DFID Department for International Development

From Projects to SWAPs: An Evaluation of British Aid to Primary Schooling 1988-2001

September 2002

by Samer Al-Samarrai
Paul Bennell
Christopher Colclough

Department for International Development

Evaluation Report EV: 639

FROM PROJECTS TO SWAPs:
AN EVALUATION OF BRITISH AID TO
PRIMARY SCHOOLING 1988-2001

**Institute of Development Studies,
University of Sussex and Paul Bennell Associates**

Report by
**Samer Al-Samarrai
Paul Bennell
Christopher Colclough**

SEPTEMBER 2002

Table of Contents

Contents

PREFACE

Each year the Department for International Development (DFID) commissions, through its Evaluation Department, a number of independent evaluation studies. The purpose of DFID's evaluation programme is to examine rigorously the design, implementation and impact of selected policies, programmes and projects, and to record and share the lessons learned from them so that these can be applied to current and future policies and operations. It should be borne in mind that the activities examined were the products of their time and that the policies they reflected and procedures they followed have often since been changed in the light of emerging knowledge.

DFID's Evaluation Department (EvD) is independent of DFID's spending divisions and reports directly to DFID's Director General (Knowledge Sharing).

This report is an updated version of a synthesis study which was published in March 1999 and formally reviewed by DFID's Development Committee in February 2001. The Committee recommended that the report should be updated in order to take account of recent developments in British aid to primary education and include information on project outcomes and impacts which was not available at the time of the first review. The study presents an intriguing picture of DFID's assistance to primary education through the 1990s up to the present, documenting rapid evolution not only of policies and aid allocations, but also in terms of approaches, activities and eventual results.

Colin Kirk
Head, Evaluation Department

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ALPS   Active Learning and Professional Support
APPEP   Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project
BAS   British Aid Statistics
BDDCA   British Development Division in South Africa
BRAC   Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
CIDA   Canadian International Development Agency
CRS   Creditor Reporting System
DAC   Development Assistance Committee of OECD
DFID   Department for International Development
DIP   District Implementation Plans
DPEP   District Primary Education Project
ESTEEM   Effective Schools Through Enhanced Education Management
GER   Gross Enrolment Ratio
GTZ   German Government Development Agency
HDI   Human Development Index
HRD   Human Resources Development
INSET   In-Service Training
JICA   Japan International Cooperation Agency
MEO   Mandal Education Officers
MSSSP   Malawi Schools Support Systems Project
NFE   Non-Formal Education
NFPE   Non-Formal Primary Education
NGO   Non-Governmental Organisation
NORAD   Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NWFP   North West Frontier Province
ODA   Overseas Development Administration
oda   official development assistance
OPR   Output to Purpose Reviews
OECD   Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PCTEP   Primary Curriculum and Teacher Education Project
PEC   Projects and Evaluation Committee of ODA/DFID
PEDP   Primary Education Development Programme
PEOC   Primary Education Adviser
PIMS   Policy Information Marker System
PCOSP   Primary Community Schools Project
PTOC   Primary Teacher Training Orientation Course
RPI   Retail Prices Index
SAPP   Social Action Programme Pakistan
SDP   Sector Development Programmes
SIDA   Swedish International Development Agency
SIP   Sector Investment Programme
SNP   School Nutrition Programme
SPRED   Strengthening Primary Education
SSA   Sub-Saharan Africa
STEP   Support for Teacher Education Project, Kenya
SWAP   Sector Wide Approach
TAC   Teacher Advisory Centre
TC   Technical Cooperation
TCO   Technical Cooperation Officer
ULIE   University of London Institute of Education
UNICEF   United Nations Children Fund
USAID   United States Agency for International Development

SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

1.   This report updates the key findings of an evaluation of British aid to primary schooling, which was originally undertaken in 1998[1]. Documentation on UK-funded primary education projects and programmes in six countries – Kenya, India, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Ghana and Malawi – was reviewed for the period 1988-2001. DFID education advisers were also interviewed. A wider assessment of changes in British educational aid policy over recent decades, based upon the policy documents issued over the period, and an analysis of data on the changing characteristics of the aid programme was also undertaken.

CHANGING OBJECTIVES AND TRENDS IN BRITISH AID TO EDUCATION

2.   During the late 1980s, the policy documents of the Overseas Development Administration (ODA) began to argue the case for education's developmental importance and emphasis was increasingly placed on the lower levels of the education system, where the greatest social and economic benefits could be realised. Whilst the policy documents signalled an intent to change, it took some time before a real shift in the balance of the educational aid programme occurred. Since relatively little support had been given to primary schooling, it was necessary to develop new modes and vehicles for providing assistance to this sub-sector (Section 1 Chapter 2).

3.   Aid to education fell in real terms by about 30 per cent between 1990/91 and 1996/97, but this declining trend has been reversed since then. Since 1996/97 real average annual aid to education has increased to £148.8 million, which is slightly higher than average annual aid in the late eighties and early nineties. ODA support to primary education rose from about 1 per cent to around 38 per cent of education expenditures between 1988/89 and 2000/01 (paragraph 2.20). However, as approximately 50 per cent of British educational aid is not identified by sub-sector, it is impossible to track accurately movements in the sectoral distribution of educational expenditure using the database of the Department for International Development (DFID). Nevertheless, there appears to have been a strong shift in education expenditure towards primary schooling (paragraphs 2.21-24).

4.   British educational aid tends to support the poorer and more disadvantaged States and peoples. The allocations of aid amongst these countries, however, do not reflect the relative size of their poor populations (paragraph 2.25-2.29).

5.   Obtaining reliable data on the flows of educational aid from other donors is difficult. The available data suggest that total bilateral aid commitments to education decreased by about 10 per cent in real terms over the 1990s. However, aid to primary education appears to have increased during the same period (paragraph 2.30).

---

[1] 'British aid' here refers to official development assistance provided by the UK. This was administered until May 1997 by the Overseas Development Administration (ODA) which was then replaced by the Department for International Development (DFID).

THE EARLY YEARS: FREE STANDING, NARROW FOCUS PROJECTS

6.   Projects that began before 1993 were generally of two types (paragraph 3.2):

i.   Projects such as STEP in Ghana and PCTEP[2] in Kenya focused exclusively on teacher training and, particularly in Africa, relied heavily on UK expatriates. Long-term, UK-based, mainly postgraduate training was the other major activity.

ii.   Projects such as APPEP I and II in India and SPRED I in Kenya still focused on teacher development, but included other activities, most notably the construction of teacher centres and classrooms and the development of research and evaluation capabilities, and were generally larger and longer (5-7 years). With respect to inputs, these projects had fewer expatriates and most training was short-term, undertaken in-country, and based on cascade training models (paragraphs 3.1 & 2).

7.   Whilst there was no simple sequential evolution from the first to the second type of project, it is clear that by 1993/94, the second group of projects had become the preferred form of intervention. This part of the summary looks at the design, implementation and impacts of the second type of the more elaborated 'free-standing' project listed above, drawing on the main findings of DFID's ex-post evaluations of the ALPS[3], APPEP[4] and SPRED 1[5] projects.

8.   Although it was not made explicit during the late 1980s, improving teacher competencies was seen by ODA as the most effective way of improving educational quality in developing countries. Moreover, the emphasis on educational quality was based on a relatively simple conception of educational reform in developing countries, namely that quality improvements could of themselves lead to significant increases in both enrolments and attainment levels. Insufficient attention was given to social, economic, political and cultural factors that determined the demand for primary education (paragraphs 3.4 & 5).

9.   A common feature of these projects was that project formulation and implementation were highly centralised and project objectives and other key design parameters tended, therefore, to be grounded in centralised perceptions, with no explicit recognition of field-level realities (paragraph 3.6).

10.   The major scaling-up of new in-service training INSET strategies and teaching methodologies, from earlier projects or pilot projects, presented problems in both ALPS and SPRED I. While the potential benefits of educational innovations may be readily apparent, the process of successfully introducing these innovations on a much larger scale involves an altogether different set of challenges, mainly political and management, that pilot projects, by their very nature, cannot adequately address (paragraph 3.9).

11.   Education projects were designed predominantly by educationalists. There was, therefore, limited awareness of the serious shortcomings of such a mono-disciplinary approach, for a proper understanding of the wider social and economic context in which primary schools functioned. Furthermore, without adequate research and evaluation, the

---

2   Support for Teacher Education Project and Primary Curriculum and Teacher Education Project, Kenya.
3   Active Learning and Professional Support Project (Indonesia) EV629
4   Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project (India) EV630
5   Strengthening of Primary Education Project 1 (Kenya) EV627

justifications for the major innovations that were introduced (cascade training of teachers, active learning methodologies and the use of teacher advisory centres) were based too much on professional intuition and upon evidence from dramatically different social and economic contexts (paragraph 3.11).

12. Introducing major innovations requires intensive, high quality management. The APPEP management structure was generally well designed and properly staffed. Unlike ALPS and to a lesser extent SPRED I, it occupied a central position in the overall organisation structure of the Ministry of Education and all staff were expected to be drawn into the project's implementation (paragraphs 3.21-23).

13. Arrangements for the monitoring and evaluation of APPEP were carefully designed and properly resourced. No systematic monitoring and evaluation activities, however, were incorporated into the project designs of ALPS and SPRED I. This seriously affected project implementation and made it impossible to assess project impacts at the school level and in the wider community (paragraph 3.27).

14. In purely quantitative terms, all three projects demonstrated the ability of the cascade model to train very large numbers of trainers and teachers. There were, however, major concerns about the quality of the training at all levels of the cascade and there is little evidence to show that there were significant changes in teacher behaviour (paragraphs 3.31 & 32).

15. Neither ALPS nor SPRED I have had any noticeable impact either on enrolments and attendance or pupil competencies (paragraphs 3.45 & 46). Even with APPEP, it proved very difficult to disentangle the specific impacts of the project on learning outcomes, although it seems clear that APPEP did result in appreciable improvements in student performance (paragraphs 3.47-49).

THE MOVE TO BROADLY-BASED, INTEGRATED EDUCATION PROJECTS

16. After 1993/94, projects broadened in scope to cover not just one or two inputs, but a whole range of inputs and activities that were diagnosed as requiring provision or strengthening, in order to ensure improvements in the effectiveness of primary schooling. There was a move away from teacher-centre-based INSET towards school-based INSET, and considerably more emphasis was placed upon the provision of textbooks, curricula design, community participation, alternative educational approaches, management support and institutional development at central and local levels (paragraph 4.3). This section reviews some of the most important projects approved at this time for Kenya (paragraphs 4.4 & 5), Malawi (paragraph 4.6) and Bangladesh (paragraphs 4.7-4.9).

17. The new emphasis on primary schooling probably resulted in British educational aid having a greater impact upon poverty alleviation and gender inequity than earlier generations of aid projects. Project documents also make much more serious reference to gender equity and poverty reduction than before. Too often, however, project design has done little more than recognise the problem. Too little relevant analysis of the extent and importance of poverty and gender inequality is undertaken and attempts to provide solutions have often been weak (paragraphs 4.10-4.18). Closely linked to the renewed emphasis on poverty reduction have been ODA's and DFID's inclusion of non-formal education components in some of these broadly based education projects. Typically,

however, the complexity of the issues raised by such approaches have not been adequately acknowledged. Nor have the lessons from earlier research and experience been integrated (paragraphs 4.19 & 4.20).

18.   One of the criticisms of the earlier project approach was that it tended to result in significant increases in recurrent costs, making projects unsustainable when DFID withdrew. Similarly, recent research has revealed that, particularly in Africa, an important cause of low and falling enrolments at primary level has been low levels of demand. Accordingly, the recent broadly-based project approach has presented opportunities to analyse the affordability of project design from the perspectives of both governments and households (paragraphs 4.21-25).

19.   The recognition that project scope and implementation had to be fundamentally changed was also marked by increased awareness that a strong sense of project ownership was crucial to success. One of the most effective ways of increasing such ownership is by involving stakeholders in the design of projects and programmes. The design of recent broadly-based projects has responded to this in various degrees, but significant obstacles remain (paragraphs 4.26-4.31).

20.   The design of broadly-based projects has shifted towards school-based INSET instead of INSET based upon teacher centres, partly because of the limited success of past interventions. This shift appears to be linked also with wider efforts at school restructuring and decentralisation – making the school the unit of responsibility. There is a clear trend to support the empowerment of teachers by improving their professionalism and by giving a greater role – not only in management but also in staff development – to head teachers and others with experience. This form of INSET is probably more costly than other forms of training, and its cost-effectiveness remains untested (paragraphs 4.32-36).

SECTOR-WIDE APPROACHES

21.   The most recent change in the design of British educational aid has been a shift towards providing broad financial aid to the education sector as a whole. This reflects both a dissatisfaction with the impact, ownership and sustainability of the project approach, and a recognition that sectoral programmes can quickly absorb relatively large amounts of financial resources, and can provide effective support to policy reform (paragraphs 5.1 & 2).

22.   Among the six countries under review, DFID is currently involved in sector-wide approaches in the education sector in Ghana and India. This approach places great responsibility on the capacity of recipient government systems and, therefore, whilst the potential benefits of sector wide approaches are greater than those accruing from conventional project-based support, the associated risks may also be greater. Furthermore, the reliance on high levels of institutional capacity and commitment may involve strengthening existing capacity at many different levels. This focus on the system as a whole may have the effect of delaying impacts on beneficiaries (paragraphs 5.3 & 4).

23.   The increased use of sector-wide approaches involves some shift in donor transaction costs, away from project administration towards negotiating sector strategy and resource allocations, with both the recipient government and with other donors. As a result,

the management demands of sector-wide approaches are very different to those of previous stand-alone projects (paragraphs 5.5-8).

24.   Sector-wide approaches also present new challenges with respect to monitoring and evaluation. The task of identifying the impact of contributions from an individual donor becomes almost impossible and therefore donors must become content with system-wide monitoring (paragraphs 5.9-11).

OTHER ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE

25.   Sector-wide approaches are consistent with DFID's intention to use 'partnerships' with recipients as the framework for transferring aid resources. Aid partnerships are desirable, but risky. If widely implemented, they may result in a more selective aid programme than in the past (paragraph 6.16).

26.   Evaluation has been insufficiently integrated into the design of education projects and programmes. Although DFID has been sensitive to the mistakes that appear to have been made in design and implementation, their identification has depended too much upon serendipity, and not enough upon careful analysis of relevant evidence (paragraph 6.17).

27.   The mistakes and misallocations experienced with project aid in the education sector could have been reduced, not only by ensuring more effective evaluation, but also by paying closer attention to the evidence on the efficacy, or otherwise, of favoured innovations (paragraph 6.18).

LESSONS LEARNED

28.   Evaluation has generally been poorly integrated into the design of primary education projects and programmes; piloting and assessment of innovations has also tended to be weak. Better evaluation mechanisms could help to improve quality and reduce misallocations (26 - 27).

29.   Nevertheless, although 'lesson learning' has tended to be unsystematic, ODA and now DFID have been sensitive to shortcomings in the design and implementation of primary education projects. The study clearly shows an evolution in the design and implementation of UK-assisted primary education interventions. This evolution has been based, at least in part, on the recognition of problems and shortcomings followed by conscious efforts to address these. The shift to 'broadly-based, integrated' primary education projects (paragraphs 16 - 20) in the early 1990s was a response to the perceived deficiencies of 'free-standing, narrow focus' projects (paragraphs 8 - 15). Experience showed that project design and implementation could be strengthened by taking a more holistic, integrated and interdisciplinary approach linking teacher training with provision of textbooks, improvement of curricula, community participation, and alternative education; by paying attention to the school environment and the broader social, economic, political and cultural factors influencing demand for education; through greater field-level consultation; and through increased attention to management systems and institutional capacity at central and local levels.

30.   The shift towards a comprehensive and integrated approach to the sub-sector has opened the way to adoption of the sector-wide approach as an appropriate means of

supporting primary education. Again, this move has, in part, been prompted by lessons learned from experience, specifically recognition of the limitations of a project-based approach including concerns about weak impact, ownership and sustainability (21).

31.   Although sector-wide approaches in the education sector are still relatively new, some valuable lessons can be drawn from the experience to date. In summary:

(a)   key preconditions for success are government commitment to sector policy change and to ownership of the agreed sector policy framework. The process of producing a sector policy framework takes time and cannot be easily accelerated. SWAs involving budgetary support are still not possible in many countries (25);

(b)   donor co-ordination is essential to ensure that individual donors' strategies do not conflict and that all key areas within the sector receive adequate support. This requires a shift in aid management resources and attention from project administration towards negotiation of sector strategy and resource allocations (23);

(c)   the task of identifying the impact of contributions from an individual donor within a SWA is almost impossible. Donors have to be content with system-wide monitoring. This is not problematic when this is done effectively and in a timely manner (24);

(d)   the potential benefits of sector-wide approaches are certainly greater than benefits accruing from conventional project-based support but the associated risks are often greater. Appropriate assessment and monitoring systems help considerably to reduce the risks of providing support of this kind (24 - 27);

(e)   Reliance on high levels of institutional capacity and commitment involves strengthening existing capacity at a number of levels. This focus on the whole system can delay impacts on beneficiaries. Comprehensive assessment of impact is only possible in the medium to long term (22).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1   This report was commissioned by the Evaluation Department of the Department for International Development (DFID). It is an up-dated version of a synthesis study of British aid to primary schooling, which was undertaken in 1998. The Terms of Reference for the original and updated reports are at Annex A. The original study's objectives were as follows:

- to review the evolution of ODA and DFID's policy and strategy frameworks for support to primary education during the period 1988-1998, and assess the extent to which funded activities have been consistent with and supportive of these;

- to assess the effectiveness of their support to primary education in developing countries in improving education quality, access to education services, equity in educational opportunities, in increasing student retention and in lowering repetition rates;

- to assess the likely impact of such support to primary education in contributing to the achievement of wider human development, social and economic goals in recipient countries;

- to identify lessons learned from experience over the past ten years by ODA/DFID and others, of value in strengthening DFID work in this sector.

1.2   Given the importance attached by DFID to primary education in low-income developing countries, DFID's Programme Evaluation Committee recommended that the original report should be up-dated by extending the period of review up to 2001. This would enable recent developments in the DFID support in this key area of education provision to be assessed and also provide a more complete assessment of the outcomes and impacts of the primary education projects and programmes under review.

1.3   Initially, it was envisaged that the original report would provide a synthesis of evaluations of three major ODA/DFID-funded primary education projects in India, Indonesia, and Kenya[3,4,5]* . Material from these studies was to be supplemented by data gathered from output-to-purpose reviews (OPRs) for a selection of on-going primary education projects.

1.4   After starting the work, it became clear that taking a broader canvas was likely to prove more useful. Accordingly, documentation on ODA and DFID projects and programmes for six major aid recipients – Kenya, India, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Ghana and Malawi – was reviewed. This documentation included – in addition to the three evaluation studies - project submissions, mid-term reviews, OPRs, internal memoranda, and other relevant material, for all project and programme activities in these countries over the last decade. This allowed a more comprehensive and systematic analysis of the evolution of

---

[3] Active Learning and Professional Support Project (Indonesia) EV629
[4] Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project (India) EV630
[5] Strengthening of Primary Education Project 1 (Kenya) EV627

ODA/DFID activities in these countries, than would otherwise have been possible. These six countries accounted for almost 70% of UK educational aid commitments in 1995/96 and 1996/97. Also included is a wider assessment of changes in British educational aid policy over the last decade, based upon the policy documents issued over the period, and an analysis of data on the changing characteristics of the aid programme, available from within DFID. Finally, the results of a small survey of the experience of four other aid agencies' support to primary schooling is included as Annex B.

1.5   The conclusions of the study have been enhanced by insights gained from a range of interviews with education advisers and with other DFID staff (see Annex C). A bibliography is contained in Annex D.

1.6   The report shows that educational aid policy and practice have changed along two particular dimensions. First, there has been a marked shift in the balance of expenditures towards strengthening primary schooling. Second, the main mode of support has moved away from fairly small, free-standing projects designed to provide one or two key inputs, towards much broader, more integrated projects, which are intended to support major parts of the primary schooling system. Since the late 1990s, the sector-wide approach has become the preferred modality for supporting primary education. Thus the characteristics of British aid to education have changed very sharply over the last 15 years or so. This report discusses the main lessons that have emerged en route, and it identifies some important challenges, which need to be addressed.

CHAPTER 2

CHANGING OBJECTIVES AND TRENDS IN BRITISH AID TO EDUCATION

1.   THE EVOLUTION OF OBJECTIVES FOR BRITISH EDUCATIONAL AID POLICY

2.1   The objectives of British aid to education have changed markedly over the past 30 years. During the 1970s and early 1980s, the aid programme was heavily influenced by the aim of meeting national manpower needs, although the particular education sectors identified for support varied from place to place, being the outcome of discussion and negotiation with national governments. Indeed, ODA made a virtue of the fact that it had no particular priorities for educational aid: 'because there can be no universal solutions to ... the problems of education in so many and so varied developing countries, the ODA has no universal response and no universal priorities (except possibly the teaching of English) in the process of assisting developing countries' (ODA 1982: 2).

2.2   In contrast, the modalities for providing educational aid were fairly inflexible. In general, British aid could be provided in the form of capital (or project) aid, which was mainly used for constructing and equipping buildings or other facilities, programme aid which was used for purchasing British equipment or materials, and technical co-operation. Aid to education, however, was provided predominantly in the form of technical co-operation, with, in 1980, about one-third of it being subventions to the British Council and other service agencies, about 40 per cent being supplementation and salary support for British experts - mainly teachers - working in developing country education systems, and most of the remainder being training and scholarships for students to study, usually, in Britain (see ODA 1982: Appendix 1).

2.3   During the 1980s these emphases remained broadly intact. Technical co-operation remained the main delivery mode for educational aid. Within this heading, however, support for overseas students and trainees tended to increase relative to other items of technical co-operation. For example, by 1983, when aid for education had increased to £82 million (11.8 per cent of all British bilateral aid), some 55 per cent of this (£45 million) was allocated as support for overseas students and trainees (ODA, 1984). This proportion was maintained through 1988, by which year total educational aid from Britain had increased to £183 million, of which £101 million was allocated to scholarships and training (ODA, 1990: Annex 1).

2.4   Although aid modalities at this time remained broadly unaltered, the priorities and objectives set for British educational aid did begin to change. Increasing attention had been given to the developmental importance of primary schooling during the 1980s. A growing body of research indicated that literacy and numeracy brought productivity pay-offs, not only in the formal sector of the economy but also in the informal and rural sectors. Literate farmers were shown to produce more than those who were illiterate – particularly where the farming environment was already 'modernising', or was otherwise suitable for technical innovation. The importance for the household economy of the education of

women, and its role in achieving fertility control and in helping to ensure the schooling of the next generation, were also increasingly recognized.[6]

2.5   ODA's policy documents increasingly began to argue this case for education's developmental importance, in a more analytic fashion than in earlier policy papers. This was first apparent in 'Into the Nineties: an Educational Policy for British Aid' (ODA 1990). This document had been influenced by the World Bank's World Development Report of the same year, which focused on poverty alleviation, and the need to provide basic services for the poor. In education, the Bank argued that the policies of both governments and aid agencies had favoured higher level education and training, notwithstanding its lower social returns compared to primary schooling. The first part of the ODA paper restated that case. It also reiterated many of the more important themes of the World Conference on Education for All, which had been held in Thailand earlier in the same year – in particular its emphasis upon the lower levels of the school system, and adult literacy, as yielding the greatest social and economic benefits in most countries. Tertiary education was given a more guarded endorsement, even though it was acknowledged that priorities for aid would need to be determined on a country-specific basis (ODA 1990: 9-10).

2.6   'Into the Nineties' was also more candid than earlier policy documents in admitting that donors have their own agendas: 'The relationship between donor and recipient is a complex one, calling for considerable sensitivity on both sides. But it would be wrong to pretend that donors do not sometimes bring their own preconceptions to the problems of their developing country partners' (ODA 1990: 10). The text went on to reassure the reader that empathetic donors would take steps to ensure that their assistance enabled key improvements in education systems to be made.

2.7   The ways in which these potentially significant changes in perceptions about priorities, on the part of ODA, would be reflected in educational aid policies were, however, less clearly signalled in the second part of the policy document. The agenda, which it summarised, comprised a list of 'areas of British advantage' which were to be used to improve the efficiency of education systems in recipient countries. These included teacher education (which was judged to be at the centre of attempts to improve educational quality), book supplies, curriculum development, examination reform, training of scientists, technologists and technicians, English language teaching, provision of teaching materials, support to distance learning, promotion of pupil-centred learning approaches, support to adult education and literacy training, and improvements to the physical infrastructure. This list represented a fairly accurate summary of the main aid priorities, as reflected in the existing aid programme, rather than indicating any significant change in direction. There is, of course, stasis built into any expenditure pattern, the direction and emphasis of which takes time to change. In fact, the apparent disjunction between the early and later parts of the policy paper was probably a reflection of this: the changed perceptions signalled an intent, but this had yet to be reflected in a real shift in the programme's balance.

---

[6] The main evidence on the relative economic value of different levels of schooling for work in the formal sector in developing countries came from rate-of-return studies (Psacharopoulos 1985, Schultz 1993). For direct evidence that primary schooling has a positive impact upon the agricultural output of small farmers see Lockheed et.al. 1980, and Pudasaini 1983, on its impact in the informal sector see World Bank 1991, and on its effects on fertility behaviour, health and female participation see Cochrane 1979, 1988, Cochrane et.al. 1980, King and Hill 1993 and Schultz 1991. This and other evidence is reviewed in Colclough 1982 and in Colclough with Lewin 1993.

