily-traced failure was in Ghana, where poorly designed and implemented pilot programs contributed to a poorly defined, unimplemented equity policy.

The structure of ESS performance conditions and the short time they have been in effect mitigate against assessing their effectiveness in bringing about student-level change. By definition, most of the conditions aim at institutional reform and are focused on its early stages of development. It is too soon to determine, for example, whether teacher training has resulted in girls doing better in school. Indeed, methodologically, it may be impossible to ever isolate the impact of training from the raft of other interventions. However, teacher interviews and classroom observations in Malawi and Mali do indicate that many teachers have put the gender-sensitivity training into practice.

In general, the ESS program conditionality on equity has resulted in:

- ∩ *policy experimentation* (pilot projects in Mali, Ghana, and Uganda);
- ∩ *increased knowledge base* (research in Guinea, Mali, and Malawi);
- ∩ *better data collection and analysis* (Guinea, Mali, and Benin);

n *improved materials and teaching of girls* (Mali and Malawi); and

n *government creation and development of structures and methods required to meet performance conditions* (Guinea, Mali, Malawi, Ghana, Uganda).

What have been some problems with conditionality?

Some of conditions have suffered from shortcomings and problems from which donors can derive lessons, such as:

Lack of Donor Guidance: Good will and commitment on the part of governments does not ensure that they will meet the conditions. Governments or their education ministries will probably need assistance in meeting the conditions. Too often in the early uses of the NPA modality, ESS programs did not provide adequate guidance or assistance, reasoning that the reform was the government’s business and responsibility. While this is indisputably true, experience has shown that without assistance in interpreting, defining, and helping to carry out conditions, governments will not meet or will inadequately fulfill them. This is particularly true in the case of development-type conditions where critical research, analysis, and design issues are required.

A good illustration of the need for assistance comes from Guinea. The ministry was attempting to meet the ESS program requirement that it conduct an investigation and analysis of the factors influencing girls’ decisions to enroll and persist in primary school, as a basis for developing a national girls’ education strategy. Although it had promptly formed an Equity Committee with accomplished and enthusiastic members, they were not experts in girls’ education. Up until a few months prior to the conditionality review, the government had accomplished little to meet the condition. It had, however, repeatedly asked USAID for technical assistance. With the arrival of a consultant to

provide guidance and focus to the group, the Equity Committee quickly pulled together a creditable analysis of the problems confronting girls in the sector, based on secondary sources, and proposed a plan for additional in-depth research, which was accepted by USAID as proof of performance. Fortunately, both USAID and the World Bank were willing to jointly fund the proposed research, and Guinea now has a good base on which to build its national strategy and policy dialogue.

Other countries have not been so fortunate. In Ghana, hasty design of the equity pilot projects—driven by the conditionality review schedule and without sufficient technical assistance to develop a rigorous research and evaluation plan—led to notable disappointments, with adverse consequences for USAID equity goals in Ghana.

Lessons on providing donor guidance

- n Do not skimp on critical technical assistance in the development of country strategies, approaches, and programs for girls.
- n Do not assume that the intent of or the actions required in the condition are clear and understood in operational terms by the government.

Inflexible Donor Disbursement Deadlines:

Donor deadlines can be inimical to serious research, in-depth analysis, and the development of local consensus and ownership of an issue, policy, or intervention in support of girls’ educational participation. It may take longer to generate and select policy and program options or put in place a girls’ education policy or program than the donor disbursement schedule indicates. Charting the course of girls’ education development is new territory for all the players—governments and donors alike. What seems like straightforward research will inevitably take longer in a context where use of local

researchers is paramount and where institutional and information structures are overtaxed or under reorganization, as is often the case in a reform setting. Interpreting research data or reviewing a program or policy intervention will take time, especially if it is done in a way that ensures that broad consensus among stakeholders is reached. Artificially rushing or truncating the process to meet internal donor disbursement deadlines generally yields unsatisfactory results. In Uganda, the incentive grants program suffered because the government hastened to meet the conditionality review deadline. In Ghana, the government made a meaningless policy “declaration” because, in part, it was constrained by the donor disbursement schedule. This type of pressure can squander goodwill and tenuous government commitment to girls’ education, an issue governments are often wary of. Programs and policies that fail can hardly convince a hesitant government that girls’ education deserves additional consideration.

In Ethiopia, the pressure to disburse has been somewhat alleviated by the extended design approach and process adopted by the mission. Prior to designing its ESS program, several baseline research studies were conducted with the government. An educational demand study of rural villages explored several facets of girls’ education. A teacher motivation study examined many of the problems female teachers confront. These studies not only informed the ESS design and conditionality, but provided an empirical base on which the government can structure girls’ education programs. By undertaking these studies at the design stage, the pressure of meeting grant disbursement deadlines is lightened later.

Lessons on disbursement schedules

▮ Be realistic in developing the disbursement schedule. It should reflect the time it will take to accomplish the conditionality, not the preferred schedule of the donor.

▮ Consider assisting governments to pursue research at the design stage of a donor program.

Donor Acceptance of Unfulfilled Conditions: Accepting an unfulfilled, partially executed, or inadequately met condition does no one any favor. Too often because of the pressure to disburse, donors will accept proof of performance that, in reality, does not meet either the letter or intent of the condition. And, too often, gender conditions are not taken as seriously as other conditions, by either partner. The consequences inevitably return to haunt the government and the donor, not to mention the real losers—the girls. Not only will the policy or program not accomplish what was intended, but the donor could lose its window of opportunity to pursue a policy goal, as the government—faced with multiple conditions from many donors—devotes its attention to the next tranche’s conditions.

The message the donor sends is that girls’ education is not really important. The unsuccessful attempts of USAID to put girls’ education on the policy reform agenda in Ghana cannot have been helped by its ignoring recommendations to revise the equity pilot projects or by its acceptance of an obviously unworkable equity policy. By the same token, the attention lavished by donors on gender equity in Malawi has been of prime importance in attracting government support for equity objectives.

There are other examples that have had, fortunately, less dire consequences. In Uganda, a lenient review of the first tranche condition dealing with design and management procedure for the school incentive grants program later caused complications when the government scrambled to fulfill the second tranche condition calling for implementation. Inadequate design compromised its ability to move forward. A recent USAID evaluation recommended redesign. In Guinea, when the govern-

ment did not entirely meet the second tranche condition to develop a national strategy to promote girls' schooling, USAID accepted a detailed plan on how it would proceed to do so, but USAID also included a similar condition in the fourth tranche. As USAID has become more comfortable with the sectoral adjustment approach, it has been more willing to renegotiate conditions, rather than totally suspend payment.

Lessons on unfulfilled conditions

- Do not accept unfulfilled or inadequately met conditions.
- Renegotiate and work with the government to develop a plan for fulfilling the condition; provide technical assistance if required.
- Use a "letter of intent" approach, setting conditions on a rolling basis rather than establishing them for a five-year period at the program design stage.

Unclear, Imprecise Language: Uncertainty about how to support girls' education is often reflected in the language of the performance conditions concerning girls. The condition may lack specificity, as in the case of the ESS condition in Mali that asks that "all possible measures" be taken to replicate successful equity pilot projects. The condition may also lack much meaning. In Guinea, an ESS condition required that school construction and rehabilitation "be consistent with USAID's gender equity objectives." While the school construction program has benefitted girls as well as boys, USAID was never clear as to how its "gender equity objectives" could or should be operationalized. As a result, the government proof of performance in this area was unconvincing to a critical eye. Double-barreled conditions, such as "conduct

research and develop strategy," may make for parsimonious conditionality prose, but they may also obscure the amount of time needed to accomplish the conditionality; furthermore, they may contribute to neglect of a component. For example, in Guinea, the government admirably fulfilled the research requirements, but has yet to put together a coherent national strategy.

Lessons on the wording of conditionality

- Use specific language, define performance criteria; explicate terms.
- Avoid hybrid or double-barreled conditions.

As noted earlier, the ESS program conditions dealing with girls' education reflect to some extent USAID's inexperience with promoting girls' education and applying conditionality. However, they also show an appreciation for and understanding of three other aspects of the issue, which can provide guidance for other donors and future programs.

First, **most countries where USAID introduced its ESS programs had not yet considered gender equity in education, nor accorded it high priority** as an objective of their educational reform. Although it was imperative that USAID obtain baseline data about the constraints and factors affecting girls' educational participation in order to formulate its own program and conditions, these research-and-analysis-oriented conditions also provided a means of introducing ministry personnel to the concept of gender equity and sensitized them to the gender implications of their own operations. Even if adequate information about girls' demand for schooling had been available, USAID's experience is that this step of discovery for an education ministry should not be omitted, because it

is critical to government adoption, mastery, ownership, and commitment to girls' education. It also creates needed advocates for girls' education within the ministry and provides an impetus and vehicle for training.

One might ask why these investigatory actions need be addressed by a condition. Could they not simply be included in a complementary projectized component of the ESS program? In some cases, they are. However, by placing these investigatory/preparatory activities in a development-type condition—despite the problems discussed above—the donor succeeds in helping the ministry or government elevate them to some importance and come closer to ensuring full ministerial participation. For example, in Guinea, the ministry independently created an Equity Committee to deal with the performance condition calling for research and analysis, headed by the secretary general. This committee has now formed the nucleus of the gender unit and its members have become active advocates of girls' education. Conditions alone do not ensure success; the projectized assistance must also be structured properly. Conditions can, however, set the framework, focus attention, and lend urgency to an issue.⁷

Second, **it has become increasingly apparent to USAID that there is no single or universal policy lever to improve girls' educational participation.** Appropriate policy prescriptions affecting girls' education are highly contextualized. Although fee waivers have enjoyed success in Malawi, they may not be equally appropriate for Uganda. Donors must be wary about calling for specific policies affecting girls without first conducting in-depth analyses of the likely effectiveness, chances for sustainability, and consensus of a broad segment of stakeholders in the educational community. If this base is established, then—in some instances—certain policies may be amenable to donor conditionality. Policies such as fee waivers, or those of a structural, resource reallocation nature might be appropriate. Policies that are politicized or pertain to more culturally-

embedded values, such as pregnancy policies and sex education, probably are not good candidates for donor conditionality. For one thing they will entail a great deal of discussion and debate society in order to be accepted. The time needed may exceed relatively short donor disbursement time frames. More importantly, the appearance of donor involvement in issues of this sort may be viewed as too interventionist, and compromise both government ability to pursue other reform measures as well as donor ability to support them.