2.8   There were also some other hurdles to overcome. The aid programme had not previously supported primary schooling directly, not only because greater developmental importance was accorded to higher levels of education, but also because British aid was not supposed to be used in support of local – and, in particular, recurrent - costs. Since most of the costs of primary schooling were in the latter category, aid to the sub-sector had been judged inappropriate. Furthermore, even though disillusionment with the benefits of vocational and higher education (expensive, highly subsidised systems bringing benefits mainly to those who were already privileged) was widely felt, the 'comparative advantage' of UK aid seemed stronger at these higher levels of the system than at primary level. Many recipient governments shared that view: it was not obvious to them that primary schooling needed foreign equipment or expertise, whereas this clearly was still the case at higher levels of the system.

2.9   Local costs refer to the purchase of goods and services locally rather than by the donor. Although flexibility was increasingly demonstrated, by both UK and other donors, towards using aid funds for the purchase of goods produced in recipient countries or sold by local enterprises, (OECD DAC 1979), the question of funding recurrent costs proved to be more problematic. The origins of these concerns are not easy to document but they are grounded in two kinds of logic. The first is the standard demonstration, in economic theory, that the impact of aid on the economic growth of recipient countries will be greatest where aid is used to alleviate a foreign-exchange constraint, rather than where it merely serves as a supplement to domestic savings (Chenery and Strout 1966). According to this logic, restricting the use of aid to the purchase of imported goods and services could be judged to be consistent with a strategy of growth-maximisation. The second consideration was that, because the provision of recurrent (unlike capital) support might involve long-term financial commitments and allow no easy exit for the donor, this was judged inconsistent with donors' objectives that recipients should become self-sufficient over the medium term. The force of both of these concerns is reduced by the undoubted fungibility of aid provided as foreign exchange: irrespective of its designated use, its real impact derives from the budgetary change, at the margin, which it allows. The provision of aid funds may thus facilitate the purchase of imported equipment for quite other purposes than those intended by donors. It was increasingly recognised that the greatest developmental impact of aid would be when it was used to support an activity, which was judged to be highly desirable, but which might otherwise not occur or be in jeopardy. Thus, under some circumstances, aid to support primary teachers' salaries could be a highly productive use of aid funds, even though it comprised support to recurrent costs. The implementation of these ideas required the development of new modes and vehicles for providing educational aid, a shift towards the provision of recurrent support and an acceptance, on the part of recipient governments, that aid for the primary sector would be beneficial.

2.10   This change in direction was gradual. It took some four or five years to become clear, but it was strongly signalled by the next policy paper, published in 1995. By this time, the number of education advisers in ODA had been much increased and a new cadre of social development advisers – with particular responsibility for poverty, gender and participation issues - had been established. Their influence on thinking within ODA was increasingly felt, and this was also reflected in the emphases of successive policy papers. The 1995 paper was a more carefully balanced document than its predecessor. It articulated not merely changed perceptions about educational priorities in developing countries, but was also more specific about the implications of this for the aid programme. ODA's broader policy objectives had been reassessed and now included, as specific goals,

the promotion of human development via better education and health; the reduction of poverty; enhancing the status of women; and the promotion of good government, economic growth and reform. The purpose of the education policy paper was to argue that education contributes to the achievement of each of these goals, and to set out a strategy to facilitate this.

2.11   The paper summarised the research results relevant to the above case, concentrating upon those studies, which demonstrate the inter-sectoral linkages between educational development and movement towards a wide range of social goals. The paper then moved to a discussion of the constraints on educational development in developing countries – focusing upon the problems of insufficient access to schooling and inadequate quality of provision. The paper correctly argued that deficiencies of both supply of and demand for schooling interact, and that the main causes of both are often inadequate sectoral financing and management. It argued that the greatest need was to increase access to primary schooling of good quality, even though both developing country governments and donors usually allow their expenditures to be skewed heavily towards the secondary, technical and tertiary levels. The paper argued that this bias needed to be reversed, in ways which would focus particularly upon increasing the opportunities for girls to attend primary schools: 'ODA will increase its emphasis on the provision of basic education, including literacy and non-formal education. ODA will also lay emphasis on overcoming gender and other disparities ... The prime emphasis will be on reading skills and general numeracy, with secondary emphasis on other language skills in the medium of instruction, technical skills development as a component of functional literacy, science, English language and pre-vocational education' (ODA 1995: 7).

2.12   In essence, then, as acknowledged in its own summary, this policy document signalled a modification of past practice, to lay increased emphasis on the provision of primary schooling, adult literacy and non-formal education. The document stated, however, that other sectors would not be excluded where needs and conditions warranted, in line with country-specific strategies.

2.13   As regards modalities, technical assistance still remained the normal vehicle for providing support, although, for the first time, the 1995 policy paper mentioned the possibility of assisting governments by providing a 'sector aid package' (p.8). The design of aid programmes would be such as to encourage local ownership as much as possible. However, the emphasis was rather on ODA encouraging recipient governments to share its own priorities, and to adopt 'coherent and realistic national strategies for improving the quality, efficiency and equity of education provision. Projects and programmes will only be supported that are consistent with this evolving national strategy.' (p.9). There is a strong sense that ODA's objectives were clearly held: 'In appraising proposed British support to a country, ODA will ensure that its objectives and goals have full commitment as priorities of the host government and other key parties involved.' (p.9) Here, then, it seems that ownership and partnership were to be secured very much on ODA's terms.

2.14   Shortly after the General Election, in May 1997, the new Labour government called upon all departments to review their objectives in relation to resources available. For DFID, the end product of this review was the White Paper on international development entitled 'Eliminating World Poverty: A Challenge for the 21st Century'. This focused sharply upon the alleviation of poverty and pro-poor economic growth with the international development targets as the main goals of the British aid programme. In the education sector the international development targets focused on universal primary

education provision by 2015 and the elimination of gender inequalities in primary and secondary education by 2005. Again, partnerships with other donors and host governments were seen as crucial to the achievement of these targets. Countries eligible for partnership with DFID would need to be 'prepared to embark on a deeper, long-term partnership, involving all forms of assistance, will be low-income, containing a large proportion of poor people.' (p.39). Furthermore partner governments would need to demonstrate a commitment to the international development targets and demonstrate that they were responsive and accountable to their populations.

2.15   The 1997 White Paper also restated the commitment made by the government at the G7 meeting in Denver to increase by 50 per cent British bilateral support for basic health care, basic education and clean water in Africa (p.23).

2.16   In 1999 DFID set out how its assistance to education would support the overall objective of poverty alleviation. The publication 'Learning Opportunities for All: A Policy Framework for Education' reaffirmed the important linkages between educational provision and the achievement of many other development goals, which had been mentioned in earlier policy documents. However, in line with the 1997 White Paper, this document stressed the centrality of education for poverty alleviation. 'Creating opportunities to acquire and apply knowledge and skills for the elimination of poverty underpins DFID's policy on education.' (DFID, 1999) The five major goals of DFID education policy are presented in Box 1.

Box 1: DFID Education Goals

1. Effective and equitable universal primary education.
2. Gender equality in school education.
3. Literacy and skills development.
4. Knowledge and skills for development in a global world.
5. Sustainable, well-managed education institutions, systems and partnerships.

'Learning Opportunities for All: A Policy Framework for Education'. DFID, May 1999.

2.17   Similar to the 1995 education policy document, the new policy continues to emphasise primary schooling, adult literacy and non-formal education. The international development targets on education set out in the White Paper are the benchmarks 'against which DFID will assess its contribution to education for poverty elimination'. The definition of universal primary education (UPE) is also expanded to include not only increased access to learning opportunities but also 'the regular attendance of girls and boys at school (or its nonformal equivalent) for a complete cycle of good quality basic education' (p.21). The 1999 policy document outlines in detail the constraints to achieving the targets for UPE and removing gender disparities in primary and secondary schooling. While recognising the potential impact of UPE on the demand for secondary and higher education and the strong links between different parts of the education sector, gender equality in secondary schools is the only specific policy statement or objective included for these levels of education. However, 'the attainment of UPE necessitates budgetary and fiscal policies, which give priority and protection to basic education while ensuring that the sector in its entirety is provided for in an efficient, realistic and sustainable way' (p.29).

2.18   There is also a focus on knowledge and skills for development in the context of globalisation in the 1999 education policy document as well as in the second White Paper, 'Making Globalisation Work for the Poor', produced the following year. Both policy documents see globalisation as representing both a potential opportunity for developing countries as well as a potential threat. The second White Paper stresses that 'to succeed in the new global economy, poor countries need healthy and well-educated people, and greater access to knowledge, ideas and new information and communication technologies' (p.20). While the main thrust of DFID education policy is designed to fulfil these education needs support for information communications technology (ICT) is also seen to be important. The 1999 education policy document sees ICT as a way of improving education sector management and enhancing educational access and quality. However, support for ICT 'should not be allowed to divert resources away from the disadvantaged in resource-poor systems' (p.35).

2.19   In 2001, 'The Challenge of Universal Primary Education' was published by DFID as part of a set of strategy papers on achieving the international development targets. This strategy paper expanded considerably on the analysis provided by the 1999 education policy paper as well as on the strategies for achieving the education targets. It also analyses the targets geographically and Sub-Saharan Africa is singled out as the region in which the challenge of UPE is greatest. Box 2, outlines the key priorities that the strategy paper sees as being central to achieving UPE.

Box 2: Key Priorities to Achieve the Education Targets

1. Ensuring strong government commitment including increased resources for primary education.
2. Making primary education free.
3. Ensuring commitment to gender equality.
4. Ensuring the access and inclusion of all children.
5. Understanding and strengthening the demand for education.
6. Improving quality.
7. Developing an integrated, sector-wide approach to primary education.
8. Taking Action on HIV/AIDS.
9. Harnessing technology.
10. Responding to conflict and preparing for reconstruction.

'The Challenge of Universal Primary Education', DFID, 2001

2.20   The sector-wide approach hinted at in the ODA's 1995 policy statement was further developed in the 1999 and 2001 education policy papers. DFID's main route for achieving the international development targets in education focuses strongly on sector support programmes. Governments will be encouraged to formulate Sector Development Plans (SDPs) for education. DFID education advisers will help to design sector investment programmes (SIPs), in co-operation with governments, the World Bank, and other aid agencies. In this way, national plans for the development of education will become the basis for shared funding of education as between DFID and other donors.

2.   TRENDS AND PRIORITIES IN EDUCATIONAL AID

Volume

2.21   A summary of British aid to education during the period 1998/89 to 2000/01 specifically compiled for this study from the DFID data base, is presented in Table 2.1. It includes all projects, which have been allocated an education sector code by DFID advisers.[7] It can be seen that, in nominal terms, British aid to education initially rose from £80.3m in 1988/89 to £136.3m in 1990/91. It then declined by 18 per cent to £111.6m in 1996/97 – which (deflating on the basis of the UK retail price index) amounts to a decline of around 30 per cent in real terms over this six-year period.[8] In 1997/98 and 1998/99, British aid to education increased by 25 per cent compared with 1996/97. In 1999/00 education aid fell again only to rise dramatically in 2000/01, (which was mainly due to an allocation of £54 million to support primary education in Ghana). In 2001/02, though, the overall level of DFID assistance to the education sector declined to £112.5 million similar to its level in 1996/97.

2.22   At the bottom of Table 2.1 a constant price series of total education aid is presented. This row shows the real trends in educational aid over the 14-year period. In the first four years (1998/89 – 1991/92) real average annual education aid was £146.5 million (1995 prices) compared to only £122.4 million between 1992/93 and 1996/97. Since 1996/97 real average annual aid to education has increased to £148.8 million, which is slightly higher than average annual aid in the late eighties and early nineties. Although the annual figures have become a little erratic in the more recent years, the declining trend in aid to education has been reversed since 1996/97.

---

[7] A wider definition of aid to education might also include expenditure on projects which, whilst not being distinctly categorised as education sector projects, nevertheless incorporate explicit educational objectives. In recent years, as part of the Policy Information Marker System (PIMS), all projects have been graded for the extent to which they are addressing the objectives of the aid programme - one of which is human development. The number and value of non-education sector projects which, according to PIMS are judged to have been promoting the objective of 'human development-education' in some way, has increased substantially in recent years, from about £24m in 1991/92 to around £94m in 1996/97. The PIMS system, has, however, evolved rapidly, and at least some of the inter-temporal increase is more classificatory than real. For this, and other reasons, the narrower definition of aid to education, used in Table 2.1, is more reliable for the purpose of identifying trends in educational aid.

[8] The increase in the RPI over the years 1988-2001 was 62 per cent.

Table 2.1 Distribution of expenditures on aid to education by sub-sector 1988/89-2001/2002 (current UK pounds millions)

	1988/89		1989/90		1990/91		1991/92		1992/93		1993/94		1994/95	
	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%
Pre-School Education	0.00	0.0	0.37	0.3	0.21	0.2	0.37	0.3	0.43	0.3	0.41	0.3	0.19	0.2
Primary Education	1.10	1.4	5.88	4.6	7.08	5.2	6.12	4.6	9.82	7.9	8.55	7.0	9.62	7.9
Secondary Education	3.41	4.2	8.99	7.0	8.94	6.6	9.08	6.9	6.83	5.5	5.97	4.9	4.04	3.3
Teacher Training	2.36	2.9	6.37	5.0	9.78	7.2	10.85	8.2	12.19	9.8	10.38	8.5	8.78	7.2
Vocational Training	0.26	0.3	1.24	1.0	1.56	1.2	1.46	1.1	1.53	1.2	1.86	1.5	1.32	1.1
Higher Education	6.72	8.4	8.88	6.9	10.23	7.5	22.74	17.2	11.95	9.6	15.01	12.3	17.28	14.1
Advanced Technical & Managerial	2.26	2.8	5.82	4.6	5.58	4.1	7.93	6.0	7.81	6.3	6.92	5.7	6.45	5.3
Non-Formal Education	0.12	0.1	1.08	0.8	1.43	1.1	1.38	1.0	1.52	1.2	1.34	1.1	1.16	0.9
Education	0.00	0.0	10.16	7.9	6.44	4.7	4.58	3.5	3.20	2.6	2.29	1.9	2.08	1.7
Education Policy & Administration	55.35	68.9	55.32	43.2	60.44	44.4	47.63	36.0	48.23	38.8	47.85	39.3	50.87	41.6
Education Facilities and Training	8.18	10.2	23.03	18.0	21.05	15.5	19.18	14.5	19.99	16.1	18.25	15.0	18.21	14.9
Educational Research	0.53	0.7	0.77	0.6	3.31	2.4	0.93	0.7	0.68	0.5	2.93	2.4	2.38	1.9
Total	80.29	100.0	127.90	100.0	136.05	100.0	132.26	100.0	124.18	100.0	122	100.0	122.37	100.0
Total (1995 constant prices)	112		165		161		148		134		129		127	

	1995/96		1996/97		1997/98		1998/99		1999/00		2000/01		2001/02	
	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%
Pre-School Education	0.39	0.3	0.30	0.3	0.07	0.0	0.23	0.2	0.04	0.0	0.04	0.0	0.14	0.1
Primary Education	13.97	12.4	13.06	11.7	28.62	20.5	37.36	26.7	40.41	38.8	43.59	26.6	42.88	38.1
Secondary Education	4.30	3.8	6.10	5.5	4.83	3.5	6.16	4.4	7.18	6.9	7.14	4.4	6.11	5.4
Teacher Training	6.90	6.1	4.65	4.2	3.70	2.6	3.22	2.3	3.79	3.6	3.14	1.9	2.59	2.3
Vocational Training	1.87	1.7	3.64	3.3	2.28	1.6	1.04	0.7	0.65	0.6	0.34	0.2	0.18	0.2
Higher Education	9.29	8.2	5.88	5.3	4.19	3.0	2.86	2.0	2.34	2.2	2.22	1.4	1.64	1.5
Advanced Technical & Managerial	3.44	3.0	2.54	2.3	2.58	1.8	1.58	1.1	1.68	1.6	1.70	1.0	1.22	1.1
Non-Formal Education	3.36	3.0	8.90	8.0	6.29	4.5	5.48	3.9	8.28	8.0	8.40	5.1	5.41	4.8
Education	2.02	1.8	1.77	1.6	1.36	1.0	1.13	0.8	1.21	1.2	0.80	0.5	0.47	0.4
Education Policy & Administration	50.07	44.4	47.09	42.2	70.34	50.3	71.97	51.4	26.29	25.3	84.13	51.3	40.20	35.7
Education Facilities and Training	14.00	12.4	13.56	12.2	11.80	8.4	8.68	6.2	11.51	11.1	11.59	7.1	8.86	7.9
Educational Research	3.29	2.9	4.10	3.7	3.79	2.7	0.25	0.2	0.68	0.6	0.92	0.6	2.85	2.5
Total	112.90	100.0	111.59	100.0	139.84	100.0	139.97	100.0	104.05	100.0	164.00	100.0	112.57	100.0
Total (1995 constant prices)	113		109		132		128		94		144		97	

Source: British Aid Statistics

Composition

2.23   Around a half of British educational aid is not specifically identified, in the statistics, by sub-sector. This makes it difficult to track movements in the composition of educational expenditures accurately. Notwithstanding this lack of accuracy, it is clear that there have been substantial shifts in British aid to education towards primary education and away from higher education since the mid-nineties.

2.24   Table 2.1 shows that support to primary schooling increased dramatically from about 1.4 per cent in 1988/89 to around 38 per cent of total education expenditure in 2001/02. The largest absolute increases in the proportion of aid going to primary education have occurred since 1997/98. It is also important to point out that a very large percentage of the aid budget that is not classified by sub-sector (i.e. education, education policy and administration, education facilities and training) supports primary education.[9] The increase in primary education expenditure, since 1997, has also been in line with the Denver commitment to increase bilateral support to basic education in Africa by 50 per cent. Support to tertiary education fell from a high of 17 per cent in 1991/92 to 1.5 per cent in 2001/02, which gives a clear indication that the university sub-sector has been less favoured than in earlier years.

2.25   Using the DFID's PIMS database it can be shown that over the last few years, the number of new projects has remained roughly constant, but their average value has risen markedly. This has been particularly pronounced for aid to primary schooling – where a series of much larger 'integrated' projects have recently become the dominant vehicle for educational aid (see Chapter 4, below).

2.26   British educational aid is given to a large and diverse group of countries. In 1999/00-2000/01, some 100 countries received such aid (compared with 111 in 1990). The average transfer was just less than £2 million over the two years, but the range of support varied sharply between countries, with a small number of States receiving a high proportion of the total educational aid flows. Table 2.2 provides comparative data for the 20 countries receiving most UK educational aid over the two years 1999/00 and 2000/01, ranked according to the magnitude of the aid transfer.

2.27   Historically, a substantial part of Britain's aid programme has been directed towards Commonwealth countries, and in particular to those in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). In 1990, over half of the top twenty educational aid recipients had been from this region (see Lewin 1993:Table 4).   By 2000/01, nine of the top twenty were still from SSA.

---

[9] Education projects often cover more than one of the sub-sectors reported in Table 2.1 (e.g. general teacher training when both primary and secondary are included) and DFID codes these projects under general education.

Table 2.2: Top 20 Recipients of Educational Assistance 1999/00-2000/01

Country	GNP/CAP	HDI	HDI Rank	Population (000's)	School Pop%	Literacy %	Primary GER	Gen Gap	Secondary GER	Gen Gap	Tertiary GER	ED/GNP	PRIEX	ODATOT £	ODA/PC £
Ghana	1,990	0.47	132	17,338		63.4								70,420,553	-
Uganda	1,470	0.33	159	19,689	20.3	61.1	73	0.85	12	0.60	1.5			30,140,555	7.55
India	1,400	0.45	138	929,005	11.8	51.2	100	0.82	49	0.64	6.4	3.5	11	29,256,859	0.27
Bangladesh	1,380	0.37	144	118,229		37.3						2.3	6	17,841,485	-
Malawi	750	0.32	161	9,673	21.9	55.8	135	0.90	6	0.57	0.8	5.7	9	14,193,066	6.71
South Africa, R	5,030	0.72	90	41,465	16.4	81.4	117	0.97	82	1.16	15.9	6.8	18	11,566,959	1.70
Kenya	1,380	0.46	134	27,150	24.0	77	85	1.00	24	0.85		7.4	15	7,289,326	1.12
Tanzania	640	0.36	149	30,026	19.3	66.8	67	0.97	5	0.83	0.5			5,955,052	1.03
Pakistan	2,230	0.45	139	136,257	13.5	37.1	74	0.45						5,677,116	0.31
China	2,920	0.63	108	1,220,224	9.1	80.9	118	0.98	67	0.89	5.7	2.3	6	5,161,194	0.05
Sri Lanka	3,250	0.71	91	17,928	9.7	90.1	113	0.98	75	1.10	5.1	3.1	7	3,165,710	1.82
Nepal	1,170	0.35	154	21,456	13.2	27	110	0.69	37	0.51	5.2	2.9	8	2,707,568	0.96
Guyana	2,420	0.65	104	830	12.8	97.9	94	0.98	76	1.25	8.6	4.1		2,691,187	25.39
Nigeria	1,220	0.39	141	111,721	16.3	55.6	89	0.79	30	0.85	4.1			2,484,717	0.14
Zambia	930	0.37	143	8,081	20.9	76.6	89	0.93	28	0.62	2.5	1.8	4	2,462,965	1.46
Indonesia	3,800	0.67	99	197,460	13.2	83.2	114	0.96	48	0.85	11.1			2,351,579	0.09
Mozambique	810	0.28	166	17,260	13.6	39.5	60	0.71	7	0.56	0.5			1,990,727	0.85
Anguilla				9										1,943,689	-
Cambodia		0.35	153	10,024		35			27	0.59	1.6			1,758,144	-
Vietnam		0.56	121	73,793	12.1	93	114		47		4.1	2.7		1,745,362	0.19
Average for top 20	1,929	0.47	133	150,381	15.5	63.7	97	0.87	39	0.79	4.9	3.9	9.3	11,040,191	2.48
n	17	19.00	19	20	16.0	19.0	16	15.00	16	15.00	15	11	9	20	20.00
Average for all	4,046	0.63	98	49,612	13.7	76.0	99	0.93	56	0.94	12.8	5.1	14.1	2,449,173	1.42
n	67	79	79	81	61	79	65	61	63	59	54	58	53	100	63

Notes and Sources

GNP/CAP	GNP per capita 1995	World Education Report 1998
HDI	Human development Index 1994	Human Development Report 1997
HDI Rank	Countries' positions when ranked according to HDI (descending order)	Human Development Report 1997
Population	Population in 1995	World Education Report1998 and British Aid Statistics for smaller countries
School Pop %	percentage of population of primary age 1995	World Education Report 1998
Literacy	Literacy rate 1995	World Education Report 1998
Gen Gap	Gen Gap: Female GER/Male GER	World Education Report 1998
ED/GNP	Public expenditure on education as a percentage of GNP 1995	World Education Report 1998
PRIEX	Current expenditure per pupil as a percentage of GNP per capita in 1995	World Education Report 1998
ODATOT	Total British Educational Assistance to Country over two years 1995/96 and 1996/97	British Aid Statistics
ODA/PC	ODATOT divided by school Age population British Aid Statistics	British Aid Statistics

Table 2.3 Top 20 Recipients of Educational assistance per Capita (school age population) 1999/00-2000/01

Country	GNP/CAP	HDI	HDI Rank	Population (000's)	School Pop%	Literacy %	Primary GER	Gen Gap	Secondary GER	Gen Gap	Tertiary GER	ED/GNP	PRIEX	ODATOT £	ODA/PC £
Guyana	2,420	0.65	104	830	12.8	97.9	94	0.98	76	1.25	8.6	4.1		2,691,187	25.39
Uganda	1,470	0.33	159	19,689	20.3	61.1	73	0.85	12	0.60	1.5			30,140,555	7.55
Belize	5,400	0.81	63	213	21.1	70	121	0.95	49	1.11		6.1	11	320,561	7.12
Malawi	750	0.32	161	9,673	21.9	55.8	135	0.90	6	0.57	0.8	5.7	9	14,193,066	6.71
Namibia	4,150	0.57	118	1,536	18.0	40	133	1.02	62	1.18	8.1	9.4	17	1,630,710	5.89
Botswana	5,580	0.67	97	1,450	18.6	68.7	115	1.03	56	1.07	4.1	9.6		1,154,105	4.29
Jamaica	3,540	0.74	83	2,468	12.4	84.4	109	0.99	66	1.13	6	8.2	10	1,260,730	4.13
Mauritius	13,210	0.83	61	1,117	10.3	82.4	107	0.99	62	1.07	6.3	4.3		403,085	3.51
Swaziland	2,880	0.58	114	857	18.4	75.2	122	0.95	52	0.96	5.1	8.1	10	461,634	2.92
Maldives	3,080	0.61	111	254	14.2	93	134	0.97	49	1.00		8.4	17	73,528	2.04
Sri Lanka	3,250	0.71	91	17,928	9.7	90.1	113	0.98	75	1.10	5.1	3.1	7	3,165,710	1.82
South Africa, R	5,030	0.72	90	41,465	16.4	81.4	117	0.97	82	1.16	15.9	6.8	18	11,566,959	1.70
Lesotho	1,780	0.46	137	2,027	18.3	70.5	99	1.14	28	1.55	2.4	5.9	14	607,618	1.64
Zambia	930	0.37	143	8,081	20.9	76.6	89	0.93	28	0.62	2.5	1.8	4	2,462,965	1.46
Bulgaria	4,480	0.78	69	8,509	5.3	93	97	0.98	78	0.99	39.4	4.2	17	529,801	1.18
Kenya	1,380	0.46	134	27,150	24.0	77	85	1.00	24	0.85		7.4	15	7,289,326	1.12
Tanzania	640	0.36	149	30,026	19.3	66.8	67	0.97	5	0.83	0.5			5,955,052	1.03
Nepal	1,170	0.35	154	21,456	13.2	27	110	0.69	37	0.51	5.2	2.9	8	2,707,568	0.96
Gambia, The	930	0.28	165	1,111	14.0	37.2	73	0.86	22	0.54	1.7	5.5	12	147,813	0.95
Estonia	4,220	0.78	71	1,488	7.8	99	109	0.98	86	1.10	38.1	6.9	23	100,000	0.86
Average for top 20	3,315	0.57	114	9,866	15.8	72.4	105.1	0.96	48	0.96	8.9	6.0	12.8	4,343,099	4.11
n	20	20.00	20	20	20.0	20.0	20	20.00	20	20.00	17	18	15	20	20.00
Average for all	4,046	0.63	98	49,612	13.7	76.0	99	0.93	56	0.94	12.8	5.1	14.1	2,449,173	1.42
n	67	79	79	81	61	79	65	61	63	59	54	58	53	100	63

Notes and sources: As for Table 2.2.

Some countries (e.g. Ghana) are not included in this table as no data on the school age population is available.

Table 2.4: Average Annual Aid Commitments in 1993-1996 and 1997-2000 (constant 2000 US dollars millions)

Donor	1993-1996 Total	Sub-sector commitments where reported Unspecified	Basic	Secondary	Post Secondary	% Basic	1997-2000 Total	Sub-sector commitments where reported Unspecified	Basic	Secondary	Post Secondary	% Basic
Australia	**189.3**	14.6	14.9	9.4	150.4	7.9	**160.9**	13.0	32.3	13.1	102.5	20.1
Austria	**76.8**	3.0	0.2	3.8	28.8	0.6	**85.3**	2.2	2.1	26.3	54.6	2.5
Belgium	**49.2**	12.6	0.9	3.0	17.6	2.7	**51.2**	13.0	2.5	6.4	29.2	5.0
Canada	**110.5**	19.2	5.1	0.3	46.8	7.2	**120.0**	53.3	7.9	6.0	52.8	6.6
Denmark	**38.0**	23.2	3.1	6.9	4.0	8.3	**43.0**	21.8	12.4	7.7	1.0	28.9
Finland	**8.0**	2.8	3.3	0.0	1.0	45.9	**16.3**	9.9	3.9	0.8	1.7	23.9
France	**1,253.2**	-	-	-	-	-	**1,185.9**	268.0	180.0	165.6	220.2	21.6
Germany	**811.8**	349.5	134.6	47.2	128.2	20.4	**636.3**	46.8	78.6	111.5	399.4	12.4
Greece	**6.9**	6.9	-	-	-	-	**6.6**	3.2	0.0	0.0	3.4	0.2
Ireland	**15.3**	-	-	-	-	-	**23.9**	10.0	-	-	-	-
Italy	**54.0**	5.6	0.9	2.4	45.1	1.7	**25.1**	14.2	0.2	6.1	4.6	0.8
Japan	**1,050.7**	72.9	27.1	29.7	56.5	14.6	**951.5**	275.7	75.2	47.7	85.0	15.5
Luxembourg	**2.8**	-	-	-	-	-	**16.8**	7.6	5.1	2.9	1.1	30.7
Netherlands	**97.2**	26.8	26.3	2.4	26.7	32.0	**147.5**	51.0	64.1	5.0	27.3	43.5
New Zealand	**16.8**	0.1	0.0	0.4	10.6	0.4	**30.0**	0.3	2.6	1.4	16.8	12.5
Norway	**28.7**	9.6	9.2	1.9	2.2	40.2	**66.9**	19.1	32.5	2.7	12.7	48.5
Portugal	**30.6**	2.8	0.9	3.2	9.8	5.4	**19.5**	4.7	1.1	3.6	10.1	5.7
Spain	**52.7**	17.4	7.0	4.9	17.3	15.0	**99.2**	44.2	10.1	11.7	33.2	10.2
Sweden	**83.9**	19.6	31.6	0.6	10.3	51.0	**63.8**	15.2	35.7	2.0	10.9	55.9
Switzerland	**27.0**	6.8	2.7	10.2	7.2	10.1	**24.4**	8.7	8.1	4.3	3.2	33.4
United Kingdom	**203.6**	59.9	6.8	4.3	20.7	7.4	**177.7**	108.8	48.0	9.9	10.9	27.0
United States	**394.9**	108.0	68.0	-	-	38.7	**223.3**	47.7	106.0	22.4	47.2	47.5
DAC Total	**4,601.9**	761.1	342.6	130.7	583.1	18.9	**4,175.1**	1,038.5	708.6	457.3	1,127.8	21.3

Notes and Sources: Data for this table were calculated using the OECD DAC On-line Database

All figures are expressed using constant 2000 US dollars. These were calculated using the deflators published in the DAC annual report 2001 (Table 38)

The figures for unspecified, basic, secondary and post-secondary commitments do not always add up to total reported education commitments because for some years no breakdown is given. The proportion of total education commitments going to basic education are calculated only on commitments that have been specified.

2.28   The range of support provided by Britain to different countries is large. The twenty countries shown in Table 2.2 received, in 1999/00-00/01, 90 per cent of all country-specific educational project aid, the remainder being shared amongst 80 others. Furthermore, half of all educational assistance was received by three countries: Ghana, Uganda and India, whilst the country receiving most educational aid in 1999-2001 (Ghana) received almost 35 times as much as Vietnam, ranked 20th.   These differences in levels of support increased substantially during the 1990s. For example, at the turn of the decade, South Africa, the recipient of most educational aid, had received slightly less than six times that of Lesotho, the country which was then ranked in 20th place.

2.29   Ranking countries in terms of British educational aid per school-age child (Table 2.3) produces some interesting changes. Twelve of the countries in the top twenty are different, when aid is ranked in per-child terms. On this criterion, the really populous countries – India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, China, and Indonesia, – no longer rank amongst the twenty largest aid recipients. They are replaced by much smaller, and often richer countries, in per capita terms, like Maldives, Belize, Jamaica, Botswana, and Mauritius, and by some of the new States in Eastern Europe.[10]

2.30   British educational aid tends to support the poorer and more disadvantaged States and peoples. Table 2.2 shows that the twenty countries receiving more than 90 per cent of educational aid have lower incomes per head than all recipients, and they have a lower HDI ranking than the rest of the aid-supported group. Table 2.3 also shows that those countries in receipt of the greatest contributions of educational aid per school-age child generally have lower incomes and human development rankings but slightly better or similar education indicators than all recipients. Thus, using a poverty criterion, country selections for educational aid are roughly right, but the relative allocations to such countries are insufficient truly to reflect the size of their poor populations, in comparison with other recipients of British educational aid.

Comparisons with other Donors

2.31   Obtaining reliable data on the flows of educational aid from other donors is difficult. Using the OECD DAC database Table 2.4 reports average annual commitments to education for all bilateral donors for periods in the early to mid 1990s and mid to late 1990s. For each period the first column of this table reports average annual commitments to education for each donor. Donors were also requested to report their education commitments in four categories; unspecified, basic, secondary, and post-secondary education. Reporting of this data varied by year and by donor. Therefore the sum of the sub-sectoral commitments do not necessarily add up to the total annual commitments shown in the table. Only 40 per cent of total commitments were broken down into the four categories in the earlier period compared to 80 per cent in the later period. Furthermore, the unspecified category may contain projects that span more than one education sub-sector and will therefore obscure the total commitments to each sub-sector. For these reasons the data presented in Table 2.4 needs to be interpreted cautiously.

---

[10]   A separate analysis – not reproduced here, but available from the authors – shows that country selections and ranking are almost the same whether aid is ranked per school-age child, or on a simple per capita basis.

2.32   The estimates shown for UK are roughly similar to those reported in Table 2.1 for recent years (remembering that the former are shown in constant 1995 dollars, whilst the latter are in current pounds). It can be seen that some 7.4 per cent of British aid for education was reported as supporting basic education in the early 1990s, and that the proportion increased dramatically to 27 per cent by the late 1990s. These data are roughly consistent with the pattern of commitments shown in Table 2.1. The data in the table suggest that the UK has shifted from allocating significantly less than the DAC donor average to basic education in the early nineties to allocating slightly more than the DAC donor average in the late nineties. In addition to the changes noted in the British programme, particularly strong increases in the proportionate importance afforded to basic education occurred for the Australian, Danish, Dutch, Norwegian, Swedish, Swiss and American aid programmes. Only in the cases of Canada, Germany, Italy, Spain and Finland did basic education receive less support at the end of the period shown, compared with its outset.

2.33   More generally, Table 2.4 suggests that aid commitments to education, from all bilateral agencies taken together, declined by about 10 per cent in real terms over the early 1990s. Aid to basic education, however, appears to have doubled over the period shown. However, this increase is primarily due to more donors reporting commitments to education by sub-sector in the later period. For example, France, a major donor, did not report sub-sectoral commitments for education in the earlier period but did for the later period. Looking at the share of total education commitments going to basic education suggests a much smaller shift towards basic education during the nineties (the share of commitments going to basic increasing from 18.9 per cent in 1993-1996 to 21.3 per cent in 1997-2000). However, given the significant amount of unspecified commitments in both periods it is difficult to be certain about the magnitude of this shift. While some caution should be attached to the trends presented in Table 2.4, they are consistent with evidence gleaned from other sources (Colclough 1997; Bennell with Furlong 1998), and with information compiled for the present study showing the changing balance of educational aid from CIDA, SIDA and the World Bank (see Annex 1, Tables A1, A2 and A4). Taken together, this evidence shows that, during the nineties there was a shift in the priority afforded to primary schooling by almost the entire aid community.

CHAPTER 3

THE EARLY YEARS: FREE STANDING, NARROW FOCUS PROJECTS

1.   INTRODUCTION

3.1   While there was a definite shift in British aid policy in favour of primary education in the late 1980s, the nature of ODA's support for it - both the specific types of assistance provided and the process of project formulation and implementation - did not change significantly until the mid 1990s. This is hardly surprising given the relatively long lead times in developing projects and ODA's relatively limited prior involvement with primary education.

3.2   Table 3.1 lists the key primary education projects in the six countries under scrutiny that began during the decade 1988-98. As regards those which began prior to 1993, two types of projects can be distinguished: (i) Those, such as STEP in Ghana and PCTEP in Kenya, which focused exclusively on teacher training and, particularly in Africa, relied very heavily on UK expatriates; the other major output being long-term, mainly UK-based postgraduate degree courses. (ii) Projects such as APPEP I and II in India and SPRED I in Kenya that still focused on teacher development, but had other output activities, most notably the construction of teacher centres and classrooms and the development of research and evaluation capabilities, and were generally larger and longer (5-7 years). Their inputs involved fewer expatriates and most training was short-term, undertaken in country, and based on cascade training models. There was no simple sequential evolution from the first to the second type of project but it is clear that, by 1993-94, the second group of projects had become the preferred form of intervention.

3.3   In sub-Saharan Africa, in particular, ODA had become disillusioned with the traditional expatriate-driven project model by the early 1990s. The effective deployment of long term advisers was becoming increasingly difficult and the heavy reliance on counterparts and long-term overseas training as the main forms of national capacity building was largely unsuccessful. Poor selection of both counterparts and trainees in many projects was compounded by high levels of attrition both during and soon after project completion. Consequently, although the quality of expatriates was generally quite high, project outputs and short-term impacts were frequently not sustainable, calling into question the cost-effectiveness of such a heavy emphasis on relatively expensive UK technical assistance.

3.4   A particularly striking feature of ODA's support for primary education during this period was the predominance of projects that focused on teacher development, and especially in-service training (INSET). Although this was not made explicit at the time, improving teacher competencies was seen as the most effective way of improving educational quality in developing countries. Moreover, it was felt that the UK had a distinct 'comparative advantage' in this area.

Table 3.1: Duration, cost and main output components of DFID primary education projects 1988-98

Project[1]	Years	Project Duration (yrs)[2]	Total cost to DFID	Proportion of Total Project Resources going to:							
				Preset / Inset	Management support	Research capacity	Text-book and other materials	Facilities	Teacher salaries	Local Admin	Community support
STEP	94/96	3.0	3.2	100							
ESSP	98-04	6.0	50.0								
PCTEP	85-90	3.0(4)	2.8	100							
SPRED I	92-96	3.0(4.25)	3.3								
PRISM	95-99	5.0	4.8		100						
SPRED II	96-00	5.0	19.0	45.7	3.3	3.7	34.4				10.9
PCOSP	95-02	7.0	8.3				2.1	94.0	6.1	1.0	
MSSP	96-01	5.0	7.2	42.5			7.1	50.5			
APPEP I	84-89	6.0	2.0				0.5				
APPEP II	89-99	7.0(9.0)	36.7	50.0							
APDPEP	94-04	11	46.5								
WBDPEP	97-04	7.0	43.3								
NFPEI	94-96	3.0	4.7		33.0		33		29.0		
NFPE II	96-99	4									
ESTEEM	98-02	4.5	20.0								
ALPS	98-95	7.0	2.1								

Source: Project Documents

Notes: 1. Acronyms are explained in list on page iii.

2. Bracketed figures show actual project duration.

3.5   More generally, the emphasis on educational quality was based on a relatively simple conception of educational reform in developing countries, namely that quality improvements could of themselves lead to significant increases in both enrolments and attainment levels. The main weakness of this approach was that by focusing so heavily on the supply side, insufficient attention was given to the social, economic, political and cultural factors that determined the demand for primary education at the household, community and national levels. Since the available research evidence seemed to indicate strongly that private rates of return to primary education were very high (in both absolute and relative terms), it was assumed that student and parental demand for primary education was not a serious constraint. Furthermore, this approach, which focused upon teachers as the main determinant of school quality, tended to ignore the importance of improving other key inputs (particularly management, classrooms, textbooks, curriculum, and assessment) in order to achieve sustainable improvements in teacher and student competencies.

3.6   The other common feature of these free-standing, narrow-focus education projects was that they still relied on what had become the traditional 'blueprint' process of project formulation and implementation that was highly centralised, 'top-down' with little or no participation by key stakeholders other than a small group of Ministry officials and ODA staff.[11] Project objectives and other key design parameters tended therefore to be grounded in centralised perceptions with no explicit recognition of field-level realities. Once projects had been approved and implementation had commenced, it was invariably very difficult to revise project objectives and related inputs and outputs in the light of field experience.

3.7   As with other economic and social sectors, the process of education technology transfer that under-pinned these projects also generally failed to take account of the views of the ultimate beneficiaries, namely teachers and their managers, and students and their parents. In some sectors, most notably agriculture, new system-based approaches to knowledge generation and dissemination were being introduced in the late 1980s but, in most countries, it was not until the mid 1990s that these approaches began to influence significantly the design of education programmes and projects.

3.8   This chapter will look mainly at the design, implementation and impacts of the second type of more elaborated free-standing project discussed above. In particular, it will draw on the main findings of the ex-post evaluations of ALPS, APPEP and SPRED I since all three projects are good examples of this second type of intervention. And, despite the marked similarities in their objectives and overall design (see Box 3), the degree of success with respect to project outputs and impacts has differed markedly between the three projects. On the one hand, APPEP is widely regarded as one of ODA's most successful primary education projects. ALPS, on the other hand, largely failed to improve learning outcomes in most of the schools that were targeted by the project. Despite good implementation, there are also major concerns about the long-term impacts and sustainability of SPRED I, at least as the project was originally conceived. It is particularly useful, therefore, to identify the main reasons for these major differences in project performance.

---

[11]   It is, of course, important to recognise that these shortcomings were not confined to the education sector alone, but were common failings of projects in all sectors during this period. Furthermore, ODA advisers were generally well aware of the urgent need for new approaches to project design and implementation.

2.   PROJECT IDENTIFICATION, DESIGN AND APPRAISAL

3.9   As has been consistently highlighted in the annual synthesis studies of project completion reports undertaken by DFID's Evaluation Department, the design of projects has been the single most important factor in determining project outcomes. Given that APPEP and ALPS had both had fairly sizeable and lengthy pilot projects, one would have expected that subsequent projects would have been well designed. Similarly, SPRED I was seen as a 'natural extension' of earlier support (in particular PCTEP). The many problems posed, however, in Indonesia and Kenya by the major scaling-up of new INSET strategies and teaching methodologies highlights the dangers of relying too heavily on lessons learned from small, experimental projects. While the potential educational benefits of innovations may be readily apparent, the process of successfully introducing such innovations on a much larger scale involves an altogether different set of mainly political and management challenges that the pilot project, by its very nature, cannot adequately address.

3.10   Probably in order to reduce perceptions of risk by senior managers, it was argued that the new, much larger phase two projects were 'natural extensions' or parts of a 'seamless web' of earlier interventions. This clearly was not the case for SPRED I which, in a number of crucial respects, was a key departure from earlier efforts in the education sector in Kenya. And, since there had been no serious effort to pilot the new approach to INSET that was eventually to underpin SPRED I, there was insufficient information available to form a sound judgement on its likely success in the Kenyan context. As is often the case, the views and recommendations of the UK consultant who evaluated the PCTEP project were very influential in shaping the design of SPRED I. As will be discussed later, the same thing happened again with respect to SPRED II.

3.11   The limited involvement of specialists in other disciplines (in particular anthropology, sociology, economics and public administration/management) both within ODA and from other organisations, in the design of these three projects is particularly noticeable. Since they were education projects, it was expected that educationalists would be almost entirely responsible for project formulation. There was, therefore, limited awareness of the serious shortcomings of such a mono-disciplinary approach in properly understanding the wider social and economic context in which primary education schools functioned. And without adequate research and evaluation, the justifications for the major new innovations that were introduced were based too much on professional intuition and upon evidence from dramatically different social and economic contexts.

Box 3: Main features of ALPS, APPEP and SPRED I

The overall goal of the **Active Learning and Professional Support** (ALPS) project in **Indonesia** was "to promote active learning in primary schools through the provision of professional support for teachers, thereby improving the quality of education in primary schools". In 1979, ODA instituted a small pilot project (which became known as the Cianjur project) in order to assess the feasibility of introducing activity-based, problem solving approaches to teaching in primary schools. An Indonesian team positively evaluated the project in 1984 and in the following year active learning became the official policy of the Government of Indonesia. Replications of the new teaching approach were subsequently undertaken in six locations, which became known as 'Centres of Better Practice'.

The ALPS project started in 1988 and, although originally envisaged as a three-year project, was only finally completed in 1995, after several extensions. The project brought together the various components of the earlier, pilot phase and significantly expanded its geographical coverage. Total project cost was £2.134 million.

The first phase of the **Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project** (APPEP) in **India** began in 1983 on a relatively small scale. Initially, the project had two main components: the development of a range of teaching skills for primary school teachers, complemented by the preparation of teaching materials and the construction of new classrooms. From the very outset, the intention was to expand considerably the scale of these activities once they had been successfully piloted. This first phase cost a little over £2 million and was eventually completed in 1989.

APPEP's second phase began in 1989 as a five-year project, extendable for another two years. The project's overall objective was to extend the in-service training programme developed during phase I to all teachers in the state. This programme was based on the following six 'APPEP principles':

- development of activity-based learning
- use of practical work
- use of small group as well as whole class teaching
- recognition of individual differences in learning
- use of the local environment for teaching materials and as a teaching context
- display of children's work and the creation of an interesting classroom environment

These principles were in line with the Government of India's National Policy on Education, which had been approved in 1986.

The total cost of the project, including an extension phase from 1994-1998, was £36.7 million, making it by far and away ODA/DFID's single largest intervention in support of primary education up to that time. Construction of classrooms and teacher centres accounted for 41 per cent of project expenditure.

The overall objective of the **Strengthening of Primary Education** (SPRED) project in **Kenya** was to improve access for all children to the full cycle of primary education and to raise the quality of teaching and learning in the key subject areas of mathematics, science and English. SPRED was approved in March 1991, commenced in January 1992 and was completed in March 1996 following a three-month extension.

SPRED's immediate objectives as stated in the original project framework were as follows:

- to institutionalise primary level in-service training (based at Teacher Advisory Centres) more firmly on a national basis by up-grading training, resources and professional administrative support;

- to raise the quality of teaching and learning of the three key subjects of mathematics, science and English in primary schools;

- to raise the efficiency of primary schools in terms of learning outcomes;

- to establish links between pre-service and in-service training;

- to develop the capacity of the Ministry of Education to identify the scale and causes of poor access to Standard 8 by school age children and initiate new interventions and expand upon successful existing interventions and innovations which address these causes.

The initial cost of the project was £3.325 million which subsequently increased to £3.899 (after the Mid Term Review in 1994) to include mobile libraries of English books for primary schools.

3.12   Nonetheless, as already noted, it is also clear that some lessons from earlier ODA and other donor primary education projects did influence project design. In particular, by the early 1990s, the success of APPEP had already become apparent and seemed to provide justification for ODA's strong focus on in-service teacher training. As a result, very similar projects (including SPRED I) were replicated in other countries. As the prime mover in shifting educational aid towards primary education, the World Bank clearly had the greatest influence on ODA and other donors. In general, however, learning from other donors was haphazard and was seriously constrained by the limited amount of detailed information available on the outcomes of primary education projects.

Objectives, Assumptions and Conditions

3.13   Both the wider and immediate sets of objectives of all three projects were insufficiently well specified in the original project frameworks to be able to provide operationally meaningful indicators of achievement. None were quantified. These three projects had extremely ambitious objectives which, especially in the case of ALPS and SPRED I, were quite unrealistic given the size and duration of each project. In part, this ambitiousness stemmed from a lack of appreciation and understanding of the complexity of education reform, especially in the primary education sector. This was not a shortcoming only among ODA education personnel but was widespread among donor agencies during the mid-late 1980s. As APPEP clearly demonstrates, it is possible for fairly narrowly focused projects to achieve significant, albeit fairly modest, improvements in enrolments, attendance and learning outcomes. This is, however, only possible under fairly exceptional conditions and, in general, a more holistic approach is required.

3.14   The very nature of the project formulation process in ODA also probably contributed to the adoption of unrealistic project objectives. As is the case in all donor agencies, education advisers have to 'sell' their projects to senior management, both within the Education Division and the organisation as a whole (most notably, for the period under review, the Projects and Evaluation Committee). While the incentives to 'move money' are not as intense as those that have been reported for World Bank operations staff, education advisers have a strong incentive to develop impressive portfolios of projects in their regions and countries. With the new emphasis on primary education from the 1980s onwards which further intensified after the Jomtien Conference in 1990, the pressure to get more primary education projects 'up and running' was particularly acute.

3.15   As will be discussed in more detail below, a more rigorous appraisal process would have uncovered a number of fundamental design problems with the ALPS and SPRED I projects. Not only were objectives vague and over-ambitious, but many assumptions were so unrealistic that it was hardly surprising that at least some risks would become project 'killers'. Again, the unrealism of the assumptions and related risk assessments upon which project outcomes and impacts hinged reflected an inadequate appreciation of the extent of the challenge involved in reforming education systems which, by their very nature, play a central role in the reproduction of unequal social and economic relationships. While Annual and Mid-Term Reviews in Kenya and Indonesia attempted to modify project objectives so as to make them more 'measurably achievable', it was too late to tackle effectively basic flaws in the project design.

Cross-cutting Goals: Poverty Reduction and Gender

3.16   The original project frameworks made no reference to poverty reduction and/or gender as explicit wider and immediate objectives. SPRED I, however, did target disadvantaged areas with less than 65 per cent trained teachers. Subsequent project revisions, especially after 1993, gave more attention to poverty and gender objectives but again these changes came too late to alter significantly project outcomes. In India and Kenya, concerns about gender were mainly limited to research that focused on the reasons for low female enrolment and attainment. Project submissions were generally silent about how proposed innovations (and, in particular, active learning methods) could differentially

affect male and female teachers and students and also silent about the effects of such changes on the affordability of primary education.

Ownership and Participation

3.17   Concerted efforts to ensure high levels of ownership (with respect to both locus of initiative and level of involvement) were generally limited. More extensive consultation with key stakeholders in schools and communities, coupled with limited participatory action research, would almost certainly have identified key problems with a number of project components, which subsequently seriously undermined the effectiveness of these projects. In Kenya, for example, the considerable time and costs incurred by teachers attending INSET courses at teacher advisory centres became a major concern not only among teachers but also to head teachers. Similarly, the adverse consequences of the additional costs imposed on communities by the project should also have been foreseen.