Finally, **USAID understood that donor conditionality cannot capture all the myriad dimensions and individual actions that must take place to promote girls' education.** As noted earlier, general education reforms—such as resource reallocation, curriculum revision, and textbook distribution—may be having a greater impact on girls' education than the current array of conditions USAID employs in its ESS programs specifically aimed at girls. But these general conditions are likely to have an even greater impact if they are focused on girls and include considerations affecting them. To append a dependent phrase such as “consistent with equity objectives” to a condition will probably not exert much force. For national reform efforts to really result in closing the gender gap, gender considerations must be woven throughout the education system—in the design and structure of its educational services, their provision, and their delivery. Donors need to consider options other than conditionality. The next section looks at USAID's attempt to “supplement” conditionality.

Projectized assistance to support girls' education

Projectized assistance in USAID parlance refers to both the financial transfer mechanism and use of these funds. Projectized funds are those that under a grant agreement with the government are not included in the cash transfer to the host-

country treasury or in the budgetary support component. Further, projectized funds are not exclusively used for traditional institutional “contractor-type” projects. They often are programed less for conventional long-term technical assistance than for government-implemented special activities, which are not provided for in normal government recurrent budget expenditures.

USAID’s ESS programs generally include projectized assistance in varying degrees, accounting for—on average—about 25 percent of the ESS grant (75 percent goes for NPA—general budgetary support). NPA and projectized assistance are used in tandem in USAID’s ESS programs, because sectoral adjustment requires intervention at several levels—policy, institutional, school, and community. Policy changes cannot be realized without the institutional capacity to implement them; policy and institutional reform is meaningless unless they are accompanied by changes in the instruction and learning environment in the school, and are supported by the community.

Conditionality may be viewed as a top-down approach that can leverage important policy or structural changes in institutions. Projectized assistance may be viewed as a bottom-up approach, in that it supports institutional capacity-building and special interventions to ensure better services in the school and improved interaction with the community. Projectized support is used to assist governments operationalize their policy reforms. Many times there will be a stated linkage with a performance condition. For example, in Ghana, the pilot programs required by a condition were financed with projectized funds. More often, there is an unstated but obvious linkage between projectized support and a performance condition. For example, a condition calling for a revision of the curriculum might be complemented by projectized assistance providing for studies of curricular issues, study tours, and assistance from technical specialists.

How has projectized assistance been used to support girls’ education?

Projectized support components aimed at girls show a great deal of consistency, in contrast with the diversity of performance conditions. The projectized support activities cluster into four areas: gender units, pilot projects, publicity or social marketing campaigns, and/or data collection and research. Table 6 categorizes the countries using the type of support, indicates the general intent of the projectized support, and notes some general problems with the type of support (although they do not necessarily apply to all ESS programs). Many of these will be discussed as crosscutting issues affecting donor support.

Gender unit development has been supported by USAID in three countries, although in only one has it been a condition (Malawi). The role of a gender unit is to create a structure within the ministry that can serve as a source of expertise on girls’ education issues, as advocate and “proselytizer” for girls’ education, as watchdog to see that gender issues are considered in ministry programs, as trainer of other ministry personnel, and as implementor of special support programs. In Malawi, USAID has financed both a long-term advisor and material support for the development of a Gender Appropriate Curriculum Unit, housed at the Malawi Institute of Education. In Mali, USAID initially fully-financed the newly created Girls’ Education Office in the Ministry of Education, including salaries of two local staff, operating costs, and short-term technical assistance. The gender unit has now been integrated into the ministry, and regional offices have been established. USAID continues to fund some of the activities administered by the office, such as the publicity campaign and teacher training. In Guinea, the ministry formed its own Equity Committee in order to address USAID conditionality on girls’ education. It recently decided to create a more permanent gender unit, headed by one of the committee members, with the original committee serving as the board of directors. USAID has

provided short-term technical assistance, training and study tours, limited supplies and materials, and funds for the publicity campaign, which is managed by the Equity Committee.

Pilot projects have been funded by USAID in Ghana, Mali, and Guinea. In Ghana they were administered by the local staff of the Ministry of Education's Project Implementation Unit; in Guinea and Mali they were administered by the gender units. The pilot projects are intended to generate policy options and programmatic strategies, through the experimentation with and comparison of different interventions. In general, they have focused on demand issues, experimenting with scholarships and other incentives to attract girls to school.

Publicity and social marketing campaigns have been supported by USAID in Malawi, Mali, and Guinea. In Mali and Guinea, they are administered by the gender units and have primarily focused on publicity, disseminating the message that girls' education is valuable to the girl herself, her family, and her community. A social

marketing approach in Malawi used an interactive "theater for development" technique to support a dialogue with communities. In Uganda, a community mobilization unit was to have helped publicize and explain the school incentive grant program, but its staffing was delayed.