3.18   All three projects sought to replace grossly ineffective 'chalk and talk', rote learning teaching with active learning methodologies which had become the conventional wisdom in the primary education system in the UK and elsewhere. However, insufficient attention was devoted during the design phase to the acceptability of this major educational innovation to students, teachers, head teachers, parents and senior education managers in dramatically different socio-economic and cultural contexts. Active learning methodologies tend only to work well in education systems that are decentralised and democratic and where teachers are highly motivated 'autonomous professionals' rather than subordinate, low status and poorly paid civil servants, as is the case in most developing countries. Furthermore, wide-ranging reforms must be undertaken, at the same time, to provide other critically important complementary inputs - most notably the curriculum, textbooks, teacher guides and other learning materials and assessment systems - if new teaching methodologies are to be successfully introduced.[12] Even with APPEP, it was not until the bridging phase of the project (1994-97) that steps were taken to introduce new textbooks that directly supported the six active learning principles that underpinned the project.

3.19   While pressures for rapid project start-ups undoubtedly reduced the opportunities for stakeholder consultation and participatory research, the failure to develop a strong sense of ownership at all levels of the education system and among local communities was symptomatic of the centralised, top down, technocratic approach to project design which characterised most primary education projects during this period. The 'social project' sub-component of APPEP did somewhat belatedly try to undertake some participatory research but, given the 'conservative' attitudes of key administrators, this was not (according to the Project Completion Report) successful.

Project Inputs and Management

3.20   As noted earlier (paras 3.2-6), the first type of primary education projects relied heavily on long term technical assistance which typically accounted for 50-80 per cent of total project costs. In marked contrast, the second type of project had far fewer expatriates

---

[12]   There is a large literature that focuses on the frequent failure of reform efforts to introduce active learning methods and other teacher education innovations (particularly for disadvantaged students) in both developed and developing countries. See, for example, Fuller and Synder (1991), McGinn and Borden (1995), Montero-Sieburth (1992) and Rust and Dalin (1990).

in technical and/or management positions and made much greater use of short-term consultants. In ALPS, APPEP and SPRED I, overseas training was limited to a 10-12 week course at the Institute of Education at the University of London for a small group (20-30) of 'national trainers' at the apex of the INSET training cascade. Given the very large numbers of teachers who had to be trained, at least a half of project costs were devoted to in-country training. SPRED I had only five technical cooperation officers (TCOs) compared to its predecessor PCTEP that had over 20. Even so, the ex-post evaluation of SPRED I concludes that there was an 'over-reliance' on UK expertise and a corresponding 'under-utilisation' of local capacity. However, given the much larger size and complexity of SPRED I, this level of UK staffing was probably justified.

3.21   All three projects were seeking to introduce major educational innovations, which require intensive, high quality management. The APPEP management structure was generally well designed and properly staffed. The Project Office had separate cells for construction, human resources development, research, and evaluation. Unlike ALPS and, to a lesser extent, SPRED I, it occupied a central position in the overall organisation structure of the Ministry of Education and all staff were expected to be 'drawn into' the project's implementation. A critical mass of project personnel were posted to each of the state's 23 districts. For the HRD function alone, there was a deputy District Education Officer and four other professionals in each district. Annual District Implementation Plans (DIPs) ensured that construction and training activities were carefully planned and efficiently implemented.

3.22   The contrast between the comprehensive, well-resourced management structure of APPEP and the almost total absence of any management arrangements for the ALPS project could not be greater. For the latter, there was no proper Project Office or Unit and no full time project manager was appointed. The project continued to be based in the curriculum development and research department (BALITBANG) rather than in one of the central directorates of the Department of Primary Education where it could be effectively mainstreamed as a national rather than a pilot project. As a result, lines of communication both within the project and between the project and other key departments were seriously inadequate. The long-standing institutional rivalry between BALITBANG and the central directorates of the primary education department should have been recognised and steps taken to ensure that this rivalry did not undermine project implementation.

3.23   SPRED I was one of the first ODA education projects for which management was contracted out to an external contractor on a competitive tender basis. Previously, the British Council had managed most projects. The scope, however, of the main management contractor's responsibilities was insufficiently comprehensive, since other organisations (ODA itself, Crown Agents, VSO and the British Council) all had effective control over important project components. This could have created serious implementation problems which, fortunately, did not arise. Five regional project co-ordinators were appointed but there were insufficient numbers of dedicated project personnel to ensure the same levels of project implementation as APPEP.

Human Resource Development

3.24   Each project relied on a cascade structure for the delivery of INSET. However, the actual design and management of the cascades of the three projects differed very significantly. In particular, a number of the design features of the cascade in APPEP

ensured that training was more effective and, more specifically, did not result in as much training 'dilution' at bottom levels of the cascade as happened in Indonesia and Kenya. First, APPEP had a relatively much larger cadre of trainers responsible for training INSET resource persons (i.e. mandal education officers (MEOs)) at the local level (see Table 3.2). Consequently, the coverage of INSET provision was comprehensive and sufficiently institutionalised throughout the state. Secondly, pre-service teacher trainer colleges were centrally involved in project-related INSET, whereas in Indonesia and Kenya these institutions were only marginally involved. Thirdly, apex trainers in APPEP were themselves heavily involved in training of teachers at teachers' centres and this not only helped to maintain training quality but it provided effective feedback. (Apex trainers from BALITBANG also directly trained teachers but only in a limited number of locations.) Fourthly, all teachers in Andhra Pradesh attended follow-up courses as part of the project, which helped considerably to reinforce the training received in the core-training course. Finally, APPEP recruited a small group of ''strong teachers'' in each mandal who played a key role in supporting those teachers who had adopted the new teaching methods.

Table 3.2: Structure of cascade training models

	Kenya			India			Indonesia		
		Duration			Duration			duration	
	Number	(wks)	location	Number	(WKS)	Location	number	(wks)	location
Top	23	10	ULIE	22 434		ULIE in-country	28	12	ULIE
Middle	160		in-country						
Bottom	1,350	9	in-country	1,462	12-18	workshops at teacher centres	1,200		In-country
Total teachers trained Initial follow-up	Not specified 0.000			125,000 yes			not specified		

3.25   APPEP planners also paid much closer attention to the location of teaching centres. Clear criteria were developed that stipulated that no teacher should be required to travel more than five kilometres to the nearest teacher centre. Each centre was also sited at the lead school in each mandal, which further helped to reduce disruption for head teachers, teachers and students and lowered construction and running costs.

3.26.   More recent independent research on teacher resource centres in Kenya, India and elsewhere is much less positive about the effectiveness of in-service teacher training in the APPEP project (see Box 4).

Monitoring and Evaluation

3.27   Arrangements for the monitoring and evaluation of APPEP were carefully designed and properly resourced. The Evaluation Cell had ten professionals and 1.5 per cent of total project resources were devoted to the evaluation function. Fairly comprehensive baseline studies were undertaken (albeit rather late) using properly selected samples of project and non-project schools. However, for ALPS and SPRED I, no systematic monitoring and evaluation activities were incorporated in the project designs and this lack seriously affected project implementation and made it impossible to assess project impacts at the school level and in the wider community.

3.   IMPLEMENTATION

3.28   Effective management systems coupled with a relatively high degree of commitment by senior and middle level management in their respective Ministries of Education, ensured that APPEP's initial phases and SPRED I were implemented in a timely and cost-effective manner. Although UK organisations were responsible for key management functions, the appointment of nationals as project directors was critically important in generating a strong sense of local ownership. This was particularly the case in Kenya where expatriates had previously always been appointed to such positions.

3.29   A number of problems did, however, adversely affect the implementation of these two projects. In APPEP, financial reporting deteriorated quite seriously towards the end of the project. In large part, this can be attributed to the pre-financing for the project, which created the wrong incentive structure for efficient and timely financial accounting. For a time this, and other implementation problems, clouded the project's impressive achievements[13]. In Kenya, with no INSET unit or department in the Ministry of Education, SPRED I suffered from the absence of an effective institutional base. The project's management structure was a marked improvement on its predecessor, PCTEP. However, as with other donor-funded projects which have their own separate management units, the lack of effective institutional integration of the project within the Ministry adversely affected the sustainability of the improvements in INSET that were achieved by the project.

3.30   ALPS is a good example of the multiple implementation problems that invariably arise in the absence of a properly designed and resourced management system. In particular, co-ordination between key departments was very weak and communication

---

[13] The prefinancing mechanism meant that project funds were routed to the department of Education through the Finance Department. Serious delays in releasing these funds caused implementation problems at all stages of the project.

between ODA and the British Council (which had major responsibilities for key areas of project management) was also poor. For most of its duration, the project was monitored by ODA from London. By the time education advisers were able to take a more active monitoring role, the project was already in serious difficulties and finally a decision was taken in 1994 not to extend the project.

Training Outputs

3.31   In purely quantitative terms, all three projects demonstrated the ability of the cascade model to train very large numbers of trainers and teachers. The performance of APPEP is particularly impressive with upwards of 125,000 teachers being trained. No explicit training targets for teachers were set for ALPS and SPRED I.

3.32   There were, however, major concerns about the quality of the training at all levels of the cascade. Apex and middle-level teacher trainers frequently had little or no experience in primary education and the duration of training courses was simply too short to be able to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to become effective trainers in active learning methodologies. In all three projects, there was widespread confusion and general lack of understanding among both trainers and teachers about the methods and objectives of this new approach. This resulted in a preoccupation with how things should be done without an adequate understanding of the underlying rationale for doing them in this way. In Indonesia, active learning became synonymous with group work and, in India, the mechanistic application of the six APPEP principles led to a 'formulaic' style of teaching.

3.33   With basic courses for teachers lasting only two or three weeks and with little or no systematic follow-up training activities, it is hardly surprising that teachers were generally unable to acquire the new competencies of what amounts to a sea-change in teaching practice. In short, quality was sacrificed to quantity. As noted (in para. 3.24), serious training dilution became a major issue, especially in Kenya and Indonesia.

3.34   The effectiveness of the overseas training for apex trainers was also questionable. Although its cost was only a small proportion of the total, it was critically important that each cascade had a critical mass of highly competent top level trainers. However, only 20-30 individuals from each country were selected for one 10-12 week course at the Institute of Education in London (ULIE) and the ability and/or motivation of some of these trainers was questionable. Language was also a major problem for the Indonesians. Somewhat ironically, some participants felt that the ULIE courses were too lecture-based with not enough activity-based activities and opportunities for classroom observation. A better, more cost-effective arrangement would have been for UK trainers to deliver a series of courses in country to larger groups of trainees. To some extent, short-term consultants did have an important training function but, again, the quality of the services provided was very variable and this, certainly in the case of Indonesia, tended to undermine the confidence of senior officials in this form of support.

Box 4: The effectiveness of Teacher Resource Centres (TRCs)

Recently completed research by Knamiller et al in four developing countries, including Kenya and Andra Pradesh seriously questions the overall effectiveness of teacher resource centres and cascade training approaches. They conclude that 'evidence to indicate that teachers' centres had been effective in improving the quality of the training was difficult to find' (p.16). A variety of problem areas were identified.

Training cascades are susceptible to serious 'transmission loss' mainly as a result of the limited experience and competence of trainers at the middle and senior levels. There is therefore too much emphasis on theory rather than practice. In Andra Pradesh 'the task of facilitating meetings at teachers' centres demanded much more of the resource persons than the cascade training programme had provided for' (p.12). As a result 'little progress for the teacher in terms of the development of professional skills'.

There are too few trainers to be able to provide the intensive training that is necessary if teachers are to change their teaching practices and to provide regular follow up training in schools. There were far too many schools in Andra Pradesh and only occasional visits were made in Kenya. TRCs are too inaccessible for the majority of teachers.

Recurrent funding of TRCs by governments after project completion is a major issue. The TACs in Kenya were functioning at a 'fairly low level' of activity after donor funding finished in 1992.

Teachers have little or no incentive to adopt active learning methodologies. The curriculum is examination driven with an overriding focus on content. The in-service training that was being provided 'was not helping them restructure existing practice nor did it appear to convince them that the effort of restructuring would be worthwhile' (p. 13). Little of the training related directly to the textbooks used in schools. In Andra Pradesh, there was some transfer of knowledge but only at the level of technique and some ideas that had been acquired at TRCs were being used inappropriately. Teachers find group work particularly difficult.

The study concludes that 'it is better to help teachers do what they do already more effectively than to try to get them to switch to a radically different concept of education.' Teacher improvement strategies have got 'to fit local conditions'.

See G. Knamiller (ed.). 1999. The effectiveness of Teacher Resource Strategy.

Construction and Research

3.35   Construction outputs were implemented in a cost-effective manner and according to schedule. Construction activities accounted for half of APPEP costs but less than 5 per cent of the total costs of SPRED I. Under APPEP, 3300 classrooms and 1100 teachers' centres were built using local designers and contractors. This was a major achievement.

3.36   In contrast, efforts to improve educational research capacity were largely unsuccessful. APPEP and SPRED I had explicit research components but most of the planned research outputs did not materialise (in particular in APPEP). The quality of the

research that was undertaken was generally poor and relied on traditional, top-down questionnaire survey instruments. In Kenya, over-committed researchers did not have sufficient time to devote to the planned research activities and high levels of attrition meant that even the capacity that was developed was unsustainable in the longer run. In India, the low status of research on primary education among university researchers was a major factor. As noted earlier (para. 3.19), the attempt to introduce more participatory research approaches as part of the 'social project' sub-component in the project's latter stages was also largely unsuccessful mainly because of the 'conservative' attitudes of some project staff and other senior administrators.

Books

3.37   As already mentioned (para 3.18), the production and distribution of textbooks did not become a significant focus of APPEP until the last phase of the project. Nevertheless, considerable progress was made over a 4-5 year period. Classroom teachers were contracted to write basic grade textbooks in Telugu and mathematics, competitive tendering was introduced, and ten million books were distributed to all project schools. Equally important, largely as a result of the project, the government recognised the key role of textbooks in the delivery of quality education and, by 1997, this had become a major plank of official education policy. It is, however, also the case that the sheer complexity and difficulty of implementing comprehensive textbook reform was not fully appreciated by ODA advisers and project management. As a consequence, the time needed to produce and disseminate good quality textbooks was seriously under-estimated. This has been a common problem with textbook projects.

4.   PROJECT IMPACT AND SUSTAINABILITY

3.38   Given the heavy emphasis of ODA's first generation primary education projects on teacher development, the most important and immediate test of impact is the extent to which support given for INSET, coupled with the introduction of active learning methods resulted in significant and sustainable improvements in teacher competencies. Ultimately the key impact that must be assessed is whether or not any improvements in teacher performance have, in fact, led to better learning outcomes and higher enrolments and attendance. Clearly, however, a wide range of range of household and school level factors determines student performance. Over these, free-standing teacher development projects have little or no influence. Similarly, ascertaining the impact of better primary schooling on living standards, especially among the poor, is exceedingly difficult. It is usually impossible, therefore, to identify the wider impacts of single project interventions on individual welfare.

Teacher Performance

3.39   With most teachers being exposed to training of only poor quality and for very short periods, it would be unrealistic to expect anything more than fairly marginal changes in their classroom behaviour, at least in the short-run. APPEP recorded the most impressive results, with one-third of the teachers observed implementing 'substantial' changes in the classroom and another one-third of teachers were 'partially compliant'. In Kenya and Indonesia, however, it would appear that the impact on teacher behaviour has indeed been minimal. It is widely recognised that the active learning approach needs a high standard of

teaching to be successful. With half of all Indonesia's teachers untrained and over 30 per cent in Kenya, any attempt to introduce active learning methods was bound to be problematic.[14] As the ALPS ex-post evaluation points out, 'For most Indonesian primary school teachers, moving towards the use of active learning … was likely to be a challenge of monumental proportions' (EV629 para 2.6).

3.40   By 1992, ODA's senior education advisers were themselves beginning to express some doubts about the wisdom of placing so much emphasis on active learning methods in typical developing country contexts. In part, these concerns stemmed from the questioning of the efficacy of active learning in British primary schools.

3.41   Quite apart from capacity issues, the substantial costs (direct and/or in terms of time) incurred by teachers in acquiring active learning skills has been a significant factor. Teachers in Kenya, especially those in the more remote and disadvantaged areas, have to travel relatively long distances to attend courses at teacher advisory centres. Teachers in Indonesia, 90 per cent of whom are female, had to meet the costs of compulsory ALPS training courses. With little or no supportive teaching materials and with head teachers who frequently have been suspicious of the new learning methodologies and concerned about the amount of time spent by teachers attending INSET courses, teachers have had too few incentives to make sustained changes in their teaching practices.

3.42   Without significant follow-on project assistance, it is highly unlikely that cascade systems of training can be sustained in Kenya and Indonesia. The failure of the Kenyan Government to comply with most of the conditions stipulated in SPRED I meant that TAC tutors had no recognised career structure and, by the end of the project in 1996, 40 per cent had already moved on to other jobs. Attrition has also been very high among 'national trainers'. Nearly 60 per cent had left to take on new jobs by late 1997. Lack of recurrent budget provision to fund the much expanded TAC network has meant that TAC tutors have had to meet travel and other costs for school visits out of their own pockets. Typically these expenditures have accounted for 10-15 per cent of already meagre salaries. By late 1997, visits to schools were 'rare' and the quality of TAC trainers was reported to be 'low'. Without any effective institutionalisation of the cascade training system in Kenya (particularly at the higher and middle levels), the ex-post evaluation of the project concluded that 'it is inconceivable that it will become possible to replicate the original SPRED training that TAC tutors received' (p.30). Only one-third of TACs had operating management committees at the end of the project, which reflects the generally weak commitment of parents, and local communities to support the system of INSET as conceived in SPRED I.

3.43   Inadequate recurrent budget support in Indonesia for ALPS training activities also seriously undermined the project's sustainability. In India, APPEP did not significantly increase government recurrent cost commitments. The project resulted, however, in a marked intensification of the workload of mandal education officers who were primarily responsible for running training courses at teachers' centres. MEOs were already responsible for numerous professional activities and most had little primary education experience. Staffing levels at the district level teacher training colleges were also far too low with the result that APPEP trainers 'had little time to fulfil their commitments to

---

[14]   Other donor agencies which have championed active learning methods in developing countries have also found its results to be disappointing. See Annex B.

visiting schools' (Project Completion Report, p. 8). Without, therefore, major new funding to improve training capacity at both the district and mandal levels, it is questionable whether APPEP would have been sustainable in the long run.

3.44   In conclusion, while the overall rationale for introducing active learning methods was entirely justified, all three projects seriously under-estimated the problems that had to be surmounted in order to achieve major changes in teacher behaviour.   A more incremental approach to improving teacher performance would, therefore, have been far more effective with active learning methods being introduced gradually, over much longer periods of time.

Enrolments and Learning Outcomes

3.45   There is no hard evidence to show that ALPS and SPRED I have had any noticeable impact either on public enrolments and attendance or on pupil competencies. In Kenya, 'TAC-based INSET has not been uniform nor reached the required intensity to broadly raise standards'. Lack of instructional materials that would allow teachers to put some of the new active learning methods into practice has been a major constraint. Furthermore, without major reforms to the examination system, it is conceivable that new teaching methodologies may in fact lower examination performance. If so, this could reduce rather than increase the demand for primary education as was originally intended. A study of the determinants of school quality in three representative districts in Kenya found that both dropouts and examination performance among the schools surveyed in late 1995 were negatively correlated with the incidence of in-service training during the previous two years. Teacher absenteeism and school facilities had the greatest impact (see Mensch and Lloyd, 1997).   Active learning methods may also have adverse gender impacts.   For example, research has shown that open-ended questioning can accentuate gender differences (Ibid).

3.46   Another potentially serious unintended consequence of SPRED I is the increased cost burden imposed on parents in supporting new TACs, given the failure of government to meet the sizeable increase in recurrent costs arising from the project. Again, this may have affected negatively the demand for primary education, especially in the poorest communities targeted by the project.

3.47   Unlike ALPS and SPRED I, systematic efforts were made to assess APPEP's school-level impacts. Nevertheless, even for a relatively large project such as APPEP, it proved very difficult to disentangle the specific impacts of the project on learning outcomes. Improvements in individual school performance over time would have provided the most robust evidence but annual surveys were conducted over too short a period (from 1991-1994) to be able to generate the necessary time series data. As a result, primary reliance had to be placed on comparisons between project and non-project schools. Reliable performance indicators were also lacking. Dropout figures proved to be too unreliable and student test scores were based on school-based assessments.

3.48   Notwithstanding these problems, it seems clear that APPEP did result in appreciable improvements in student performance. Average test scores for maths and mother tongue (Telugu) in project schools were around 30 percentage points higher than in non-project schools with little or no differences with respect to gender. And between 1991 and 1993, enrolment increased by 6.5 per cent in schools which had the highest levels of

'APPEPness' but increased by only 0.5 per cent in schools that had failed to adopt project innovations. Over 60 per cent of students themselves felt that they learnt more when teachers used new methods. However, at project schools where APPEP principles had not been sustained, enjoyment ratings of pupils declined to levels below those at non-project schools. This finding highlights the potentially serious negative impacts that innovations such as active learning methods can have if project interventions prove to be unsustainable, not just in India but in all countries where they have been tried.

3.49   Another interesting finding of the APEPP evaluation studies was that improved textbooks were the most cost-effective way of boosting learning. More specifically, the new textbooks that were at the piloted extension stage of the project explained four times more of the variance in student performance than project-related teacher training.[15] Similarly, in Kenya, more impressionistic evidence suggests that the introduction of book boxes (which, as with APPEP, were not introduced until the final stages of SPRED I) had the greatest impact on learning outcomes.

Other Educational Impacts

3.50   Even where projects do not appear to have had much direct impact on learning outcomes, they can still play an important positive role in influencing future education policy and 'general thinking' about the future direction of educational reform. This, for example, is claimed to be the major benefit of ALPS and, to some extent, SPRED I. In Indonesia, the on-going World Bank-funded Primary Education Quality Improvement Project which, in financial terms, is more than ten times larger than ALPS, is based on active learning principles and has incorporated both the positive and negative lessons of ALPS into its project design. Clearly, costs have to be incurred in moving up any learning curve and the benefits from this learning process can be very substantial. However, the expenditure of slightly over £2 million over a 15-year period on what, in retrospect, is widely regarded as a pilot project can hardly be considered a cost-effective investment.

Wider Impacts

3.51   Almost all project submissions for ODA/DFID primary education projects, like those of other donors, rely very heavily on research evidence that shows that investments in primary education have very high private and social rates of return as well as major positive externalities (most notably reduced fertility, and other welfare-enhancing effects of improved parental, but especially maternal, education). In practice, however, counterfactual and attribution problems are usually so intractable that it is impossible to assess the wider social and economic impacts of specific primary education projects.

3.52   Furthermore, these wider impacts of primary education, particularly with respect to demographic and technological/production changes, are likely to take many years to manifest themselves. Thus, for projects that have only recently been completed, it is premature to assess what their wider impacts might be. But clearly, for projects such as ALPS and SPRED I, where widespread school-level impacts with respect to access, persistence and attainment all appear to have been minimal, wider benefits are also likely

---

[15]   It is likely, however, that the size of this impact may be considerably reduced once new textbooks are made available in all schools right across the state, mainly because of various inefficiencies that are known to exist in the textbook distribution system and the actual use of textbooks in classrooms.

to be limited. APPEP, on the other hand, having been relatively successful in educational terms, there is reason to hope that these improved learning outcomes will eventually be translated into higher productivity, output and incomes.

CHAPTER 4

THE MOVE TO BROADLY-BASED, INTEGRATED EDUCATION PROJECTS

1.   INTRODUCTION

4.1   After 1993/4, both the content and scope of British aid to education changed significantly, as the broad policy objective of seeking to concentrate on primary education began to be reflected in country programmes. Education projects at tertiary, vocational and secondary levels were increasingly replaced by projects which, for the first time, focused exclusively upon the primary system (rather than upon primary teacher training only). Projects were also broadened in scope – to cover a wide range of inputs and activities necessary to achieve sustainable improvement in primary schooling. This more broadly-based approach reflected both a widespread dissatisfaction with the limited impact and sustainability of most of the narrowly focused, free-standing projects implemented in earlier years, and a growing recognition of important non-economic constraints on development performance, which could significantly affect project success.

4.2   These broader-based projects rapidly became the dominant vehicle for British educational aid. This chapter examines some of the most important projects epitomising this approach, which were approved between 1994 and mid-1998 for Bangladesh, Kenya and Malawi. Since almost all of these projects remain on going or have only been recently completed, it is not yet possible to assess their impact. Accordingly most of the discussion will focus upon aspects of project design and implementation.

2.   KEY ASPECTS OF PROJECT DESIGN

Horizontally-Integrated Projects

4.3   From the early 1990s, a significant diversification of both inputs and output activities became a dominant feature of project design. There was a move away from teacher centre-based INSET towards school-based INSET, and considerably more emphasis was placed upon the provision of textbooks, curricula design, community participation, alternative educational approaches, and management support and institutional development at central and local levels.

4.4   In the case of Kenya, for example, SPRED II (1996-2001) was much larger than SPRED I, (£19 million, compared to £3.3 million), and more integrated than its predecessor. SPRED I had been primarily an INSET project, using a national network of teacher advisory centres, established under the project, for teacher education and materials supply. SPRED II was more ambitious. Its project document states that, whilst it has long been recognised that an array of inputs 'such as curriculum development, teacher development, teaching and learning materials need to be considered in an integrated approach to planning a development project for primary schooling' it is not just their separate provision, but the way these inputs interact at the school level which is important. The results of an influential World Bank study (Heneveld and Craig 1996) were cited in this context: a focus on what happens inside schools is important, and policy should try to empower schools and communities to control better the education of their children.