Data collection and research have figured prominently in the Guinea, Mali, and Malawi programs. In the case of Guinea and Mali, the research and its intended application was cited specifically in a performance condition. In Mali, USAID financed research by both local and expatriate researchers. A long-term monitoring and evaluation specialist managed the classroom research. In Guinea, when USAID did not act upon a research proposal whose design it had financed, the World Bank funded the study, which was carried out by a team of local researchers under the management of the gender unit. In Malawi, USAID funded a number of pre-project research studies, which informed the design of the ESS program and formed the basis for its girls' education strategy.

What has USAID learned about projectized assistance?

There are several issues cutting across the four areas of projectized support that have affected the management and effectiveness of USAID's projectized support of girls' education. None are unique to the support of girls' education itself, but each should be considered by donors if they are planning to use one of the support activities mentioned above.

Inadequate design, evaluation, and analysis: USAID's deliberative approach to girls' education depends on a solid information and analytical base. ESS program conditionality calls for additional data collection, research, and analysis to determine policy options, select interventions, and develop strategies to increase girls' educational participation. ESS projectized support funds research and pilot project activities. Sound research design and analysis is essential if it is to make a positive contribution to policy and program formation. Similarly, effective information or social marketing campaigns require a grounded understanding of the factors that influence household decisions about schooling children.

Poor conceptualization of research and inadequate evaluation or incomplete analysis of data have constrained some ESS programs. A detailed research plan for the pilot projects in Ghana was never developed. Lacking adequate controls and definition of variables, the pilot projects could not be properly evaluated. In Guinea, the selection of interventions offered in a small pilot experiment was not based on field research and the subsequent evaluation data have proved evanescent. There are a variety of reasons for this: impending time lines, as mentioned earlier; untrained and inexperienced local counterparts charged with the task; expatriate technical assistance with no in-depth knowledge of the country parachuted in to help meet a deadline.

Inadequate dissemination and discussion of research findings: Another problem is

how the information, if valid, is used. Often research studies, once completed and the research team disbanded, are put on a shelf while educational reform activities—including those aimed at girls—go on as usual. Discussion of the findings does not take place, and—more importantly—decisions are not informed by the findings. At the opposite extreme, policy options are generated and selected without discussion among the interested parties or opportunities for different interpretations of the data to be presented.

There are two primary causes of this problem. First, opportunities for policy dialogue, feedback, and discussion were not built into the research design or, if they were, were not taken seriously by those managing or commissioning the research. Second, the research was not couched in terms that readily translate into policy options.

Lessons on the research design and analysis phase of projectized assistance

- Provide expert assistance—local or expatriate—at critical points in research process, such as at the design, analysis, and policy dialogue stages.
- Request that detailed policy dialogue plan be part of research proposals.
- Provide time and budget for feedback and policy dialogue with broad range of stakeholders.
- Make research findings accessible to stakeholders.
- Be prepared to sacrifice some methodological rigor in research in exchange for the involvement of key ministry personnel or decisionmakers.

Lack of synchronization of gender activities: The different activities USAID supports are generally part of a larger girls' education initiative. Not only does USAID support more than one activity in a country (pilot projects and publicity campaigns, for example), but government and other donors will also undertake girls' education activities. Frequently, there is a duplication of effort, particularly in research. There is competition for the ministry's girls' education specialists. Various pressures can cause activities to be conducted out of logical sequence and erode any chances of synergy. For example, in one country, a gender unit was in the middle of a research study on incentives for girls financed by one donor, when it began implementing a girls' incentive program financed by another donor. In Malawi, the fee waiver policy was enacted in advance of the social marketing campaign that would have helped eliminate some community resistance and alleviated confusion. Similarly in Uganda, the school incentive grants program was launched before the community mobilization campaign could start.

Lessons on synchronization of activities

- Assist the development of a government girls' education "work" plan (while not a substitute for a national strategy, this may predate or complement it), showing different activities—planned or funded—and describing purpose and content.
- Be willing to accept research funded by another source if it meets criteria.
- Be willing to accommodate other actor research suggestions in your research study.
- Encourage the formation of a girls' education advisory group, chaired by ministry staff, which includes interested and ac-

tive donors, key persons from other ministries, and the private sector (do not expect general donor coordination meetings to suffice).

- Consider rescheduling activities if predecessor activity has been delayed.

Segregation of girls' education activities: One of the dangers of forming a gender unit and having special activities aimed at girls is that it encourages an enclave mentality, with girls' education seen as separate from other educational considerations. It also lets the rest of the system off the hook: girls' education is considered the domain and responsibility of the gender unit. The gender unit, often preoccupied with donor-funded projects, begins to think only in terms of externally-funded, discrete activities that fall under its management.

What often gets lost is the idea that girls' education must be woven throughout the different levels and arenas of the education system. The gender unit must work with teacher training, curriculum, and school mapping personnel, etc., to see that all reform activities have been "genderized." Too often, girls' education efforts are defined exclusively in term of the "sexier" and more visible interventions, such as radio jingles or school contests, the effectiveness of which is marginal. Donors contribute to this problem when their projectized funds go uniquely to these types of activities. Furthermore, the tendency to micro-manage "projects" causes all actors to give misplaced priority to them.