4.5   The purposes of improving teaching and learning in primary schools were to be served, not only by INSET, but 'by providing an integrated and balanced package of essential physical and human resources'.   Teacher up-grading was to be secured in a number of ways: initial teacher training in colleges was to be strengthened, school-based teacher development was to be supported and the TACs started under SPRED I were to be further developed.   A sustainable supply of core textbooks would be provided to all primary schools, and teaching resources would be supplied to disadvantaged schools in remote areas outside the TAC network.   There were two additional project components focusing, in the first case, upon the community, with the aims of improving governance, achieving more equitable cost-sharing, and forging better school-community links; and, in the second case, upon the strengthening of the Ministry of Education's systems supporting primary schooling (particularly planning, management, inspectorate and teacher recruitment).

4.6 An even more comprehensive approach was adopted in Malawi, where the Primary Community Schools Project funded all the key inputs necessary to build, equip, staff, train and run 100 'community' schools. Management support and training was also provided, not only at the school level but also at zone, district, and national levels. At its outset, the capacity of the project schools amounted to about five per cent of total primary enrolments.

4.7   In Bangladesh, DFID has also provided finance for broad system support – although, in this case, for primary schooling run by an NGO rather than by government. A sum of £4.7 million was allocated, over the years 1994 and 1995, as part of a larger donor consortium providing £33.5 million, for the expansion of the BRAC Non-Formal Primary Education Programme (NFPE). This was established in 1984 and is an integral component of BRAC's broader rural development programme, which focuses on poverty reduction. BRAC's NFPE initiative has been widely acclaimed. It aims not to be a substitute for government primary schools, but a means whereby non-starters and drop-outs can obtain some education, prior to the formal primary system being able to enrol them more effectively.   BRAC operates two types of school.   The first provides three years of education for children aged 8-10 years, who have never enrolled or who have dropped out in the first class. One teacher takes a class of 33 children through all three years. Classes last 2.5 hours each day for the first class and three hours for the second and third. The second type of school is Primary Education for Older Children (PEOC), a three-year programme for children aged 11-14 years. Here, the third year curriculum is designed to be more functional, focusing on health, nutrition and social environment.   The planned expansion between 1993-5 was to increase the number of BRAC NFPE schools from 11,000 to 50,000, of which 35,000 were to be funded by this project. A further doubling was planned by 2,000 with DFID meeting the full costs of 4,000 NFPE schools and 2,000 PEOC schools.

4.8   A further broad-based project in Bangladesh is the Effective Schools Through Enhanced Education Management (ESTEEM) project.   The Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP) is the Bangladesh Government's overall programme for formal primary education for the years 1998-2002. ESTEEM has a total budget of £20 million and is designed to strengthen the management and institutional framework of primary education and forms part of PEDP. It represents the first support, which has been given by DFID to the public primary school system in Bangladesh.

4.9   The World Bank had initially encouraged the Government of Bangladesh to adopt a full sector investment programme (SIP), but the government resisted, opting instead for a project approach within an agreed policy framework, and with annual plans/reviews. DFID had already concluded that the existing systems for planning, management and accountability were insufficient to ensure the success of a SIP, and the ESTEEM project is designed to help establish an enhanced capacity to manage educational resources effectively. Although the aims of ESTEEM are highly specific, they are set in the context of broad sectoral strategy, which makes this project similar to many of its contemporaries. It does not, then, represent a real exception to the trend.

Mainstreaming Gender Equality and Poverty Reduction

4.10   Since the early 1990s project identification/appraisal missions for ODA and, latterly, DFID education projects have been increasingly multi-disciplinary, and have often included a social development adviser whose remit has included ensuring that the cross-cutting themes of gender equity and poverty reduction were adequately addressed at the design stage. One result has been that project documents began to make more serious reference to these topics than had their predecessors. Too often, however, project design has done little more than recognize the problem and attempts to provide solutions remain patchy.

4.11   Since 1993, designers of projects with a value greater than £100,000 have been required to indicate the extent to which their projects would promote the broad objectives of the aid programme. Nine objectives were indicated on Project Header Sheets, which included economic reform, enhancing productive capacity, and the promotion of good government, various types of human development, equality and a better environment. Under this 'policy marker system', anticipated positive effects for each objective were categorised as either 'principal' or 'significant'. Where they were left unmarked, the impact on a particular objective was expected to be insignificant or zero.[16]

4.12   For the projects considered in the present chapter, three policy objectives were consistently marked by the design teams, each of which was graded in the same way: all projects were expected to contribute principally to the objectives of 'human development-education' and of 'poverty alleviation'. They were also expected to contribute to 'gender equity' to a significant extent. Given the differences in approach and emphasis of these projects, this uniformity suggests that the markers were being used in a somewhat blunt fashion – perhaps being more influenced by the sectoral aims and context of the projects than by the details of project design.

4.13   There are differences in the extent to which the project documents included relevant analysis of the extent and importance of poverty and gender inequality, and of the ways in which the projects are intended to address these issues. Thus, although all the projects were marked as being expected to have a principal impact on poverty reduction, only the DPEP, SPRED II and ESTEEM documentation includes brief descriptive coverage of poverty issues.

---

[16] In 1998 a new set of policy markers were introduced to reflect the international development targets adopted by DFID. There were three education markers; 1. effective universal primary education, 2. literacy, access to information and life skills,. 3. post-primary education.

4.14   Equally, gender analysis is far from complete. Here the projects in Bangladesh tend to be stronger than those in Kenya and Malawi. Partly, perhaps, reflecting the success of BRAC, the former group of projects are clearer about both the causes of gender inequity in schooling and about the ways in which school context and practice could be reformed as part of project activities. This seems to be much less clear elsewhere.

4.15   For example, although in the case of the Malawi Community Primary Schools Project, the project document and the subsequent review mission reports specifically identify improved gender equity as a key priority, its conceptualisation appears rather thin. The social and economic benefits of educating girls are mentioned in the project document. But to claim, as it does, that there is a planned strategy for capturing them is an exaggeration. It is stated that participation of girls in school will be encouraged through 'involving parents and communities in the establishment, management and maintenance of schools. It will enable women to play an active part in school committees and train committee members in their rights and responsibilities.' Although this is a useful response, it is hardly sufficient to deal with the deep problems in rural Malawian society, which result in gendered differences in schooling outcomes. Greater advocacy and opportunity, though good in themselves, are unlikely to have much impact on their own. A gender strategy would need to investigate and recognize the constraints affecting girls' attendance and performance in these communities, and devise relevant responses to tackle them - some of which would be at school-level, and thus fall within the domain of project activities.

4.16   These omissions from the project document – no doubt partly a product of the disciplinary background and perspectives of those on the project preparation team – were remedied somewhat by the later efforts of the project implementing team.   Under the encouragement of a series of monitoring missions, a gender strategy slowly began to take shape. The main causes of gender bias in school outcomes were documented. Gender objectives were established for each of the main areas of project activity and proposed interventions, time-scales and indicators, which could be used to monitor progress, were set out (Malawi Primary Community Schools Project, 1997). This was welcome progress. Nevertheless a project review mission, undertaken sixteen months after commencement, observed that the strategy – still, at that stage, in draft – lacked 'clarity on where responsibilities lie for monitoring and meeting gender-related targets' (DFID 1997e: 47). A revised log-frame was issued in 1998, which indicates that both gender and equity issues are now more systematically integrated in project activities.

4.17   In the case of SPRED II, in Kenya, gender issues are given prominence in the social development appraisal and the causes of gender bias are adequately, if briefly, diagnosed. But the policy response proposed in the project document is cursory, being limited to publicising the benefits of girls' schooling in rural communities and providing gender awareness training to inspectors and teachers.

4.18   Notwithstanding these problems with analysis and project design, it remains the case that the shift to the strong concentration upon support for primary schooling, inherent in all these projects, has probably resulted in British educational aid having a greater impact upon both poverty reduction and gender equity than was the case with the earlier generation of interventions. Non-enrolled children of primary school age are mostly the progeny of the poorest households and a majority of them are girls. For those in school, gender equity is often low, but it is usually better in primary schools than is the case higher

up the system. Accordingly, both for projects aimed at targeting those out-of-school and for those aiming to improve the quality of schooling for those enrolled, it is likely that poverty and gender foci have become stronger over the last few years.

NFE and Alternative Education

4.19   Closely linked to the renewed emphasis upon poverty eradication, and allied to the agenda of achieving universal primary schooling, is the question as to whether non-formal, or alternative, educational opportunities should be developed, for those who are currently excluded from the formal system, and who, for one reason or another, seem unlikely to be able to join it. ODA/DFID's responses to this question have generally been in the affirmative, and such innovations have become a feature of some of the broader project designs of recent years. However, the complexity of the issues raised by such approaches has not been adequately acknowledged.

4.20   There is a considerable amount of evidence, both from India (particularly that provided by the Gandhian basic education movement), and from other countries, that the provision of alternative educational opportunities to the official primary system, for children of primary school age, is a worthy endeavour which, unfortunately, often fails. A large amount of literature on this subject exists, and considerable research on what works, what fails, and why, has been conducted – mainly during the 1970s, when the 'basic education' movement reached its apogee.[17] Broadly speaking, this research demonstrated that the motivation for attending school is, mostly, related to the prospect of its being able to deliver economic and social mobility. Schools with alternative curricula usually do not allow easy promotion to the higher levels of the formal school system (or, at least, they provide such possibilities to a much more limited extent than the formal primary system). When parents and children realise that this is so, their support for alternative schools usually dwindles, and may often disappear. The history of education in developing countries is littered with experiments of this kind, most of which have failed.

Affordability

4.21   One of the criticisms of the earlier project approach was that it tended to result in significant increases in recurrent costs, which militated against projects being taken over by the recipient government after the donor's withdrawal. Thus, giving insufficient attention to the macro impact of new initiatives tends to undermine their longer-term sustainability. Similarly, recent research has revealed that, particularly in Africa, an important cause of low and falling enrolments at primary level has been low levels of demand. Private costs have often been high, and rising, and they have often undermined the success of attempts to increase the supply of schooling.[18] Accordingly, the recent broadly-based project approach has presented opportunities to analyse the affordability of project design from the perspectives of both governments and households.

---

[17]   See Dore 1973; Colclough and Hallak, 1976; and Sinclair with Lillis 1980 (especially Ch. 8). Each of these authors conclude that, whilst the aims of 'relevant' education are entirely laudable, innovations which fail to recognize that pupils, and their families, use schooling primarily as a means of securing access to higher levels of education and to better livelihoods in the formal sector will, ultimately, lose the support of their intended clients.

[18]   See Appleton 1997.

4.22   The challenge has been met but only partially. One of the better approaches is illustrated by the case of SPRED II. Here, the economic and financial appraisal's starting point was the judgement that primary schooling already took a large part of the Kenya Government's budget, and, further, that parents could not, in general, afford to pay more for the schooling of their children. Accordingly, the project's aim was to find efficiency savings, which would be more than sufficient to meet the recurrent costs arising from its implementation.

4.23   More than 30 per cent of the Kenya government's recurrent budget was allocated to education in the early 1990s, of which almost 60 per cent was spent upon primary schooling. Notwithstanding the high proportionate allocation to primary, almost 97 per cent of this was spent upon salaries, and, of the remainder, just under half was accounted for by the school milk programme. Primary teachers' salaries in 1996/7 accounted for 54 per cent of total spending on education and 17 per cent of the overall government budget. These are very high allocations in any terms. As regards private costs, the report claims that almost one-third of unit costs were met by parents – a sum which had been rising during the 1980s and which could not continue to increase.

4.24   Accordingly, additional unit costs generated by the project would need to be met via cost reduction elsewhere in the budget. The main way in which this was to occur was via a proposed increase in the average pupil-teacher ratio from 30.5:1 to 34:1. Even an increase in the ratio to 31.5:1 would, it was claimed, meet the project's additional recurrent costs. Furthermore, parents would pay less for the education of their children, because some of the textbook costs currently met by them would be avoided as a consequence of project support.

4.25   Somewhat less satisfactory, however, was the Malawi Primary Community Schools Project, which aimed to 'develop and disseminate cost-effective and replicable approaches for the delivery of effective primary education in Malawi'. It was intended that this should be done by adopting experimental methods in classroom design and construction, with a view to identifying cheaper and more cost-effective technologies than those conventionally used. Surprisingly, however, the project framework did not include any targets or indicators for cost-effectiveness. These were to be developed in the strategic plan which was to have been prepared during the first phase. The indicators seem not to have been forthcoming, and the plan preparation was delayed. Moreover, and perhaps not unrelated, costs have escalated substantially – by 1998 the budget had increased from £8.3 million to £18 million, partly because the original construction budget had been underestimated, necessitating a resubmission for approval of the higher amount in 1996, and partly because more recent increases in construction costs had been much higher than expected.

Involvement of Stakeholders in Design and Management

4.26   The recognition that project scope and implementation had to be fundamentally changed was also marked by increased awareness that a strong sense of project ownership was crucial to success. One of the most effective ways of increasing such ownership is by involving stakeholders in the design of projects and programmes. The design of recent broadly based projects has responded to this in various degrees.

4.27 The Malawi Community Primary Schools project, for example, focuses upon communities which are under-provided with school places and where distance has been a major factor limiting access to school. Each school will operate only up to Standard IV, and adopt the same curriculum as other parts of the primary system. One of its innovative features is that the community is intended to be strongly involved in the design, development and management of the schools and in providing some resources.

4.28 Initial ideas for the project emerged from a workshop, which involved both Ministry and BDDCA staff, and it was subsequently developed through dialogue by officials from the Ministry of Education and from ODA. Although the main stakeholders (children, parents, communities) were not involved in its design, the first phase of the project entailed a process of identifying communities who would then be consulted and involved in the process of school development and management. They would also be involved in the preparation of a Strategic Plan. This has not gone as well as had been hoped. In late 1996 a review team reported that the community aspects of the project were still neither widely understood nor implemented. Although communities were involved in the process of deciding school locations, members of two communities visited by the team had little understanding of the concept of the community school, the community's role or that of their elected school management committee. School committees were neither confident nor clear about their roles or functions in relation to school management and decision-making. What was expected of communities, by the project, remained vague, and ownership, in the sense intended and planned, has not been fully achieved. However, more recent project reviews point to progress having been made (DFID 1997e: 32-41).

4.29 The involvement of communities in planning and decision-making, via village education committees, is an important feature of the BRAC NFPE project. External evaluations suggest that these are areas where some success has been achieved, although, again, the role of such committees, in management and provision of funds, remains unclear.

4.30 There are other obstacles to achieving greater ownership in these recent broadly based projects. If outputs are to be well delivered in a timely way, it is tempting to place management responsibility in the hands of a project unit, which brings the usual costs and benefits of parallel organisations: on the one hand, the project is likely to be managed more effectively by a dedicated unit but, on the other, the difficulties of the project being subsequently absorbed into the wider public system are likely to be greater than if they had been tackled earlier.

4.31 There is a similar tension in design characteristics. Recent projects have aimed to innovate - to do things differently from the rest of the 'official' system in order to demonstrate that new types of partnership are possible at the local level. Achieving success in this regard can, however, conflict with the intention that the Ministry of Education should take over recurrent liability for the project after its development phase.

School-Based INSET

4.32 As set out above (paras 3.23 to 24; 3.30 to 31), in-service training of teachers, based upon teacher centres located close to clusters of schools, has had only mixed success. Recognising this, recent broad-based projects have usually included provision for school-

based INSET whilst at the same time continuing to try to improve the centre-based approach.

4.33   This is most strongly evident in the Malawi School Support Systems Project (MSSSP), which was started in 1996 to provide INSET in both schools and resource centres, up to 100 of the latter also being provided under the project. The project design was strongly influenced by recent research (Heneveld and Craig 1996), which identifies the quality of heads and teachers as being crucial to securing improved school quality. At the same time, it was explicitly argued in the project document that the school should be the focal point for the investment of time and resources to improve teaching - all schools needing regular and sustained outside support from a national system designed to enhance school effectiveness. Supervision and INSET were to be given priority over inspection. This, then, represented a departure from the earlier teacher centre model. Here, resource centres, with space for training activities and for developing and storing learning materials, would be located near to a central school serving clusters of other schools and teachers. A primary education adviser would be allocated to this centre, to service all in the cluster. So, this could be seen as part of a new shift towards a teacher-empowerment ideology, rather than an inspection-driven model.

4.34   In Kenya, the shift to school-based INSET in SPRED II was also partly a response to the poor results from the teacher centre approach in the project's earlier phase. SPRED II's institutional appraisal recognised that the TAC tutor system built up under SPRED I was weak - it duplicated some functions of the inspectorate and was, in important ways, subordinate to that service. Consequently some 40 per cent of tutors had left since the project began in 1993. Pay would need to be increased and further training would need to be provided under SPRED II. However, the project document does not make clear why school-based INSET is likely to be better than either pre-service or TAC-based approaches; furthermore, the description of design and intent provided in the document (Annex 1.1) is little more than an outline of an approach. Materials are to be prepared, TAC local tutors are to be cascade-trained in their use, head teachers will be the school-based teacher development managers. But there are no detailed indications of the ways in which the scheme will work.

4.35   The shift to school-based INSET appears to be linked to wider efforts at school restructuring and decentralisation – in order to make the school the unit of responsibility. There is a clear trend to support the empowerment of teachers by improving their professionalism and by giving a greater role – not only in management but also in staff development – to head teachers and others with experience. However, this form of INSET is probably more costly than other forms of training and its cost-effectiveness remains untested (Yoger 1996).

4.36   Not unrelated to the shift to school-based INSET is the fact that active learning approaches continue to be favoured by DFID education advisers. This, for example, was one of the three main innovative features of the Malawi Community Schools Project, which intended to encourage a more child-centred approach to teaching than was common in the rest of the Malawian primary system. This approach was also evident in the BRAC project document, where DFID expressed preference for pupil-centred learning approaches. The rather orthodox, whole-class teaching methods used in NFPE attracted the criticism of the education advisers, and more small-group activities were advocated in order to encourage active learning. As noted earlier, however, it is not clear that the benefits of

such reforms, particularly in contexts where teacher skills and capacity are generally low, have been well established. It is the evaluators' view that more caution is needed in these areas of policy advice and reform.

Project Frameworks

4.37   There has recently been better integration between the goals, purposes, outputs and activities than was apparent in the earlier generation of projects, the outputs also being more realistic and achievable. There has also been some improvement in the specification of monitorable indicators, although these often relate to a large multi-donor programme, rather than to that part specifically funded by DFID. For example, in the case of BRAC NFPEP the measurable indicators assigned to monitor success included 35,000 schools being opened, universal literacy of students being achieved, etc., notwithstanding the fact that DFID funding was limited to supporting 6,000 schools.

4.38   Specified outputs appear to be more realistic than they were, although, inevitably, they have not in all cases been achieved. For example, in the Malawi Community Schools Project, the aim had been to have 100 community schools fully functioning by 1998 but only 16 were functioning by the middle of that year. The delays were reported to be due partly to over-optimism in the project design, partly to a longer process of consultation with communities than had been intended and expected, and partly to a more geographically dispersed distribution of schools than originally intended. It is now reported that the original target of 100 schools has been achieved.

3. PROJECT OUTCOMES AND IMPACTS

4.39   By early 2002, project performance was variable. Two projects - PRISM in Kenya, and NFPE in Bangladesh appear to be largely successful. On the other hand, SPRED II in Kenya was completely unsuccessful. The project was discontinued in 1999 with less than 20 per cent of its budget disbursed. The performance of the two projects in Malawi has been more mixed. Some key outputs have been achieved while others have not. In all countries, there is a general acceptance that the scale and complexity of the task in achieving sizeable and sustained improvements in effective learning, especially among disadvantaged groups of previously excluded children, was seriously under-estimated at the project design stage.

Monitoring and evaluation

4.40   A major weakness of almost all the reviewed projects is the paucity of evidence concerning the impact of these interventions on learning outcomes. As a consequence, the main evaluation activities that are normally undertaken (in particular mid-term reviews and project completion reports) rely on mainly impressionistic and often quite anecdotal information. DFID staff also tend to be too involved in key evaluation activities. Comprehensive impact assessments by impartial external evaluators, which can draw on good quality baseline information and are undertaken two-three years after project completion are the exception rather than the norm. There is little or no reliance on participatory research methods, which are an effective way of eliciting feedback from pupils, teachers, and managers concerning the strengths and weaknesses of specific interventions. The use of such methods would go a long way in helping to get 'proper reality checks' about what is actually happening in schools.

4.41   Most project managements have not adequately prioritised monitoring and evaluation with the result that it is generally difficult to reach robust judgements about the extent to which key performance targets have been attained. There is no systematic use of basic and readily available evaluation tools. The general absence of simple baseline data is particularly noticeable. Most project managements have recognised the importance of developing effective monitoring and evaluation systems, but this has usually been too late on in project implementation.

4.42   Effective evaluation is also crucial for building government support for new innovations and systems developed by particular projects. In the MSSSP in Malawi, for example, the Project Completion Report notes that 'without the capacity to disseminate reliable early lessons, it may be difficult to convince the Ministry of Education (MOE) and the wider education community about sustaining this programme as a cost-effective system for achieving improvements in the classroom' (MSSSP, 2001).

Systemic reform

4.43   In different ways, the difficulties faced by the ESTEEM project in Bangladesh, SPRED II in Kenya, and PCOSP in Malawi highlight the serious limitations of (de facto) wide-ranging, multi-objective, free-standing projects. As the Mid-Term Review for the ESTEEM project points out 'unless we have a more comprehensive plan for the sub-sector, supported by systemic reforms at the centre, even projects of such excellent quality as

ESTEEM will not the raise the quality of education in Bangladesh'. Key systemic constraints most notably high staff turnover, lack of incentives, and overwork have largely prevented the very large amount of management training that has been provided by the project from having any sustained impact on job performance, particularly at head office level.

4.44 The serious crisis in the primary education sector in Kenya during the mid-late 1990s effectively undermined the reform strategy and related objectives of SPRED II. In particular, severe budgetary constraints prevented the government from meeting its basic commitments.

4.45 By 1999, teaching staff salaries accounted for 98 per cent of the primary education budget. Given that the necessary preconditions for a sector-wide approach do not yet exist in Kenya, the SPRED III project has a much narrower focus with just two components (provision of textbooks to poor children and school-based teacher development). It many ways, therefore, this represents a reversion to the previous free-standing project mode, albeit with a strong emphasis on poverty alleviation and more limited inputs of technical assistance.

4.46 There has been a similar development in Malawi. Towards the end of the Community Schools Project favourable exchange rates left a large amount of resources unspent. It was felt that rather than spread resources across all of the 35 districts that were covered by the original project, the additional resources should be concentrated in just one district, namely Chiradzulu. The perceived success of the Chiradzulu initiative has lead DFID to extend this approach in its new Malawi education programme to six districts. Again, this represents a more concentrated use of resources than in the original community schools project and is partly a reaction to the realisation by the donor community that the preconditions for a sector-wide approach are not currently in place in Malawi. Therefore, DFID support for primary education appears to be becoming increasingly polarised around SWAPs, on the one hand, and narrow-focus projects, on the other.

4.47 Another problem that has arisen with multi-objective projects is that with so many discrete components (for example, seven in ESTEEM), it is difficult 'under the strain of implementation' to maintain the overall focus of the project. This is further compounded by complex project management structures with multiple lines of communication, which often leads to confusion. In Malawi, in particular, the construction and equipping of over 100 new schools right across the country meant that quality issues tended to become overshadowed. The Mid-Term Review of the MSSSP reached a similar conclusion with regard to gender. It noted that 'the ease with which the commitment to gender can disappear during implementation' was a serious weakness of the project. Maintaining focus is clearly a major issue with SWAPs (see below).

Teacher development and management training

4.48 The same problems and issues have been encountered with respect to staff development as in the earlier projects discussed in Chapter 3. The reliance on the cascade approach has been particularly problematic in the ESTEEM project in Bangladesh. The main focus has been on Assistant Upazila Education Officers to provide academic supervision and support in primary schools, even though they are administrators with little

or no teaching experience. This has also caused resentment among Upazila Education Officers who feel that they are being by-passed.

4.49   Quite serious teacher resistance to the adoption of new learning methodologies is apparent in most countries. High student-teacher ratios make it particularly difficult to introduce these new methods.

4.50   Only five per cent of targeted school management training had been undertaken in Bangladesh at the time of the Mid-Term Review in 2001, mainly because of the difficulties of recruiting experienced and motivated 'master trainers'.

4.51   In marked contrast, the performance of the Primary School Management (PRISM) project in Kenya has been highly rated. The project was tightly focused, addressed clearly defined needs, and the training was valued by almost all headteachers. Trainers were carefully selected and received high-quality training. There is 'strong evidence of improved management skills being put into practice by those trained' (PRISM PCR, 2001).

Non-formal education

4.52   The NFPE II project in Bangladesh has been very positively evaluated. By 1999, nearly 30,000 schools enrolled 920,000 pupils, two-thirds of whom were girls from poor backgrounds. However, only one-third of these schools offered the full three-year cycle. A total of 2.2 million children benefited during Phase II. Completion rates for the first three grades averaged 93 per cent and 94 per cent of pupils progressed to higher grades.

4.53   The NFPE schools are also very cost effective. The average unit cost is less than 40 percent of government primary school costs. Learning outcomes are also consistently better. A comprehensive nation-wide assessment of the quality of primary education in Bangladesh, which was undertaken in 2000, found that competency levels at non-formal schools (BRAC schools accounted for 80 per cent of those surveyed) were higher in all subjects than at government primary schools (see Table 4.1). However, it is noticeable that the proportions of pupils achieving minimum levels of competence remain low in absolute terms across all three basic types of primary schools.

Table 4.1. Proportion of students achieving competency by primary school type, Bangladesh

School Type	Bangla	English	Mathematics
Government	35.7	7.3	10.6
Private	34.6	9.3	10.0
Non-formal	43.2	21.2	18.9

Source: Campaign for Popular Education (2000).

Stakeholder involvement

4.54   Increasing community and other stakeholder involvement in primary education has proved to be considerably more difficult than expected and with unintended consequences in some countries. In Malawi, the construction of primary community schools resulted in 'lower rather than higher levels of community participation compared with other programmes'. In the past, community involvement in schools had been confined mainly to fund raising and/or labour contributions for the construction of schools themselves. The direct funding of the community primary schools in Malawi meant that community support of this kind was not necessary. There is little hard evidence to show that parents and other community members have actively participated in the new committee structures in these schools and that this has resulted in more efficient and effective primary education provision. Thus, it is not clear what the additional benefits of these community schools actually are.

4.55   More generally, community participation has been negatively affected by the introduction of free, universal primary education because parents believe that government has taken over full responsibility for the education of all children.

4.56   The objectives of the social mobilisation component of the ESTEEM project in Bangladesh are also unlikely to be attained. In part, this is because the equity goals of the project are not widely supported by managers at either the field or centre levels.

4.   CONCLUSIONS

4.57   DFID's education projects are now much larger and of longer duration than they were five to ten years ago. This reflects dissatisfaction with the performance and effects of earlier narrowly focused projects, which had attempted to target key gaps or constraints in the education systems of recipient countries. Recent projects have tended to focus more strongly on the primary sector, to support the primary system as a whole, and to provide assistance, which is integrated, both in the sense of being comprehensive, and in the sense of complementing the support provided by other agencies.

4.58   During the last few years, project performance criteria have become more general, focusing upon progress towards achieving broad policy objectives, rather than the details of the project itself. This has tended to change the nature of negotiations between DFID and recipient governments – shifting it more in the direction of a policy dialogue on matters that affect the sector as a whole, rather than only the details of the project environment. Some projects, most notably the District Primary Education Project (DPEP) in India, are beginning to take on more of the characteristics of a sector-wide approach, than of a project in the old style. These changes present new challenges for educational aid, which are discussed in the next chapter.

4.59   To date, the overall outcomes and impacts of most of the broad based, multi-objective projects that were started in the mid-late 1990s have been much less than expected. The main lesson here is that ambitious improvement strategies are not usually feasible unless they are undertaken as part of a comprehensive, systemic reform of the entire education sector.

CHAPTER 5

THE SECTOR-WIDE APPROACH

1. EVOLUTION, KEY FEATURES AND POTENTIAL BENEFITS

5.1   Sector-wide approaches have evolved from dissatisfaction with both top-down and bottom-up approaches to development assistance. Concerns with the effectiveness of programme aid in reaching the poor have recently led to a push for programme aid to move from the national/macro level to the sector level, with its focus on the social sectors. At a more micro level, it is increasingly recognised that the project approach has not had its intended impacts on overall economic development. Individual projects may have been successful but the sustainability of these projects, and their integration into sector policy, has been disappointing. This has resulted in pressure for a more coherent sectoral approach to donor assistance.

5.2   The experience with development lending, at both macro and micro levels, of different donor agencies and multilaterals has led to differing approaches at the sector level. The World Bank's experience of programme aid and sector adjustment loans has led it to see sector-wide approaches as a specific aid instrument, the sector investment programme (SIP). The SIP model has evolved as a very rigid instrument for providing support to entire sectors, requiring a set of pre-conditions rarely present in most developing countries. DFID and other bilateral agencies' project experience has pointed them in the direction of sector-wide approaches (SWAPs); this has involved a more flexible view of sectoral assistance based around partnerships with recipient governments and a focus on sector-wide thinking, rather than on specific instruments for delivering sector support.

5.3   Sector-wide approaches generally include many of the components of the SIP model, while also recognising that additional components are necessary at the outset, to move towards a fully integrated sector programme. For example, a high degree of government capacity is considered an essential pre-condition for a successful SIP. Where this capacity is lacking the World Bank may not use a SIP as its instrument for providing support to the sector. The more flexible SWAP, in recognising the capacity constraint, would generally include components designed to enhance government capacity, as part of overall sector support.

5.4 The key features of the SWAP are as follows:

♦ Sector-wide scope. By focusing sectorally, key constraints at this level can be identified and effectively tackled. Notwithstanding the nomenclature, many SWAPs in the education sector have concentrated entirely on basic education.
♦ Coherent sector policy framework. The starting point for most SWAPs is the development of a set of objectives and strategies for the sector through negotiation between the key stakeholders (recipient government, donors and beneficiaries). This framework also tends to include a detailed expenditure programme, which ensures that sectoral objectives are consistent with the broader macroeconomic framework. A key objective of this process of policy development is to ensure high levels of national ownership and government leadership.

♦ Donor co-ordination. A degree of donor co-ordination is necessary to ensure that donor strategies are consistent with the overall sector approach.

♦ Provision of budgetary support. Although the level of support varies widely across SWAPs, the provision of budgetary support and use of government systems for procurement at some stage, usually feature. Importantly, however, SWAPs can still incorporate conventional project support.

Potential benefits

5.5   The lack of government ownership is seen as being one of the major failings of the project based approach. Sector-wide approaches are argued to lead to much greater levels of government ownership and as instruments through which broader participation (i.e. by civil society) in sector objectives and strategies can be realised. This co-ordination between all stakeholders, including donors, in sector planning potentially improves priority setting within the sector and implies that the payoffs will be greater than those from conventional project interventions.

5.6   Sector-wide approaches are also seen to lead to reductions in transaction costs for both donor and recipient. The move away from projects implies that it is no longer necessary for donors to devote large amounts of resources to project management. On the recipient side, transaction costs are reduced because governments are no longer required to negotiate and deal bilaterally with donors. A single review meeting can be held with all donors instead of separate meetings to review donor projects. Furthermore, in cases where sector-wide approaches include budgetary support, financial management costs are reduced because recipient government systems are used for procurement, financial reporting and auditing, thus removing the need to account separately for each donor's assistance.

5.7   The focus on the sector also potentially makes some aspects of monitoring and evaluation easier. Performance against sector targets, set out as part of the sector wide approach, can be judged against readily available data. The focus on the sector as a whole removes some attribution problems with regards to programme impacts compared to the project approach. In addition, joint review meetings potentially allow for a more co-ordinated and detailed monitoring and evaluation exercise.

5.8   It is important to emphasise, however, that there is no blueprint for SWAPs. The specific components of education SWAPs vary considerably across countries. The potential advantages from a sector wide approach are dependent, to some extent, on the components included as well as the initial starting conditions.

2. IMPLEMENTATION

5.9   DFID's commitment to SWAPs has grown very rapidly since the mid-1990s to the extent that it is now the preferred mode of support in the social sectors. However, among the six countries under review, sector wide approaches for primary education have been adopted only in Ghana and India [19] (see Boxes 5 and 6). Other countries where DFID has

---

[19] Although DPEP was not originally conceived as a SWAP, it now has many of the key charactersitics of a sector-wide approach and as such the discussion of the outcomes and impacts of the project have been included in this chapter.

supported primary education have also adopted SWAPs, but only Uganda and Zambia have had operational SWAPs since at least the late 1990s. For a number of reasons, it has taken a long time to get education SWAPs off the ground in Ethiopia and Tanzania.

Box 5: The Education Sector Support Programme in Ghana

The key performance targets of the Education Sector Support Programme (ESSP) in Ghana over the five-year period 1998-2003 are higher primary and junior secondary enrolment rates, improved literacy and numeracy levels for the entire population, and equality of access for girls and boys. These targets are to be met by higher management efficiency, decentralised management, improved access and participation, and improved quality of teaching and learning in schools.

Implementation of the plan was estimated in 1998 to cost £986 million, with DFID providing 5.3% of the total cost (i.e. £50 million). No other donors have explicitly co-funded the programme with DFID. It was intended that, initially, DFID would provide funds for the provision of readers and some funds for district investment plans and technical assistance. The original intention was that with improved management and financial capacity in the medium term, an increasing proportion of DFID support would be provided as direct budgetary support.

The following problems with the ESSP have been identified: government ownership was inadequate during the design phase, generally poor government leadership in the development and management of a coherent and comprehensive SWAP, the lack of direct participation in the programme by other donor partners, and some of the targets in the original plan were over ambitious and did not have specific activities associated with their achievement.

Whilst government ownership was questionable at the design stage, this no longer appears to be the case. However, government leadership has remained a problem throughout and is at the heart of the low level of donor coordination. There are in effect two quasi-SWAPs in Ghana (one supported by the World Bank and the other by DFID). Government has claimed ownership of both, but las exerted little leadership in either. The result is that these SWAPs have clashed with each other and other key donors have remained on the sidelines.

Up to mid 2001, the overall performance of the ESSP has been as follows:

- Provision of readers to all primary schools in Ghana. However, this was funded through technical co-operation rather than financial aid as originally envisaged.
- Access targets were not achieved. Primary and junior secondary enrolment rates remained relatively unchanged. Female participation improved, but the ESSP targets were not achieved. It was not possible to monitor some targets set out under ESSP due to lack of data (e.g. dropout targets).
- There is some evidence that teaching and learning quality has improved. This is partly due to in-service training programmes, increased teacher morale, and the provision of readers.
- Improved capacity and the introduction of action planning at the district and school level.

> - In line with ESSP targets, the share of government resources going to education increased. However, real resources to the education sector declined due to a fall in total government resources.
> - Due to the lack of timely and accurate financial reporting, the intended levels of budgetary support were not realised. Furthermore, the financial aid that was given was managed through separate bank accounts.

5.10   The attempt in the late 1990s to develop a SWAP for the primary sector in Bangladesh failed mainly because as a result of limited government commitment to the approach coupled with poor donor commitment and co-ordination. The government requested evidence that a SWAP would be more effective in delivering better educational outcomes, but none was forthcoming. The necessary preconditions for the introduction of education SWAPs do not yet exist in Kenya and Malawi. As noted earlier, a key lesson is that the objectives of large, comprehensive multi-component projects (such as ESTEEM in Bangladesh, Malawi Community Primary Schools, and SPRED II in Kenya) are not attainable in the absence of systemic reform. Consequently, given that systemic reform through the adoption of a SWAP is not possible in these countries, DFID is refocusing its support for primary education on specific constraints (for example, textbooks for poor children in Kenya) using the traditional, stand-alone project mode. Interestingly, therefore, DFID support for primary education is becoming increasingly polarised around these two very different types of interventions.

5.11   The difficulty of adopting SWAP is not confined to the education sector. A survey of 16 SWAPs in Africa in 1999 found that 80 per cent still relied on project aid and only 17 per cent of resources were disbursed as budgetary support (see SPA, 1999). As Foster points out 'donors have been slow to pull back from project detail, slow to provide pooled funds, and often failed to meet financing commitments on time, but have still insisted on their place in the policy dialogue' (Foster, 2000).

5.12   The relatively slow rate of adoption of the SWAP for the education sector or primary education as a sub-sector highlights the fact that in most low-income countries the conditions for effective sector programmes do not yet exist. A SWAP can only be started when a government shows strong commitment to adopting this new approach and has a minimum level of implementation capacity. While DFID is committed to the SWAP, other donor agencies are still strongly wedded to the project mode.

3   KEY ISSUES AND LESSONS

5.13   To what extent are the alleged advantages of the SWAP being realised with respect to primary education? This is still difficult to assess because only a handful of countries have education SWAPs, which are being supported by DFID and have at least 3-4 years of operational experience.

The adoption of education sector-wide programmes

5.14   It is clear that many obstacles have to be overcome in order for the SWAP to realise its full potential. The transition from project to a comprehensive SWAP should be seen as a process of evolution, which in many countries will take over ten years to complete. Only

Uganda has an education sector development programme that has most of the key features of the SWAP, including a well defined strategy with a limited set of measurable targets, common implementation procedures, and pooled budgetary support by the majority of donor partners. In Zambia, during the first three years of the Basic Education Sector Support Programme, only limited budgetary support was provided and most of the other donor partners continued to support separate components of the programme, which were de facto projects with their own financial and management procedures. It was only in early 2000, that a more comprehensive SWAP was adopted. In Tanzania, the fragility of government support for an education SWAP only became apparent at a late stage in what became a lengthy preparatory process, which had become too donor driven.

5.15   Given its emphasis on process rather than products, the SWAP is inherently complex. It requires fundamental change in the way governments and donor agencies behave and relate to one another. Close partnership based on high levels of trust, effective mechanisms for negotiation, and flexibility are prerequisites.

Box 6: The District Primary Education Project (DPEP), India:

DPEP in India has most of the features of a SWAP with a strong emphasis on decentralisation of education services. However, unlike Uganda and most other countries in SSA with education SWAPs, DPEP has a separate management structure right down to the district level and each donor has taken primary responsibility for funding the DPEP for each participating state.

The design of DPEP has been strongly influenceed by the lessons learned from APPEP. APPEP had concentrated upon provision of in-service training, teacher centres, teaching materials and buildings. DPEP has these elements, but also includes non-formal education, decentralised management, localised decision-making and participatory planning by communities, targeting of disadvantaged groups, and reducing inefficiency in the system.

DPEP has expanded rapidly and, by 2002, was operating in 272 districts in 18 states. DFID is providing support, under the West Bengal District Primary Education Project, mainly in the form of finance (approximately £43 million) for the recurrent funding of the primary system in 13 states of West Bengal. Financial support for DPEP is also being provided in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh under separate projects. The West Bengal project document found 'no realistic alternative to support for DPEP, which is a centrally sponsored scheme, providing a package of interventions which are internationally endorsed and in line with ODA policy on education.' The project aims to improve the extent and equity of access, retention and achievement for all children in West Bengal. 'It plans to meet these objectives by decentralising decision making and providing additional funds to support local education initiatives.' Thus, decentralisation is a critical part of the approach.

Performance to date has been mixed. Due to slow implementation, the West Bengal DPEP was put under 'special watch status' for first three years (up until early 2000). However, progress has been much better since then. Enrolment of disadvantaged children increased by 16 per cent between 1999-2001, but concerns remain about the weak levels of learning achievement and poor retention in higher classes.

In Andra Pradesh, the gross enrolment ratio in the DPEP districts increased from 80 per cent to 86.3 per cent between 1996/97 and 1999/00. However, completion rates remain very low in most districts (typically less than 30 per cent) and Class I enrolments declined by 1.2 per cent between 1997/98 and 1999/00. Information on learning achievements is not presented in the Joint Strategic Reviews. Improvements are reported to have occurred although these appear to be concentrated in Class I. Family Surveys have identified every child who is not attending school by name.

More generally, DPEP has developed quite effective monitoring and evaluation systems. In Andra Pradesh, 22 indicators are used to assess school performance. External evaluations of Phase I will be completed shortly.

Overall performance

5.16   The following discussion summarises the key issues and lessons with respect to SWAPs, which have included primary/basic education. The discussion is structured around each of the main potential benefits of the sector-wide approach.

Increased local ownership by government and civil society and increased donor co-ordination

5.17   Local ownership of education sector development programmes has been relatively high in India as well as Ethiopia and Uganda. In contrast, DFID took too much of a leadership role (at least initially) in Ghana and Tanzania. Key lessons with respect to ownership and donor co-ordination issues include the following:

- There is often tension between efforts to maximise local ownership, on the one hand, and increased donor involvement in policy and management issues, on the other. As donors become more deeply involved in all aspects of the education sector, Ministries of Education can regard this as undue interference, which may cause resentment and possibly conflict.
- It is particularly important that MoEs take the lead in developing a national education strategy. Donors have continued to dominate the education agenda in Malawi, which has prevented a SWAP being adopted. The leadership role of MoE officials has been weak, which has been compounded by a paucity of planning and management skills and bureaucratic inertia. Each programme must therefore have its own 'product champion' with sufficient authority and leadership on the government side.
- Donors have been criticised for still wanting to control and keep power in their hands and that 'SWAP processes have tended to be top-down in character with little participation' (see Browne et, al: 2001). Partnership is often one-sided with governments unable to exert sufficient leverage over donors. It is somewhat ironic that the increased emphasis on ownership comes at a time when the role of the development agencies in shaping the international development agenda is more dominant than ever.
- It has been generally quite difficult to achieve the required level of donor co-ordination. In India, DPEP Joint Management Reviews are undertaken every six months and are tightly co-ordinated. However, in Ghana, some key donors felt that DFID was trying to hijack other initiatives, which meant that there was some resistance to participating fully in the ESSP. In other countries, there has been some donor resentment about the

role of the World Bank, for example in Bangladesh. The lesson here is that the role of the lead donor should be clarified well in advance and continuous and intensive consultation between donor partners is essential.

Improved sector planning and performance

5.18   The focus on the development of well-designed sector wide strategies has undoubtedly been a major benefit of education SWAPs. Some of the main lessons from recent experience with SWAPs has been:

- A predictable resource envelope for the education sector is crucial for sector-wide planning. The macroeconomic planning framework is critical in providing this predictable resource envelope and an effective Medium Term Budgetary/Expenditure Framework is crucial in this regard.
- Many SWAPs in education have focused on the primary/basic education sub-sector. This limits the scope for achieving overall coherence with respect to objectives and funding for the education and training sector as a whole.
- The existence of multiple education and training ministries seriously complicates government co-ordination of a SWAP. In India, for example, DPEP management has had problems reaching agreements with local governments (panchayats), which run alternative schools.
- Strategies are often too input rather than output driven. The development of action plans with clearly focused work programmes is essential. The translation of strategy into action plans has been particularly problematic in the ESSP in Ghana.
- The effective design and implementation of education SWAPs increases rather than decreases the demands on local planning and management capacity, in particular where major decentralisation is a major objective. Institutional strengthening should therefore be a key objective of SWAs. Generally speaking, there has been insufficient emphasis on developing the necessary national capacity, especially in MoEs. In practice, there are still de facto parallel structures with excessive reliance placed on 'short-term' consultants. Capacity problems have also been frequently exacerbated by the over-ambitiousness of programme objectives.

Lower transaction costs

5.19   SWAPs are supposed to result in a reduced financial burden with respect to the direct management of donor-supported interventions. The experience of SWAPs so far has shown:

- A decrease in the number of expatriate personnel required. One adviser/field manager is expected to monitor DFID support for an education SWAP in each country. While the data for project-related long-term technical assistance is not available, there was an appreciable decrease in expatriate personnel during this period. However, it is worth noting that the number of education advisers and field managers increased threefold between 1990 and 2002.
- The shift in support towards SWAPs has had major implications for the type of knowledge and skills required by DFID education advisers. In particular, the primary need is for experienced individuals who are skilled in policy analysis and monitoring and evaluation in low-income developing countries. High-level facilitation and communication skills are also essential. Many DFID education advisers are from

education backgrounds with little formal training in more technical areas of education policy. A more concerted effort is needed to ensure that advisers receive appropriate training on an on-going basis.

- Lack of confidence in government financial management systems has prevented DFID and other donor agencies from providing full (non-earmarked) basket funding to the primary education sector in most countries. This is a consequence of the slow pace of public sector reform and the development of effective government-wide accounting systems. In the late 1990s, two-thirds of SWAPs in SSA suffered from disbursement lags.
- The adoption of fully harmonised implementation procedures is still relatively rare. In most countries, expectations were unrealistic about how quickly it would be possible to adopt common implementation arrangements

Better monitoring and evaluation

5.20   A focus on the sector as a whole can make some aspects of monitoring and evaluation easier and joint review meetings can make for a more co-ordinated and detailed monitoring and evaluation exercise. Some key lessons with regard to monitoring and evaluation include:

- Some governments have found the joint review process overly critical. Teams of mainly external researchers need to be assembled, which are given responsibility for tracking performance over the short-medium term.
- SWAPs have tended to result in higher levels of donor conditionality with disbursements directly linked to the attainment of specific targets. From a donor perspective, this type of conditionality is more meaningful compared with individual free standing projects where donors lacked any significant agency to ensure that MoEs attained sector-wide targets. In effect, with SWAPs, the 'whole sector is put on the line'. A balance has to be struck therefore between avoiding excessive stop-go financing, which is very disruptive and maintaining a credible threat. An important lesson is that education SWAPs become non-enforceable if there are too many conditions.
- MoE data is often not sufficiently comprehensive and/or accurate. Performance assessments need to be based on good-quality information and analysis, which is often not available.

4. CONCLUSIONS

5.21   The experience to date of improved local ownership and donor co-ordination coming about through SWAPs has been mixed. This has been partly due to the different skills and knowledge required of donor representatives and a more concerted effort is required to ensure that advisers receive appropriate training on an on-going basis. The experience to date suggests that SWAPs rarely involve budgetary support and if the risks of providing support of this kind are to be reduced, appropriate systems will need to be established.

5.22   The reliance of SWAPs on high levels of institutional capacity and commitment may involve strengthening existing capacity at many different levels. Furthermore, good

quality information on the education system as a whole is essential for the monitoring and evaluation of SWAPs. Recent experience in Africa suggests that increased investment is needed for education management information systems if they are to fulfil this role.

5.23   While the potential benefits of sector-wide approaches are seen to be greater than the benefits accruing from conventional project-based support, the associated risks are also greater. The impact that SWAPs will have on the overall performance of the education sector will depend to a large extent on specific components included in the approach and country characteristics. It is too soon to assess the overall impact of SWAPs on educational outcomes.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

1.   AID OBJECTIVES AND TRENDS

6.1   Over the past twenty years the objectives of British aid to education in developing countries have changed - away from a somewhat vague notion of meeting national manpower needs, towards a clear emphasis upon a strengthening of primary schooling. Aid expenditures have increasingly reflected these changed objectives - albeit with a lag of a number of years separating changes in intent and response. The change in emphasis is widely supported within DFID, and the arguments which underpin it - social returns, poverty focus, gender equity, human rights - are well integrated in the relevant documentation.

6.2   UK educational aid supports the poorer developing nations, but the relative allocations between countries, on a per capita or per-child basis, are inadequately targeted. There are, of course, many historical and politico-economic reasons for this. Nevertheless, it seems clear that some of the less populous countries receive far more educational aid per capita than can easily be justified.

6.3   Aid to education fell in real terms by about 30 per cent between 1990/91 and 1996/97 but this declining trend has been reversed since then. Since 1996/97 real average annual aid to education has increased to £148.8 million, which is slightly higher than average annual aid in the late eighties and early nineties. Expenditure data reveal an increase in the proportion of educational expenditures allocated to primary schooling. However, owing to almost half of educational expenditures not being categorised, in the statistics, by sub-sector, firm conclusions on the magnitude of the expenditure shift towards primary schooling cannot be drawn.

2.   THE EARLY PERIOD: FREE STANDING, NARROWLY-BASED PROJECTS

6.4   Our analysis of British educational aid over the last decade suggests a periodicity in the style and content of project support. Prior to 1993, projects tended to be narrowly based interventions with a strong focus upon teacher training and a heavy dependence upon British TCOs. This was true of STEP in Ghana and PCTEP in Kenya. Larger, and more complex, variants were designed, which - as in the cases of ALPS in Indonesia, APPEP in India and SPRED I in Kenya - included teacher centres, a limited amount of capital assistance for classroom construction, and some research and evaluation activities.

6.5   Most of these early projects experienced a range of common problems. First, although pilot projects preceded the larger initiatives, the political and management challenges involved in 'going to scale' were not anticipated and often resulted in poor project performance. Equally, project innovations introduced in a number of different countries - particularly the cascade training of teachers, but also the use of teacher advisory centres - were often based upon insufficient evidence as to their effectiveness. Active learning methods, which were employed in many of the projects of this period, were also imported uncritically from very different social and educational contexts.

6.6   Logical frameworks were introduced in 1986. Their initial use was too focused upon system-wide change, and the stated objectives of projects were often unrealistic, in view of their scope and available resources. Project design was characterised by a 'top-down' approach, which allowed for little consultation with, or involvement by, stakeholders. Accordingly, efforts to secure local ownership of projects were limited and, usually, unsuccessful. Management structures were, in general, good where local managers were appointed, but the use of agents sometimes resulted in weak management control and communication difficulties. Finally, plans for monitoring and evaluation were generally not integrated at the design stage and, as a consequence, it was not possible to assess the impact of these projects.

3.   THE LATER PERIOD: BROADLY BASED INTEGRATED PROJECTS

6.7   The problems experienced by narrowly focused projects, which tackled only one or two of the many constraints affecting the performance of school systems, have been increasingly recognised by ODA and DFID. Since 1993, there has been a shift towards much larger projects, of longer duration. These focus more strongly on primary schooling, and provide a range of complementary inputs, often in collaboration with other donors.

6.8   This trend is to be welcomed in a number of ways. First, there is evidence, in project documents, of a much better understanding of the problems facing education systems in developing countries. The conceptual framework underlying project initiatives is more elaborated, and usually recognises that no single project intervention can solve problems of access, quality, equity and performance, whilst at the same time having a useful impact on problems of gender and poverty. One consequence of this is that demand-side constraints are properly given far more importance than had earlier been the case.