Lessons on "genderizing" all reform activities

- Reconsider the structure and organization of the gender unit; consider creating gender teams in different ministerial departments or other alternatives.

∅ Work with the government to develop a gender unit mission statement and strategic approach (not national strategy) before programming funds for activities.

∅ Encourage the participation of personnel from other ministry offices and the private sector to play key roles in donor funded activities (such as publicity campaigns).

∅ Encourage the gender unit to “contract” out implementation and management of activities—to other ministry departments, research institutes, advertising firms, etc.—to allow the gender unit to work on multiple fronts.

∅ Avoid paying salaries and routine operating costs of gender unit.

∅ Make sure training of unit staff does not focus solely on girls’ education interventions (e.g., scholarships and latrines), but includes training on broadening the definition of genderizing education, e.g., education reform strategies, policy dialogue, and social marketing, etc.

Donor-dominated girls’ education portfolio: Another cause of the “enclave mentality” is the major role that donor funds play in financing girls’ education activities. Because the funds are “projectized” and the activities are generally discrete, there is a tendency for donors and recipients to start thinking in project-type terms. The gender unit becomes regarded as a “contractor” charged with a task, and the donors’ and the government’s attention become focused on fulfilling this task. The problem is that the tasks or activities have generally been defined in advance by the donor and are of a one-off

nature. What is lost is the very aspects that have made the more “hands-off” sectoral adjustment approach attractive—that is, it eliminates the crucial thermometer of government commitment to the issue, by both specifying the activity (not objective) and funding it directly.

Lessons on donors’ financing of girls’ education activities

∅ Use NPA to assist the ministry to develop its girls’ education portfolio.

∅ Encourage ministry to include budget line items for gender activities.

Sustainability ignored: In the search for supporting means to increase girls’ education, the issue of sustainability, a central tenet of the ESS approach, is too often forgotten or ignored. None of the projectized support activities funded by ESS programs are without long-term financial implications, even though a particular activity may be of short duration. For example, pilot projects need happen only once, but if the experiments, however effective, are too expensive for the government to fund, then the pilot experiment cannot be considered a success in generating policy or programmatic options. Publicity and social marketing campaigns are often expensive, but more importantly, they may have to be sustained over lengthy periods to be effective, depending on their purpose. Is the government or the donor willing to assume these long-term costs? This question is sometimes left unasked and unanswered. The same rigor of analysis that is applied to the policy measures associated with other educational reform efforts should be applied to those dealing directly with girls’ education. Otherwise, the risk is that they will not be sustained and they will not be effective.

Lessons on sustainability

- Let the sectoral adjustment approach inform donor programs aimed at girls.
- Assist the government in preparing cost analyses of policies.
- Do not promote experimentation with interventions that will be too costly for the government to fund.

Role of Technical Assistance Undervalued: With the exception of the ESS program in Malawi, none of the other ESS programs has provided long-term technical assistance for girls' education. Experience suggests that this is a mistake. There are no beaten paths yet on how to "do" girls' education, and no clear policy or programmatic solutions that will work in all countries in the same way. There are no preexisting administrative structures in most African ministries of education that can readily coordinate efforts to improve girls' educational participation. Even the problems themselves differ from country to country. The recognition that girls' education is an important educational and development issue is not yet universal. For these reasons alone it is often advisable that long-term or frequent technical support be provided to ministries of education to help them master the issues surrounding girls' education, establish the structures to support it, help map out the approach to developing a national plan, and assist with the technical tasks of analysis, policy dialogue, etc. Although episodic technical assistance has been effective in assisting governments complete discrete tasks, emerging understanding about how to approach girls' education—context-specific research, analysis, dialogue with stakeholders, national consensus, etc.—implies that assistance may be required more to help governments define and manage the process than to do particular tasks,

for which assistance can be obtained on a short-term or limited basis (such as research or statistical analysis).

The risk with technical assistance, of course, is the frequently observed "substitution effect," in which the consultant assumes a job that should belong to ministry staff. The ESS program approach has been adamant in limiting the number of long-term consultants and defining terms of reference that emphasize capacity-building. The role of a girls' education consultant is to help the government define its approach, set up the institutional structure to implement it, and train staff to carry out planning and management functions. Above all, the consultant helps to develop able and articulate advocates within the educational system.

Lessons on the role of technical assistance

- Provide long-term or frequent technical assistance.
- Define technical assistance in terms of supporting the "process" approach to girls' education, rather than only providing technical services.

Overall, the ESS programs' use of projectized support has been effective for onetime type activities, such as research, that may not be adequately provided for in government budgets, that assist in program and policy development, and that complement conditionality. In particular, projectized assistance can support government consideration of issues that are inappropriate for conditionality or that are politically sensitive. However, the primary risk associated with the use of projectized assistance, which applies to all the activities discussed above, is that they may not be sustainable. If the bulk of activities aimed at girls' is directly funded by donors, it is possible that

government support of girls' education will never be well-integrated into education system operations.