6.9   Second, the shift to a broader project approach has been marked by a greater willingness by DFID to fund recurrent costs, which represent by far the greatest financial barrier to universalising primary systems in the South. Third, the willingness to provide broad financial support to primary systems which are working well - as in the cases of both DPEP in India and NFPE in Bangladesh - provides, probably, a more effective use of aid funds than is gained from the insistence on support mainly for innovations which may be based upon questionable evidence from other contexts. Fourth, the shift away from educational aid mainly in the form of TC towards one of mainly financial support, is likely to result in substantially greater local benefits for recipients. Finally, the shift to a strong concentration on support for primary schooling has almost certainly meant that the children of poor families - and particularly girls - have been receiving a greater share of the benefits of British educational aid than was the case in earlier years.

6.10   In these ways, the trends in the design and scope of educational aid projects, over the last decade, represents a strongly positive set of developments. As indicated in Chapter 4, however, some difficulties remain unresolved. Although gender and poverty are more central than they were, the diagnosis of causes of bias and exclusion often remains superficial, and responses are consequently inadequate. Similarly, the complexity of the issues raised by alternative, non-formal approaches to primary schooling has not been acknowledged in project documents – nor have the lessons been integrated from the many experiments undertaken. Although project frameworks are more carefully constructed, with more realistic goals, purposes and outputs than in the past, improvements are needed

to secure greater participation and ownership, better cost-effectiveness indicators, and more effective management systems. Stakeholder involvement in design and implementation has been better in these later projects than before, but there have still been considerable difficulties in securing project ownership by local communities. This has been the case, even in projects even where community aspects had been assigned central importance at the design stage. Finally, the advocacy of innovations - NFE, INSET, active learning approaches, and other types of educational reform - need to be more soundly based upon documented research findings.

4.   THE SECTOR-WIDE APPROACH

6.11   The key change in the design of British educational aid interventions since the mid-late 1990s has been the shift towards providing broad financial aid to the sector as a whole. Sector-wide approaches require agreement between DFID and the recipient government on detailed priorities for the trajectory of educational policy. In other countries, integrated project support is close to becoming a sector-wide approach. This reflects both a dissatisfaction with the impact, ownership and sustainability of the project approach, and a recognition that programme aid can quickly absorb relatively large amounts of financial resources, and can provide effective support to policy reform.

6.12   Nevertheless, the adoption of SWAP places great responsibility upon the efficiency of recipient government systems and procedures. Accordingly, in a number of important respects, the risks are different and, if anything, greater than those associated with project financing. For example, the quality of domestic management and the adequacy of institutional capacity are crucial requirements for the success of SWAPs. Moreover, greater trust in the transparency and integrity of recipient government budgeting and reporting systems is required, than is the case with a project approach. In the case of the latter, financial and accounting systems can be set up to meet individual project needs, whereas, in the case of programme support, separate sub-systems are impractical.

6.13   Secondly, the task of agreeing priorities for sectoral policy with recipient governments is much more difficult, and sensitive, than that of gaining agreement to project-level goals. It is difficult to see how policy conditionality could not be an important and explicit part of the process, even though DFID is reluctant to describe it in such terms. It remains to be seen how this will be received, as SWAPs spread to other countries.

6.14   Thirdly, the increased use of sector-wide approaches involves some shift in donor transaction costs, away from project administration and towards the achievement of greater aid co-ordination. Since the introduction of jointly-financed programmes is presently judged to be desirable by DFID, it is likely that new uncertainties for programme delivery will be generated by the participation of other agencies, each having its own separate set of interests and constraints.

6.15   Finally, new challenges are implied for the task of monitoring and evaluation. Whether DFID collaborates with other donors or operates alone, the task of identifying the impact of contributions from an individual donor becomes almost impossible. All the agencies providing system-wide funding must, by implication, become content with system-wide monitoring. Whether this will satisfy the accounting and auditing requirements for the use of aid funds remains, for the present, uncertain.

6.16 DFID's experience with education SWAPs during the last five years highlights both the very considerable payoffs that can, under the right conditions, be achieved with this approach as well as the major challenges that the SWAP poses for both national governments and donor agencies such as DFID. To date, only Uganda has a fully comprehensive education SWAP, which has all the key features of this approach (including basket funding) and is now operating successfully. More typically, countries (such as Ghana and Zambia) have moved only slowly towards the implementation of full SWAPs in the basic education sub-sector, but most are making steady progress towards achieving this goal. The adoption of education in a sizeable minority of countries (including Malawi and Bangladesh) continues to be frustrated by the absence of the necessary preconditions.

5.   OTHER ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE

6.16   Over the past few years, the shift of British educational aid towards the strengthening of primary schooling, using increasingly broadly based projects and programmes, are notable and welcome developments. The present balance between project and programme modes in different countries is changing: larger projects are increasingly taking on the characteristics of sector-wide approaches. This is entirely consistent with DFID's present intention to use 'partnerships' with recipient governments as the framework within which aid resources are transferred. However, since DFID's views of what constitutes 'good' development have changed less rapidly than have the modes of providing aid, SWAPs may prove possible in only a limited number of country cases. The domestic political process, and thus the objectives of development policy, are changing in a good many countries. But such change is slow, and the pressures which encourage government ministers to sign up to the goals of international conferences are not necessarily the same as those which guide the praxis of their domestic policies. Thus, it is conceivable that a shift to a partnership approach will either result in a more selective aid programme, or that aid performance may, in future, be judged to be weaker than has been the case in the past.

6.17   Evaluation has been insufficiently integrated into the design of education projects and programmes. Although, as we have argued, DFID has been sensitive to the mistakes that appear to have been made in design and implementation, their identification has depended too much upon serendipity, and not enough upon careful analysis of relevant evidence. It seems clear that the evaluation process needs to be strengthened in the future. Exactly how this is done will depend upon the modality of support. The SWAP process, as a whole, will need careful study, in countries where it is introduced. The extent to which the administrative, budgetary, and financial control systems of recipient governments prove adequate and tractable, are matters which are likely to influence critically their success. Mechanisms would need to be established, at the outset, which are capable of monitoring progress and of identifying the causes of under-performance. There is a strong case for evaluation exercises being built into all project design, aided by appropriate base-line studies with which to compare project outcomes.

6.18   The mistakes and misallocations experienced with project aid in the education sector could have been reduced, not only by ensuring more effective evaluation, but also by paying closer attention to the evidence on the efficacy, or otherwise, of favoured innovations. Research was certainly influential in guiding ODA's and DFID's selection of school inputs to improve quality, and, indeed, in their reassessment of educational aid

priorities, which has led to the recent focus upon primary schooling. However, we have pointed to significant failures to use, or to enquire about, research findings related to the introduction of new methods of teaching, of teacher training, of alternatives to primary schooling and of decentralisation. There is a need for DFID to make stronger efforts to assess critically what is already known, and for research sponsorship to be concentrated on reducing knowledge gaps relevant to the aid programme.

6.19   It seems certain that achieving some greater degree of co-ordination between donor agencies is likely to be vital for the success of sector-wide approaches, but it is not clear that mechanisms are yet in place which will facilitate this. The competitive relationship between agencies is not easily removed. In one sense, donor co-ordination is greater than it was, as a result of the Paris Club arrangements. But these have tended to be dominated by one or two agencies, and they have not encouraged the growth of genuine collaboration. The best mechanism for securing more effective co-ordination would be for an agency of the recipient government to hold responsibility. Whilst the arguments for this are well known, it will be necessary to invest time and resources in establishing models which work well. A study of 'best practice' experiences could prove useful, in that regard.

ANNEX A:

TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR ORIGINAL EVALUATION

INTRODUCTION

1   DFID's Evaluation Department (EvD) wishes to appoint a consultant to prepare a synthesis study report, which will be the major output of an evaluation work programme currently under way of the effectiveness of ODA/DFID[20] support to Primary Education in Asia and sub-Saharan Africa over the past 10 years.

2   The objectives of the evaluation are to assess the effectiveness of a selection of ODA/DFID-funded primary education projects in these regions in achieving their purpose, and in particular in improving education quality, access to education services, equity in educational opportunities, and increasing student retention and lowering repetition rates. The evaluation will also consider the likely impact of ODA/DFID support to primary education in achieving wider human development, social and economic goals in recipient countries.

3   Ex-post evaluation studies are being conducted of three major ODA/DFID-funded primary education projects, in Kenya, India and Indonesia. Data will also be gathered from Output-to-Purpose Reviews (OPRs) of a selection of ongoing primary education projects.

4   A synthesis report will be produced, drawing together the empirical findings from the ex-post evaluations and OPRs, and placing these in the context of an analysis of the evolution of ODA/DFID's primary education policy and wider human development aims, and a wider review of evaluation studies and relevant literature from selected bilateral and multilateral donors and academic institutions. These Terms of Reference refer specifically to the Synthesis study.

Background

5   ODA/DFID support to education has evolved significantly since the late 1980s, with greater emphasis than in the past being placed on primary and basic education and more integrated approaches being developed to project design and implementation. The 1990 World Conference on Education for All at Jomtien, Thailand, set out a new global agenda for education provision, laying increased emphasis on basic education and issues of education management and planning. The basic framework set out at Jomtien has been supported and endorsed by ODA/DFID and steps taken to implement its key recommendations.

6   ODA/DFID's approach to primary education in recent years has been built around four focal points: education quality; access; equity; and student retention. Concerns about

---

[20] Following the General Election of May 1997 the Overseas Development Administration (ODA) was replaced with a new Department for International Development (DFID).

the availability of good quality primary education to the poor, and to girls, have grown in importance. Support to the greater involvement of parents and the wider community in local schools management has also been a growing trend.

7   In promoting greater investment in primary education, a wider aim has been not only to improve educational outcomes but also to contribute to wider social and economic benefits resulting from wider education opportunities and better standards.

8   DFID's current approach to primary education is relatively new, and definitive findings are unlikely to result from evaluation work at this stage. Although there will be significant summative elements to the evaluation, it will also have formative elements which will seek to draw lessons from current experience of relevance to the continuing development of ODA's primary education and policy and strategy frameworks.

Objectives

9   The primary education evaluation synthesis study will have the following objectives:

- to review the evolution of ODA/DFID's policy and strategy frameworks for support to primary education over the past 10 years and assess the extent to which funded activities have been consistent with, and supportive of, these;

- to assess the effectiveness of ODA/DFID's support to primary education in developing countries in improving education quality, access to education services, equity in educational opportunities, and increasing student retention and lowering repetition rates;

- to assess the likely impact of ODA-support to primary education in contributing to the achievement of wider human development, social and economic goals in recipient countries;

- to identify lessons learned from experience over the past 10 years, by ODA/DFID and others, of value in strengthening future DFID work in this sector.

Tasks

10   The synthesis study will be undertaken as a desk study and will draw together the empirical findings from the ex-post evaluations and OPRs, and place these within the context of an analysis of ODA/DFID policy and strategy, and wider experience within the development community. Prior to drafting the synthesis study report, the consultant will undertake the following tasks:

- review and analyse the evolution of ODA/DFID's primary education policy and strategy over the past 10 years, with particular emphasis on the changes of approach and investment pattern brought about in the wake of the Jomtien Conference;

- review and analyse a selection of project submissions and project completion reports and assess the consistency of these with ODA/DFID's policy and strategic intentions;

- summarise and assess the findings of ex-post evaluation studies commissioned by EvD of three major ODA-funded primary education projects, in Kenya, India, and Indonesia;

- review and analyse the findings of Output-to-Purpose reviews (OPRs) of up to five ongoing primary education projects, undertaken by DFID staff and consultants during 1996, 1997, and early 1998[21] ;

- review relevant ODA/DFID project reports and other documentation relevant to the study;

- review key documents and evaluation study findings from selected multilateral and bilateral aid agencies, and academic institutions;

- hold consultations with selected DFID programme managers and advisers;

- hold a workshop with consultants and other service providers involved in the design, implementation, and evaluation of ODA/DFID primary education projects to seek their views on the coherence and clarity of ODA/DFID's policy, strategy, and approach to implementation.

11   In compiling the synthesis study, the consultant will pay significant attention to crosscutting concerns, particularly community participation and gender, and the likely impact of ODA/DFID support on the poor. Attention will also be paid to comparing and contrasting the lessons learned from the country case studies and assessing the significance and implications of country and region specific factors in influencing strategy development and aid delivery.

Outputs

12   The consultant will produce the following outputs:

- a draft synthesis study report;

- a presentation, containing the key findings of the study, to be given at a DFID seminar;

- a final draft of the synthesis report, reflecting comments received from selected DFID staff and other stakeholders and feedback received at the proposed seminar.

13   The final report will be presented to the DFID Projects and Evaluation Committee (PEC), chaired by the Director-General (Programmes). The consultant will be expected to participate in this meeting with the Head and other members of EvD.

---

[21] The final selection will be discussed with the consultant, but it is likely to include reviews of projects in South Africa, Malawi, Bangladesh, and India.

14   Reports will be prepared using Word 6 for Windows software, and submitted in hard copy and on 3.5" floppy disk.

Timing and Inputs

15   The work will commence in April 1998. A draft synthesis report will be submitted by the end of July.

16   The study will require up to 10 weeks of professional input, and up to 10 weeks of input from a research assistant. Up to one week of professional input should be reserved for revising the report and presenting it to the PEC.

Management and Reporting Arrangements

17   The consultant will report to the Social Development Adviser, EvD, who is responsible for the overall management of primary education evaluation work programme. An internal consultative group will be established within DFID to provide oversight to the implementation of the synthesis study and to review the findings. Membership of the group will be agreed with the Chief Education Adviser and the Head of EvD.

TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THE UPDATE STUDY

Introduction

DFID's Evaluation Department (EvD) commissioned a report in October 1997 to present a synthesis of the effectiveness of ODA/DFID[9] support to Primary Education in Asia and sub-Saharan Africa over the past 10 years. The aim of the report was to draw together the empirical findings from selected ex-post evaluations and Output-to-Purpose Reviews (OPR) and place these in the context of an analysis of the evolution of ODA/DFID's primary education policy and wider human development aims. The report also presented the findings of a wider review of evaluation studies and relevant literature from selected bilateral and multilateral donors and academic institutions.

The report was approved by the DFID's Portfolio Review Committee in March 2001 with the recommendation that it be updated to assess project performance which has become available in the period since the report was drafted as well as review DFID policy and strategy in the light of wider experience within the development community.

Purpose

The purpose of the activity covered by these terms of reference is therefore to update the report in line with the recommendations of the Portfolio Review Committee.

Tasks

The consultants will undertake a desk study drawing on additional project documentation and other relevant material to be provided by DFID, Evaluation Department. Specifically, the consultants will:

- Update the statistical analysis in Chapter 2
- Update the assessment of the projects mentioned in Chapter 4 to incorporate findings and conclusions
- Update findings and conclusions in Chapter 5
- Review the whole report in the light of the updated material to ensure consistency
- Liase with Dr Dave Todd, Social Development Adviser in Evaluation Department, over the additional documentation and material to be reviewed; and if necessary consult Dr Carew Treffgarne and other advisers concerned in Education Department.

Timings and Inputs

Evaluation Department will obtain the relevant documentation for the desk study by the end of April 2002. It is expected that the report update will be prepared in a period of up to 5 working days starting around 1 May 2002. The revised draft to be submitted to Dr Dave

---

[9] Following the General Election of May 1997 the Overseas Development Administration (ODA) was replaced with a new Department for International Development

Todd by mid-May for comment. Any further work to finalise the report (up to 2 days) should be completed by the end of May. Additional time for proof reading printers' copy and final corrections may be required (up to 2 days).

Management and reporting arrangements

The consultant will report to Dr Dave Todd, EvD Social Development Adviser, who is responsible for the overall management of the primary education evaluation work programme.

Evaluation Department
March 2002

ANNEX B

REVIEW OF OTHER DONOR EXPERIENCE

B1 12 major bilateral and multilateral donor agencies were requested to send documentation on their experiences of primary education support. CIDA, NORAD, SIDA and The World Bank responded to this request and the information sent by these four donors is reviewed in this annex. It begins with a synthesis of these four donors' support to education and goes on to review the experience of each in turn.

Summary of experience

B2 Support from these aid donors to primary education has focused primarily on issues of quality and improved access through the construction of schools. Quality improvements have been sought through better teacher training, textbook and educational materials production and curriculum development.

B3 Many donors have focused on strengthening teacher training at the primary level as a way of improving quality. In most cases reviewed, the type of teacher training was generally in-service, although the World Bank has been involved in building and equipping pre-service institutions. The content of teacher training courses has commonly included the introduction of new or improved teaching methods, particularly active learning methodologies. The impact of interventions of this type has generally been disappointing. An evaluation of NORAD's Primary Teacher Orientation Course in Pakistan found that there had been no impact on teachers' classroom practice. It concluded that projects seeking to introduce innovations to parts of the education system need long periods of gestation and that the impact on beneficiaries will take an even longer time to become evident.

B4 A very common intervention by donors in the primary sector has been the provision of textbooks and educational materials. Production of educational materials is the largest single activity for which SIDA provides support. Experience with the implementation of textbook projects has been mixed, although the impact of textbooks in the classroom has been positive for improving access and the quality of schooling. SIDA has experienced difficulties with textbook production, distribution and quality when it has worked with state or parastatal organisations. It is now working with governments to revise textbook policies, so as to separate curriculum development from such commercial functions as publishing and distribution.

B5 Whilst improvements in quality have frequently improved demand for schooling, improving access was addressed, by all donors, primarily by the provision of funds for school building. SIDA and NORAD have tried other approaches to increase the demand for education, particularly for disadvantaged groups. For example, SIDA funds two NGOs in India that provide non-formal primary education. The classes in these schools are conducted at times convenient for the children attending. Community mobilisation campaigns are also included, and community participation is fostered as well as increasing demand for education. These projects have been successful in attracting disadvantaged groups and in providing primary education of reasonable quality.

General Lessons Learned

B6   Although lessons from projects are specific to the type of intervention there are some general lessons, which emerge from the experience of these donors:

- when sector policy and financing is unclear projects are especially risky;
- beneficiary consultation on intended project outputs is crucial to foster ownership and to avoid wastage and mistakes;
- innovations are not easily introduced into the school environment;
- educational improvement is dependent on many factors and project success therefore requires multiple problems to be addressed.

Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)

Trends in support to primary education

B7   The priority area for CIDA's aid programme is meeting basic human needs (including health, education, family planning, nutrition, water, housing and integrated projects). In 1995-96, 38.5 per cent ($634 million) of total ODA disbursements went to meeting basic needs[22]   Health, education and integrated projects are the largest components of contributions to basic needs in the bilateral programme. In 1995/96 approximately $80 million of bilateral support was spent on specific health ($40 million) and education ($40 million) projects.

B8   The Africa and Middle East Branch of CIDA produced a survey of expenditure on education and training over the last ten years (1985/85-1995/96). The report first looked at log frames for all projects over this period. It then selected all projects with a human development component. These fell into three categories:

- those whose principal goal was education or human resource development. All expenditures on these projects were included.
- projects whose secondary component included education. A file review was conducted to determine the amount and percentage of the total project's budget directed to the education sector. This percentage was then used to work out expenditure on education in each of these projects.
- those integrated or multi-sector projects with more than one education or human resource development component. A file review was again carried out on these projects to work out how much was devoted to education.

B9   Table B1 below summarises some of the information contained in the report. Africa and the Middle East bilateral investments in education and training have increased massively over the ten years of this report. In 1985/86 approximately $7 million was being spent on education but by 1995/96 spending had increased to $86 million. The majority of this expenditure is focused on post-secondary education, although the amount going to basic and primary education has increased over the period.

---

[22] 1998 exchange rate = 1.43 Canadian dollars per U.S. dollar

Table B1: Distribution of expenditures by CIDA to education by sector for the Africa and Middle East Region (current $m (Canadian)).

	85/86	%t	86/87	%t	87/88	%t	88/89	%t	89/90	%t	90/90	%t	91/92	%t	92/93	%t	93/94	%t	94/95	%t	95/96	%t
Education																						
Primary	0.000	0	0.060	0	0.794	3	0.862	2	0.902	1	0.977	1	7.177	7	0.475	1	0.183	0	13.495	16	7.525	9
Basic (exc. primary)	0.100	1	0.457	3	1.516	5	3.240	7	2.822	4	5.193	7	13.935	14	7.416	8	8.138	10	20.356	25	16.454	19
Secondary	0.684	9	1.240	8	2.537	9	4.803	10	10.461	17	12.013	16	13.600	14	9.121	10	6.316	8	5.423	7	6.361	7
Post Secondary	5.416	75	10.960	67	18.358	63	32.566	70	38.466	61	51.622	67	54.588	56	55.551	63	51.376	63	42.032	51	39.694	46
Other	1.013	14	3.753	23	5.892	20	4.904	11	10.469	17	7.668	10	7..549	8	16.116	18	15.633	19	0.763	1	16.363	19
TOTAL	7.213		16.469		29.097		46.375		63.120		77.473		96.849		88.679		81.646		82.069		86.397	

Source: Africa and Middle East Branch: Bilateral Expenditures on education and training, fiscal years 1985/86-1995/96, Jusein E Jeewanjee, Sept 1996

B10   The main lessons learned from CIDA's experience in meeting basic human needs are listed below:

Lessons learned from CIDA's Experience

♦ Basic human needs interventions must work at the policy (macro), institutional (meso) and project (micro) levels, with each level reinforcing the others.

♦ The gender dimension is central to the success of basic human needs projects.

♦ Sustainability of basic human needs programming demands contributions to recurrent and capital costs by local consumers and governance structures.

♦ Poverty cannot be sustainably reduced through basic human needs interventions alone. Economic development interventions must be implemented to generate employment and income for the poor. These two areas of intervention reinforce each other.

♦ International cooperation agencies and developing countries should work together to coordinate basic human needs interventions with interventions in good governance and democratic development.

♦ To enhance knowledge and results in this area, the international community should exchange information on lessons learned from experience or on pilot projects and replicate them where applicable.

♦ Cooperation agencies should focus on collectively raising standards and access to services, and on tracking related impacts.

♦ Special units relying on specialised personnel could be set up to design and implement these programmes.

♦ Emphasis should be placed on achieving concrete results. Cooperation agency staff and entrepreneurs should be accountable for these results.

♦ Private and government stakeholders in developed and developing countries should be accountable for and report on interventions and effective use of resources.

♦ Greater attention should be given to creating partnerships between northern and southern agencies engaged in basic human needs work.

♦ Monitoring and performance review in basic human needs should be based on a learning-oriented culture designed to enhance knowledge and to improve the results of interventions.

Source: 'CIDA's Contribution to meeting basic human needs (1995-1996)', Political and Social Policies Division, April 1997.

B11   Details of CIDA's Girl Child Education Project follow:

Project dates: 1994-96
Cost: (Cdn.$) 14.9 million

CIDA has worked in partnership with UNICEF and recipient governments to increase girls' enrolment in primary schools, reduce dropout and repetition rates, and attain acceptable levels of learning achievement. Fifteen African countries were involved in the project.

Project Components

- Policy dialogue and activities between concerned governments. This included support to national educational planning, workshops for policy makers, public awareness campaigns, and social mobilisation activities such as sensitisation of communities on the importance of girls' education.
- Training of teachers, managers and others involved in education. Carried out through workshops and in-service training for teachers.
- Assessing curriculum, both content and pedagogical aspects, to ensure gender sensitivity. Included production of local language materials, gender sensitive textbooks and materials, and provision of teacher and head teacher guides.
- Providing economic incentives, such as textbooks and learning materials, with the view of promoting girls' participation in school. Included construction and rehabilitation of schools, provision of learning materials, school furnishings and scholarships for girls.
- Researching and identifying socio-cultural barriers to girls' participation in school.
- Institutional and capacity strengthening and building for girls' education.

Outcomes

The actual components of each project had not been assessed in the documentation provided but some general comments about outcomes were made:

1. 47,000 girls were identified by the report as direct beneficiaries of the project.
2. The project gave momentum to the issue of girls' education and played a critical role in mobilising host government actions to focus on girls' education.
3. A coherent programme over 15 different countries was very difficult to produce.
4. Working with UNICEF caused a number of problems:
   i.   UNICEF held the view that girls' education should not be seen as a discrete activity but as part of the national basic education system. This presented CIDA with a number of programming problems in particular countries (e.g. in Ghana where CIDA thought that there was not enough focus on girls in the project).
   ii.   CIDA had difficulty obtaining timely and adequate reports from UNICEF.
   iii. CIDA thought its contribution to the project to have been overshadowed by UNICEF's much larger involvement and that it needed to assert its ownership in the future project phases.

Lessons learned

- The projects must directly target girls. UNICEF thinking that girls will benefit from general improvements is flawed.
- Poor, rural communities can contribute to the education of girls. This was based on the assumption that there is excess demand for schooling in countries CIDA operates in.
- Project benefits can only be realised in the long term.
- Support and commitment from senior policymakers in participating ministries is crucial for project success.
- For projects to be sustainable, attention needs to be paid to capacity building. Stakeholder participation is needed at every level.
- Monitoring and evaluation activities need to be more carefully planned.

The project was carried out in two of the present study's focus countries: Ghana and Malawi.