Concluding thoughts

In the years that USAID has sought actively to support girls' educational participation in Africa, the countries where it has ESS programs have shown appreciable progress in getting girls in school, and helping them stay there and do better. ESS program conditionality has encouraged governments to institute policy changes to benefit girls; ESS projectized support has contributed to the development and implementation of these reforms. Although it is difficult, if not impossible, to trace a USAID action directly to an improvement in girls' educational participation, it is certain that USAID's ESS programs have positively influenced the creation of an environment in which girls' education initiatives can flourish. Discussion with governments about ESS program objectives and performance conditions concerning girls' education have focused government attention on the issue and elevated it to prominence in several countries. USAID's efforts have resulted in the development of ministry offices that promote girls' education, in institutionalized analysis of the problems and constraints to girls' schooling, and in ministry efforts to work locally to find solutions and develop a national consensus on how best to pursue equity goals.

Even more significantly, USAID's efforts to support girls' education have informed and are contributing to the development of an approach to girls' education for both donors and African governments. This emerging approach does not offer policy prescriptions or across-the-board solutions, but instead focuses on developing the processes and means by which government can identify and introduce solutions, through participatory research, consensus-building and policy dialogue. Not all USAID's efforts have succeeded, but they have all added to knowl-

edge and understanding. A few general observations stand out:

- Girls' education is uncharted territory, and there are no clear answers. The issue is highly embedded in the cultural and political fabric of a country. Solutions to increase girls' educational participation are context-specific, which should caution against wholesale adoption of interventions tried elsewhere. A sound research and analytic base is required for the development of a national strategy to increase girls' education.
- Because girls' education is culturally embedded, a national definition of it as a problem and a national consensus on a strategy to address the problem are essential to long-term success. Possibly the most useful form of support donors can provide to host countries is assistance on how to structure and implement a broad-based policy dialogue and public information process.
- The policy formation process, based on information, dialogue, and consensus, will take time, and should not be rushed by unrealistic donor time lines. Donor programs should be congruent with the stage the government is at in the policy formation cycle.
- The use of conditionality, although important, may be of limited use in supporting girls' education, because many of the barriers to girls' educational participation are not amenable to straightforward policy or program solutions. The approach taken by USAID in Malawi, in which general policy and institutional reform measures were operationalized with the clear definition of girls as primary clients, may be the best means of ensuring nationwide improvements in girls' schooling.

The most important lesson for donors is that they should not leave at the door what they have learned about educational development when

they deal with girls' education. All the tenets of sectoral adjustment should obtain, such as the need for systemic change, government-led reform, and sustainability.

Girls' education must be addressed within an overall context of education reform, which is essential to laying the groundwork for the equitable and efficient distribution of resources aimed at neglected populations like female and rural primary school-aged children.

Girls' education cannot be done as a sideline or "at the margin." A host of small activities, such as publicity campaigns and school contests aimed at girls, will not achieve—in isolation—the systemic, structural changes necessary to the expansion and improvement of education offered to girls.⁸ Integrating the consideration of girls' education issues throughout the system reform effort—in resource allocation, school placement, teacher recruitment, curriculum development, and textbook design—appears to

have the greatest impact on girls' participation.

If girls are the primary focus of the reform and considered a primary "client" of the education system, all children can benefit from a system more attuned and responsive to the needs of the disadvantaged majority. Donors can support and even instigate this critical reorientation by casting their ESS programs in these terms, as USAID has done in Malawi in working with the government to ensure that girls' education concerns are woven throughout the reform effort and incorporated into the routine services and operations of the education system.

The primary lesson of this initial analysis of USAID's girls education programs in Africa is that improvements in girls' enrollment, attainment, and persistence in school is more probable when governments undertake a series of actions to improve the education opportunities offered girls and when donors employ a variety of tools to support them in their efforts.

Notes

¹ For discussion of fee waivers in Malawi see, Robinson, B. et al. “Malawi Educational Policy Sector Analysis. USAID/Malawi, May 1994; Wolf, J. *An Analysis of USAID Programs to Improve Equity in Malawi and Ghana’s Education Systems*. USAID/Washington (AFR/SD Technical Paper No. 10), September 1995; and Stromquist, N. “Leveling the Playing Field: Giving Girls an Equal Chance for Basic Education.” Economic Development Institute of the World Bank, September 1993.

² Wolf, J., op. cit.

³ A “covenant” is an action that USAID requires a recipient government to take before, during, or after assistance is provided, but which is not tied to a disbursement of funds. Covenants appear alongside conditionality in formal agreements, but they tend to be forgotten or dismissed when conditions are reviewed and there is pressure to disburse grant funds. As such, they are often considered an expression of a desire or hope by the donor, but not an actionable requirement.

⁴ See *Basic Education in Africa: USAID’s Approach to Sustainable Reform in the 1990s*. USAID/Washington (AFR/SD Technical Paper No. 14), September 1995.

⁵ Occasionally criticized as a stalling technique of a less-than-committed donor, most of the “development” conditions are directed at highly defined areas, such as the teacher training institutes in Ethiopia, where conventional wisdom or general knowledge is not sufficient to inform good policy or program prescriptions.

⁶ The USAID conditions also do not reflect all that USAID is doing in the country to support girls’ education. Increasingly, USAID is working with the NGO community and private sec-

tor in its ESS programs, which does not fit easily into a treatment of a traditional sectoral adjustment approach, but which nonetheless have ramifications for girls’ education. In Mali, for example, USAID is supporting a community school program, administered by an NGO, which requires community agreement to gender parity in enrollment.

⁷ Whether “covenants” will convey the same sense of priority is subject to speculation, as they do not have the same “legal” force of conditionality. Both USAID and governments have been known to ignore these informal agreements, in the press to meet condition review and disbursement schedules. Use of a covenant for equity could signal the donor is not really serious about the issue. As the recently launched ESS program in Ethiopia is the only program which uses this instrument for equity purposes, it is too soon to determine the effectiveness and influence on government action. However, in Ethiopia, the covenants are intended as “placeholders” to signify the government’s commitment to narrowing the gender gap, and are subject to renegotiation on an annual basis, depending on progress and performance. Particularly in the early stages of implementation, this provides a flexibility that allows both USAID and the government to determine the best course of future action.

⁸ Although the policy levers that specifically address girls’ education may be limited, it is curious to note that one obvious option has not been acted on or introduced for serious discussion in USAID’s and other donors’ programs: making the school calendar and schedule more flexible, a factor that has contributed to the success of the well-known BRAC program in Bangladesh and the community schools movement in Mali.

Table 1: ESS Programs' Support for Girls' Education

Type of Support	Country	ESS Program Purpose	Targeted Beneficiary	Support Modality		
				Performance Conditions (relating to girls)	Project Assistance	Technical Assistance
Program Focus	Malawi	Increase girls' attainment in basic education (increase girls' GER and retention rate)	Girls	Yes	Yes	Long-term
Program Component	Ethiopia	Improve quality and equity in expanded system of primary education (1% female access, persistence, completion)	Children . . . and girls	Yes	Yes	Short-term
	Ghana	Strengthen policy & inst'l frameworks to assure quality, access, equity & sustainability of primary education (equity improvement policy developed & implemented)	" "	Yes	Yes	Short-term
	Guinea	Support MOE to improve educational quality for increasing % of primary school age cohort & ensure equitable access to girls & rural children (increase in girls' GER)	" "	Yes	Yes	Short-term
	Mali	Improve efficiency of public sector education system (increase girls' GER)	" "	Yes	Yes	Short-term
Program Target	Benin	Institute an effective, efficient and equitable primary education system (increased girls' GER and enrollment in FQL schools)	Children... and girls	Yes	No	None
	Uganda	Improve quality of classroom instruction, improve efficiency of local level education, reduce inequities of access and persistence in primary education (increase girls' retention in grades 3, 5, 7)	" "	Yes	No	None
Program Peripheral	Lesotho	Improve quality & efficiency of primary ed. through new policy framework & inst'l structure (increase girls' cycle completion)	Children	No	No	None

Table 2: Girls' Education Actions and Impacts

Country (start)	Government Actions	Impacts to date* (total children) ↑ = increase; ↓ = decrease
Benin (1991)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● fee waivers for rural girls 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 44%↑ in girls GER (34%↑) ● 32%↑ girls' Grade 6 pass rate (45%↑)
Ethiopia (1995)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● female teacher trainee recruitment policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 68%↑ in female trainees
Ghana (1990)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● equity pilot projects ● equity policy declaration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 4.4%↓ in girls GER in North (7%↓); 4.4%↑ in East (2.6%↑); 0% change in Upper West (0%)
Guinea (1991)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● school-girl pregnancy policy ● female school director policy ● equity committee/gender unit established ● publicity/information campaign 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 66%↑ in girls' GER (46%↑) ● 89%↑ in girls' Grade 1 admission rate (79%↑) ● 16%↓ in girls' repetition rate (10%↓) ● 86%↑ in proportion of female teachers
Lesotho (1991)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● no changes reported in 1992, 1993, 1994
Malawi (1991)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● teacher training program ● fee waivers for non-repeating girls ● school-girls pregnancy policy ● social mobilization campaign ● gender appropriate curriculum unit ● gender appropriate curriculum and materials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 71%↑ in girls' NER (71%↑) ● 23%↓ in girls' repetition rate (23%↓) ● 27%↑ in girls' transition rate (nd) ● 50%↑ in female intake at university
Mali (1989)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● equal intake policy for grade 1 & 2 ● social marketing and media campaign ● national and regional gender units established ● teacher training program 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 69%↑ in girls' GER (59%↑) ● 75%↑ in girls' Grade 1 admission rate (50%↑) ● 64%↑ in girls' Grade 6 pass rate (60%↑) ● 48%↑ in girls' completion rate (38%↑)
Uganda (1992)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● school incentive grants program 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 11%↑ in Grade 3 & 5 persistence rates (nd)

*based on 1994 and 1995 data

Table 3: Typology of Government Actions for Girls' Education

<i>Policy Reform</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Fee waivers ● Pregnancy policy ● Equal intake policy
<i>Institutional Reform</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Gender units
<i>Instructional Reform</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Teacher training ● Curricula revision
<i>Reform Support Activities</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Social marketing ● Pilot projects ● School incentive grants

Table 4: Types of Conditionality

Type of Condition	Description	Example
<i>Development</i>	Calls for a preparatory or investigative action needed to inform policy or program definition or implementation.	Study of the factors influencing girls' education.
<i>Declaration or Definition</i>	Calls for a specific policy or program to be decided on, made official and/or its definition elaborated.	Policy on treatment of pregnant school-girls delineated and disseminated.
<i>Implementation</i>	Calls for a specific policy and/or program to be put in place and implemented.	Program for school incentive grants established, with grants awarded, disbursed and monitored.
<i>Results</i>	Calls for a particular student outcome to occur.	Girls' enrollment will increase by 50 percent.

Table 5: ESS Program Conditionality, Characteristics, and Outcomes

Country	Condition/Covenant "Evidence that..."	Condition	Covenant	Tranche	Type—policy/ program dev, definition, impl., result	Outcome
Benin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> education sector statistics for the 1994-95 school year document an increase over the preceding year in the female primary education gross enrollment rate and in the overall female participation rate 	X		4	policy result	increased enrollment
Ethiopia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> steps have been taken to significantly increase the proportion of Primary Teacher Training Institute entrants who are female, taking into account and ameliorating any affects such an increase may have on the quality of the TTI program TTI's have developed a system designed to support female trainees in academic, professional and personal activities 		X	1	policy dev/impl.	in process
			X	2	prog. dev	n/a
Ghana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a USAID-approved pilot program for system equity improvement has been initiated by the MOE an equity improvement policy is being implemented by the MOE 	X		2	prog. dev policy impl.	poorly done declared
		X		3		
Guinea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the grantee has prepared plans specifying targets for 1) training, retraining and redeploying teachers and 2) school rehabilitation and construction that are consistent with USAID's gender equity objectives... the grantee has conducted a study to be funded by the technical assistance component of the grant, to determine the factors involved in household decisions to enroll children in primary schools and developed a plan to redress constraints at national and regional level to the enrollment of children in rural areas and girls the grantee has acted on its equity plan and has prepared a national plan which identifies specific strategies, interventions and programs to increase girls' and rural childrens' educational participation and incorporates the more precise information derived from both the awareness campaign and the action research project. It shall contain verifiable targets. 	X		1	policy impl.	done, ill-defined
		X		2	policy dev	study completed
		X		4	policy & prog. def'n	evolving
Malawi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the grantee has adopted a plan and budgeting mechanism satisfactory to USAID for developing a gender-appropriate curriculum for use in primary schools, teacher colleges and in-service training (the plan will identify requirements for staff, office facilities and housing, ...and technical assistance to implement a program of gender appropriate reform, as well as implementation targets for each year the grantee has implemented a nationwide system, satisfactory to USAID, of school fee waivers for non-repeating primary school girls 	X		1	policy dev/def'n	curricula revised, mat'l dev'd, tchrs tr'd
		X		2	policy impl.	increased enrollments
Mali	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the grantee has established an ongoing monitoring and evaluation program that will include the collection of data disaggregated by gender to determine the development impact on women the grantee has collected baseline data on girls' enrollment and retention rates, and has conducted a study of how girls learn in various Malian contexts, and agrees to design, implement and evaluate pilot projects for increasing the learning of girls and will take all possible measures to replicate successful aspects of pilot initiatives throughout the Malian education system. 		X	3	policy dev	collected, analysis incomplete in process
			X	3	policy dev prog. impl.	
Uganda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> an implementation plan that describes the administrative procedures to be used by the Ministry of Education and Sports to administer and manage a program to disburse competitive grants to primary schools that reward demonstrated effort and initiatives to improve school quality and to raise primary school persistence rates of disadvantaged groups of children, especially girls documentation confirming that the Ministry of Education has budgeted a net increase of no less than the Uganda shilling equivalent of \$300,000 US for the 1994 fiscal year in an independent budget line item to also be funded by the grantee in subsequent fiscal years for the recurrent cost of awarding competitive incentive grants to eligible schools 	X	1		prog. dev	inadequately done
		X	2		prog. impl.	funds budgeted, grants awarded

Table 6: ESS Programs' Projectized Support

Projectized Support	Countries where used	Intent	Some problems
<i>Gender Units</i>	Guinea, Mali, Malawi	Institutional capacity-building	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● isolation from MOE ● unqualified staff ● unbudgeted portfolio
<i>Pilot Projects</i>	Ghana, Guinea, Mali	Policy generation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● poor design ● inadequate evaluation ● lack of sustainability analysis
<i>Publicity or Social Marketing Campaigns</i>	Guinea, Mali, Malawi, Uganda	Policy support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● unclear objectives ● poor design ● no evaluation system ● publicity only ● not sustainable
<i>Data Collection and Investigatory Research</i>	Guinea, Mali, Malawi	Policy generation Policy evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● long time frame ● lack of local researchers ● inadequate analysis ● findings not shared