Ghana
Cost: (Cdn.$) 1,435,200

The project set out to redress the quality of education and low participation and achievement of girls, through policy development, planning and advocacy, operational research, capacity building, monitoring and evaluation. Policy makers within Ghana believed that girls' and boys' enrolment and attendance were similar and this made it very difficult to push for specific measures for improving girls' education. Specific outputs included; a seminar on girls' education for stakeholders; workshops held for teachers; production of 15,000 copies of a head teachers' handbook.

Malawi
Cost: (Cdn.$) 430,000

The project aimed to establish community schools in three rural and three urban areas with poor access. The project also advocated policies and intervention strategies that improve the participation of girls in primary school. The project highlighted the problem of access in Malawi. The grossly underestimated demand for education in Malawi implied a need for much better baseline data. Specific outputs included; training of para-professional teachers, rehabilitation of schools, and materials provision.

Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD)

B12   Textbook Production in Bangladesh

Project Dates: 1992-1996
Cost: NOK 110.753 million[23]

Project components

---

[23] 1998 exchange rate = 7.54 NOK per U.S. dollar

NORAD provided funds for paper procurement for the printing of primary school textbooks. This was phase two of an ongoing project intended to have three phases.

Outcomes

- The project has been successful in terms of outputs as it has provided most children with free textbooks.
- Enrolments significantly increased over the duration of the project although it is impossible to assign this increase to the provision of free textbooks.
- No information was included in terms of impacts on learning outcomes.
- Planning and forecasting needs of the project could have been better. Overproduction of textbooks had occurred. These problems were compounded by the lack of co-ordination between different institutions.
- The tendering process for printing of textbooks was less than transparent.
- Capacity, in terms of recording, financial management and internal control were deficient and limited in most links in the production/ distribution chain.
- Printing of books was inefficient due to the very large numbers of printers involved.
- Leakages seem to have been significant at all stages (i.e. procurement of paper, printing and distribution of books).

Lessons Learned

- The high commitment of the Government of Bangladesh to the textbook programme was a major reason for its success in terms of quantitative targets.
- Institutional and financial appraisal before implementation would have highlighted some problems faced by the project.
- Financial management capacity of local institutions was lacking and greater attention needs to be given to such capacity.
- Exact requirements in terms of information and data required for projects should be included in agreements between NORAD and Government of Bangladesh.

B13   Norad's Support To Primary Education In Pakistan

Two documents were included in this review detailing four primary schooling interventions by NORAD in Pakistan.
1. Primary Teacher Training Orientation Course (PTOC)

Project Dates: 1992-1996

The objective of this in-service training programme was to improve the quality of primary school teachers.

Project components

1. A set of books for teachers supported by some audio cassettes.
2. Media support provided to teachers through television and radio.
3. Fortnightly tutorials where teachers met and reviewed experience with new teaching techniques etc.

4. Workshops based on micro-teaching techniques.

Outcomes

1. **The impact assessment of this project showed that there had been none on teachers' classroom practice for the majority of teachers that trained on this programme.**
2. Supporting materials for new teaching practices were not available.
3. Innovations could not be easily introduced into the current teaching environment. Head teachers and other teachers did not encourage adoption. Additionally, teachers saw no visible connection between the new teaching methods and their own and school objectives (i.e. getting through the syllabus and helping the children achieve good examination results).
4. Recruitment of teachers was based on quantitative targets, with no attention paid to establishing the right incentives to improve teacher motivation and desire to attend the courses. In general, teachers were officially obligated to attend the courses.
5. Teachers did not read the textbooks provided.
6. The quality of tutorials and workshops varied a great deal.

B14   North West Frontier Province (NWFP) Textbook Board Programme

Project Dates: 1992-1997

Project Components

Annotated textbooks, teachers' magazines and supplementary readers were to be distributed amongst all government primary schools in NWFP to help improve the quality of teaching and learning in schools.

Outcomes

- **Overall the project had no impact on the quality of teaching and learning in the classroom.**
- **There were problems with the delivery of the books to the schools although the process looked straightforward.**
- More than half of the schools visited did not have any of the project outputs and in schools with the project items it was common for the materials to be left unused in their plastic wrapping in school cupboards.
- The books were provided to schools with no instructions or training.
- Teachers did not have the time to incorporate the books and suggestions for teaching into their teaching practices.
- Teachers felt that the materials and the teaching methods that they conveyed were not relevant to their circumstances.

B15   School Nutrition Pilot Programme (SNP)

Project Dates: 1994-

Project Components

This was a pilot project designed to promote children's health and education in rural Sindh. The primary intervention was the provision of a midday meal to all students at selected primary schools.

Outcomes

- There was an implicit assumption that children's physical presence in school enables them to benefit from schools' educational offerings. However, presence in school is a necessary but not sufficient condition for children to benefit academically.
- The short term economic benefits of SNP were more important to poorer parents.
- SNP attracted children from families who did not have a tradition of schooling.
- Parental concerns about daughters' protection from sexual harassment and the adherence to 'customs' constrained the benefits that girls could derive from SNP.
- Younger children who started going to school did so because of SNP. Parents and teachers did not insist, however, that these children went to school everyday.
- Whilst the SNP was an important incentive for parents, the quality of instruction was also important. In some cases, parents moved children from SNP schools to better quality schools.
- Teachers' attendance was seen to improve in SNP schools perhaps because they also received a free meal.
- The promise of food at SNP schools increased the enthusiasm for school of all students.
- The impact on enrolment is unclear due to problems with data and counter factual. However there was evidence that when the SNP was stopped for some time enrolment/attendance dropped off.
- Increased attendance of younger children was widely perceived but not confirmed by attendance records.
- Attendance of younger children appeared to have a causal link with the midday meal. There was a distinction between pupils who were there to eat and those that were there to learn. 'In some schools the younger children wandered in and out of school all day and their numbers increased significantly close to lunch hour'.

The impact assessment states that, '[the SNP] served as an incentive for some children to go to school and is likely to improve the capacity of all children by enhancing their nutritional status, it did not, on its own have a demonstrable, significant and sustained impact on student enrolment, attendance and academic learning'.

B16   Free Textbooks for Rural Girls

Project Dates: 1992-1997
Cost: (not available)

Project components

The provision of free textbooks to all girls in primary school in selected rural districts in Sindh was another NORAD supported project of the Sindh Government's programme to promote girls' primary education. The project was based on the assumption that free

textbooks would help reduce the costs of schooling for parents and thus provide an incentive for them to enrol and keep their daughters in school.

Outcomes

There was a perception in the schools surveyed (supported by anecdotal evidence) that the provision of textbooks had increased girls' enrolment. Parents thought that the provision of free textbooks significantly reduced the cost of educating girls. It was also widely perceived that it helped improve girls' attendance because homework etc. could be done and classes at school could be followed without having to share textbooks. Learning improved through better access to sources of knowledge, access to more knowledge and enthusiasm to learn more.

Whilst there were some distribution problems with this project it seemed one of the more successful interventions that NORAD was involved in.

B17   Main Lessons Learnt from NORAD Interventions in Pakistan

- Conceptual clarity in identification of goals in educational projects is crucial.
- All stakeholders must have shared understanding about the purposes of the project.
- Educational improvement is dependent on several factors. Teacher training and/or the provision of learning materials cannot ensure better teaching. Scholarships and/or school feeding programmes are not sufficient to keep girls in school.
- Project designers need to clearly articulate connections between goals and objectives, as well as implementation strategies and ensure that sufficient evidence supports these connections.
- Strategies that help to achieve education objectives in one context do not necessarily do so in other contexts.
- Project designers need to have sufficient, valid and reliable information about key individuals and institutions to be involved in the implementation of the project to help make sound judgements about capacity.
- Indicators of the intended change and ways to assess them need to be clearly articulated in project design.
- Intended beneficiaries of projects need to be involved in project management at the local level.
- Projects that are meant to introduce innovations that are expected to become part of the regular system need a long period of gestation. It will take even longer for the impact on beneficiaries to be felt.
- Relatively small scale, concentrated projects that address multiple problems have greater impact on beneficiaries. In order to increase impact of project, incremental expansions in terms of replication at other sites, as well as in project objectives and strategies should be undertaken.

Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)

Trends in support to primary education

B18   Tables B2 and B3 show the trends in primary education support for SIDA during the 1990s. SIDA spends the majority of its education aid on basic education. Primary education, in particular, accounts for 35-55% of total disbursements to education.[24]

B19   Table B3 shows that the main areas of support for SIDA within primary education have been educational materials, primary teacher training, construction and furniture. The level of support given to primary teacher training and construction has fallen over the period from 26 per cent in 1992/93 to 14 per cent by 1995/96. A major change in SIDA's funding is the amount of support to primary being channelled to recipient governments as budget support. In 1995/96, 29 per cent of total support to primary education was given in this way.

Major Areas of Support to Primary

Educational Materials

Primary school textbooks are the main component of this part of the programme although other materials such as supplementary readers, chalk and slates have been provided.

SIDA has experienced serious problems with textbook production, distribution and quality when it has worked with state or parastatal organisations. It is now working with governments to revise textbook policies to separate curriculum development from commercial functions such as publishing and distribution.

School Construction, Maintenance and Furniture

SIDA support has been focused on building low-cost, locally appropriate schools.

Primary Teacher Training

SIDA has concentrated primarily on in-service training although some pre-service training has also been supported. In Zambia school based teacher support has been supported and teacher centres constructed for clusters of schools.

---

[24] 1998 exchange rate = 8.02 SEK per U.S. dollar

Table B2 SIDA Disbursements to Education Sector Programmes, by Sub-Sector, and Special Programmes (millions of Kronas)

	1992/93	%tot	1993/94	%tot	1994/95	%tot	1995/96	%tot
Primary	185	38	184	40	149	35	262.8	55
Adult Education	32	7	33	7	33	8	56.1	12
Secondary	0	0	12	3	5	1		0
Higher	35	7	26	6	20	5	45.3	10
Vocational/Technical	52	11	40	9	37	9	33.6	7
Planning/Management	33	7	45	10	32	8	42.5	9
Other incl. Budget support	64	13	24	5	58	14	12.7	3
Special programmes	85	18	97	21	85	20	22.9	5
Sub-Total	**486**		**461**		**419**		**475.9**	
Education Cooperation	200		234		259		179.9	
Total	**686**		**695**		**678**		**655.8**	

Source: SIDA Support to Education Programmes, facts and figures

Table B3 SIDA Disbursements to Primary Education, by activity 1992/93 - 1995/96 (millions of Kronas)

	1992/93	%tot	1993/94	%tot	1994/95	%tot	1995/96	%tot
Education Materials	59	32	72	39	62	42	93.6	36
Primary Teacher Training	58	31	50	27	28	19	37.4	14
Construction and Furniture	49	26	38	21	37	25	32.9	13
Special Needs	10	5	7	4	6	4	5.3	2
NGO schools	6	3	10	5	8	5	3.8	1
Curriculum	3	2	7	4	3	2	6.9	3
Other Primary					4	3	5.6	2
Budget Support*							77.3	29
Total	**185**		**184**		**148**		**262.8**	

Source: SIDA Support to Education Programmes, Facts and Figures

*The activity budget support is general support to an organisation or a Ministry with no specification on how the support is distributed to the separate activities within primary education. In previous years budget support is not expressed as a separate activity.

Project Evaluations

B20   Shiksha Karmi Project in Rajasthan, India

Project Dates: 1987-1997
Cost: SEK 112 million

Project Components

The Shiksha Karmi project is run by the NGO and funded by the Government of India, Government of Rajasthan and SIDA. SIDA's funding is budget support.

The project's overall objective is to reduce teacher absenteeism in remote areas and, more generally to address the poor participation of children in primary schooling, particularly girls. A stated objective of the project is for all children to complete five years of basic education.

The project takes over government schools replacing absent teachers with educational workers from the community although some new schools are built. The project does not compete with formal schooling but fills a gap within the formal system. The project has a target of recruiting one male and one female educational worker from each locality.

Outcomes

- Progress towards the objective of five years of schooling has occurred. 41 per cent of children now complete grade 5. Although girls' completion rates have improved they still lag behind boys significantly.
- There is some evidence that attendance has improved but again attendance rates are higher for boys than girls.
- The target of one male and one female educational worker in each locality has proved to be unrealistic. At the time the project was evaluated (1996) there were 3073 male and 403 female educational workers. Part of the reason for this difference was assigned to the residential training course that these educational workers had to attend. Women found it difficult to attend these courses due to their other responsibilities.

Lessons learned

- Community participation and political commitment to the project has been the key to its success.
- The enthusiasm generated within the community ensures quality primary education through the pressure this puts on the local schools and teachers.
- Involvement and motivation of teachers in process of change is crucial.

B21   Lok Jumbish, Rajasthan

Project Dates: 1992-1997
Cost: SEK 121 million

Project Components

The Lok Jumbish project is run by the NGO and funded by the Government of India, Government of Rajasthan and SIDA. SIDA's funding is budget support.

The project's overall goal is to achieve Universal Primary Education in Rajasthan through formal and non-formal schooling of children with community mobilisation and participation being an important component of the programme.

The Sahaj Shiksha programme of Lok Jumbish is the non-formal education component of this programme and in 1996 enrolled 18 000 children.

Outcomes

- A 1996 evaluation found that in the areas covered, enrolment in Lok Jumbish non-formal schools accounted for more than half of total enrolment. In addition, 77 per cent of children attending these schools were girls. In the formal system, approximately a third of those enrolled were girls.
- The proportion of children coming from disadvantaged groups has increased throughout the duration of the project, and by 1997/98, 43 per cent of the pupils were from scheduled castes and tribes.
- Progression through non-formal school was slow but this was partly caused by untrained teachers' inability to teach the higher grades.
- Dropout in the non-formal system was 30 per cent compared to 55 per cent in the formal system.
- Lok Jumbish students (both formal and non-formal), on average, perform better on achievement tests than state formal school students.
- Girls tend to perform better in Lok Jumbish schools, particularly the non-formal schools. However, boys still tend to outperform girls in all schools.
- Other disadvantaged groups tend to perform better in Lok Jumbish schools.
- Whilst equivalence between the formal and non-formal system has not been achieved 15 per cent of non-formal learners in 1997/98 had joined the formal system.

Lessons Learned

- Community participation was key to enrolment and subsequent retention of children.
- Convenient timings (dictated by the community) of learning allowed working children the opportunity to go to school.
- Free textbooks and stationary reduced the costs of sending children to school and was likely to have increased enrolment.

The World Bank

Trends in support to primary education

B22   Table B4 shows the trends in primary education support for the World Bank since 1963. From the mid 1980s education lending began to increase and the share of primary education lending also began to rise. By 1995, primary education accounted for 66 per cent

of World Bank's education lending. However, since 1995 total World Bank support to education and primary education's share within that fell dramatically until 1998 when education support rose to its highest ever level.

Project Evaluations

B23   Ghana First education sector adjustment credit

Project Dates: 1987-1991
Level of support:

Credit Components

The main features of this education sector adjustment credit were:
- Funds disbursed in tranches (three in this case) upon achievement by government of pre-agreed policy changes.
- Funds disbursed against a positive list based on needs of the education sector.
- Funds provided budgetary support (for three years in this case) and not balance of payments support.

This method of disbursement was not permitted after EDSAC2 in Ghana because adjustment credits were not permitted to fund local costs.

The main elements of the reform programme were:
- Establishment of a basic education programme with the abolition of middle schools.
- New curriculum for basic education.
- Cost-sharing and cost reduction measures were to be achieved as soon as possible.

Outcomes

- There were some problems with releasing money due to conditions not being met but compromises were always reached.
- In terms of intermediate outputs the project was successful.
- Middle schools effectively were abolished and the new curriculum was introduced on time.
- Enrolment at the secondary level increased satisfactorily. At the primary level, the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) declined because of decentralisation and the increased fees local communities charged.
- Regional equity had improved in terms of the location of new schools built under the programme. However, the increase in fees caused by decentralisation was more detrimental to the poor. In addition, private primary schools (which had higher fees than government schools) were also established during the time of the credit. The chance of being selected into a good junior secondary school increased if the pupil came from a private primary school. Therefore it is difficult to assess what happened to equity over the time of the project.
- Improvements in learning outcomes appear to have been poor because of problems with an over ambitious curriculum and in-service training courses to teach the new curriculum being too short.
- Supervision and discipline of teachers was weak.

- Problems arose because of the speed the reforms were implemented.
- Reform programme led to upward pressure on costs due to vocationalisation of curriculum, training of untrained teachers and upgrading of materials and supplies.
- Problem of containing costs with increasing enrolments at the basic education level. This also led to pressure for the tertiary sector to expand.

Lessons learned

- EDSAC along with other donor and Bank projects provided nearly all inputs thought at the time to be necessary for proper operation of a school system. All this proved inadequate and indicates that knowledge of reforming educational systems is lacking.
- Curriculum reforms were top down and too quick.
- Literature suggests that ambitious reform programmes of this type seldom if ever work well and are no alternative to muddling through with incremental changes.
- Reforms need to be piloted, pioneered and evaluated before being applied on a large scale.
- Practical solutions will have to be developed and tested at the local level prior to mainstreaming reforms.

B24   Indonesia – Third Education Project And Second Textbook Project

Project Dates: 1974-1981 (3rd education project), 1984-1990 (2nd textbook project)
Cost: US$ 13.5 million (3rd education project), US$ 24.9 million

Project Components

Third Education Project
- Provide 138 million textbooks.
- Instruct 350 000 teachers in use of textbooks.
- Upgrade 2800 supervisors.

Second Textbook Project
- Provide 82 million textbooks and teacher guides at both primary and secondary.
- Establish institutional and physical framework for textbook development. Develop capacity within government to oversee the whole textbook development and distribution process.

Outcomes

- Both projects actually delivered more textbooks than planned.
- Most of the aims were met but poor quality of textbooks and lack of storage facilities reduced the longevity of textbooks.
- The link between curriculum development and textbook provision was tenuous.
- Both these concerns were addressed in 2nd textbook project.

B25   Mali – Third Education Project (1984-1991)

Project Dates: 1984-1991
Level of support: US$ 10.81 million

Project Components

- Set up division to manage technical education.
- Develop new primary curriculum.
- Materials for local language instruction and participatory instructional methods.
- Provision of 2 additional primary teacher-training colleges (key component of support to primary, 46% of total project spending).
- Expanding adult literacy programmes.
- Improving training of teachers.
- Strengthening veterinary training institute.

Outcomes

Physical facilities have been built but at time of the report although the primary curriculum had been developed and the necessary materials produced these had not been distributed.

Lessons learned.

- Borrower participation in detailed project preparation encourages smooth and timely implementation.
- When education sector suffers from underlying imbalances in financial resources and inconsistent policy direction, specific investment operations are especially risky. Therefore addressing the core financial, planning and policy constraints are a pre-requisite.
- Strong and consistent policy support is essential to safeguard the development of various education and training sub-sectors.
- Adequate operational funds are required to realise the benefits of investments in project institutions and improvements in instruction.
- One criticism of this project was that it was over-ambitious and unrealistic. More attention to fewer components, by fewer agencies, within a definite policy direction may have produced greater synergy and better results.

B26   Tanzania - 4th, 5th And 7th Education Projects

Project Dates: 1974-1991
Level of support: $US 57.05 million (total for all three projects)

Project Components

These projects covered many different sub-sectors. The primary sector components were:

- In the fourth project training of primary school teachers through in-service and pre-service (two new teacher training colleges constructed).
- In the seventh project improvements in the quality of primary schools, especially in disadvantaged regions, by providing 360 classrooms and other facilities together with teaching materials.

Outcomes

The report has very little to say about impact of these interventions except that enrolments increased rapidly in the primary sector during this time.

Table B4: World Bank Education Lending

Fiscal Year	Education lending (Sm. Current) Total	IDA	Proportion of total allocated to primary schooling (%)
1963-9	34.8	n.a	0.0
1970-4	163.0	n.a	4.5
1975-80	353.6	1.713	14.2
1981-5	692-2	9.756	22.4
1986-9	776-8	1.009	27.8
1989	890.7	8.678	31.0
1990	1,486.6	0.844	24.0
1991	2,251.1	0.302	36.0
1992	1,883.7	0.793	39.2
1993	2,006.2	73.762	45.2
1994	2,068.0	658.100	66.5
1995	2,096.8	816.200	n.a.
1996	1,705.7	784.9	49.6
1997	1,017.4	255.1	24.8
1998	3,129.3	1,201.5	n.a

Sources: World Bank Annual Reports for years shown

B27   Lessons Learned

In terms of all of the interventions included in the projects the following issues arose.
- Dispersion of a project over the whole country will only be successful if the implementation capacity is there.
- IDA operations in Tanzania over the last twenty years have not been selective enough (illustrated by the large number of interventions covered in the report).
- Co-operation with NGOs may be able to achieve project objectives more easily especially if they have established implementation capacity.
- Beneficiaries need to be consulted about intended project outputs. This will not only avoid wastage and mistakes being made in implementation (e.g. building community education centre on waterlogged ground) but foster ownership.
- Focus on priority issues within the sector.

ANNEX C: LIST OF PERSONS CONSULTED

Paul Ackroyd
Terry Allsop (and *)
Joanne Alston
Richard Arden*
Peter Balacs
Jonny Baxter*
Eamon Cassidy
David Clarke
Tony Davison
Anita Desai*
Sue Durstan
Marshall Elliot
Robin Ellison
Phil Evans
Andrew Felton
Mick Foster
Keith Gristock*
Myra Harrison
Rokeya Khanam*
Colin Lacey
David Levesque
Kevin Lillis
Ian Macintosh (and *)
Dino Merotto
Miranda Munroe
Charles Nuttall
Steve Packer (and *)
Barbara Payne
Alan Penny*
Christopher Raleigh
Elizabeth Robin
Juliette Seibold
John Steward
Digby Swift*
Carew Treffgarne
Michael Ward*
Sushila Zeitlyn

* Individuals consulted for the update study

ANNEX D

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Appleton, S. (1997**), Leaping into the dark: Some Reflections on Free Primary Education in Uganda**. Oxford, Centre for the Study of African Economies.

Bennell, P., with D. Furlong (1998), "Has Jomtien Made any Difference? Trends in Donor Funding for Education and Basic Education since the late 1980s", **World Development 26** (1), January:45-59.

Browne, Foster, Norton, and Naschold. (2001). **Status of Sector-wide Approaches**. Centre for Aid and Public Expenditure, London

Cambridge Education Consultants (1997**). Kenya: Strengthening Primary Education Project Ex-Post Evaluation**. Cambridge, Cambridge Education Consultants in association with Education for Change, London.

Campaign for Popular Education. 2000. **A question of quality: State of primary education in Bangladesh**. University Press Limited, Dhaka.

Cassels, A. (1997). **A Guide to Sector Wide Approaches for Health Development: Concepts, Issues and Working Arrangements**, World Health Organisation.

Chenery, H.B. and A.M. Strout, (1996), 'Foreign Assistance and Economic Development', **American Economic Review, 56**:680-733.

CIDA (1997). **CIDA's Contribution to Meeting Basic Human Needs** (1995-96). Quebec.

Cochrane, S., (1979), **Education and Fertility: What Do We Really Know?**, Johns Hopkins, Baltimore.

Cochrane, S., D. O'Hara, and J. Leslie, (1980), 'The Effects of Education on Health', **Staff Working Paper 399**, World Bank, Washington D.C.

Cochrane, S., (1988), 'The Effects of Education, Health and Social Security on Fertility in Developing Countries", **Working Paper WPS 93**, Washington D.C.

Colclough, C. and J. Hallak (1976). 'Some Issues in Rural Education: Equity, Efficiency and Employment.' **Prospects 6**(4).

Colclough, C., (1982), "The Impact of Primary Schooling on Economic Development: A Review of the Evidence", **World Development**, 10/3:167-185.

Colclough, C., with K. Lewin, (1993), **Educating All the Children: Strategies for Primary Schooling in the South**, Clarendon, Oxford.

Colclough, C., (1997), 'Aid to Education in Africa - Opportunities and Constraints', **Evaluation Report 5.97**, Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo.

DeStefano, J., A. Hartwell, et al. (1995). 'Basic Education in Africa: USAID's Approach to Sustainable Reform in the 1990s', SD Publication Series, Office of Sustainable Development, Bureau for Africa, **Technical paper no. 14**.

DFID (1997a). **International Cooperation on Education**. London, Department for International Development.

DFID (1997b). **Eliminating World Poverty: A Challenge for the 21st Century**, White Paper on International Development. London, The Stationery Office.

DFID (1997c). **Bangladesh: Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP) and Effective Schools Through Enhanced Education Management (ESTEEM)**. London, Department for International Development.

DFID (1997d). **British Aid Statistics 1992/93-1996/97**. London, Department for International Development.

DFID (1997e). **Malawi Primary Community Schools Project Report of the Review Team**, Malawi Ministry of Education and Department for International Development, Joint Review, London.

DFID (1998a). **Draft Education Policy Paper**. London, Department for International Development.

DFID (1998b). **Ghana Education Sector Support: Project Submission**. London, Department for International Development.

DFID (1999) **Learning Opportunities for All: A Policy Framework for Education.** London, Department for International Development.

DFID (1999). **Final Evaluation of Non Formal Primary Education Project II, Bangladesh**. August.

DFID. (1999). **Joint Review Mission of the Malawi School Sector Systems Programme.** April

DFID (1999). **Joint Review Mission of Malawi Primary Community Schools Programme**. July

DFID (2000). **Output to Purpose Review of the Effective Schools Through Enhanced Management (ESTEEM) Project**

DFID (2000) **Eliminating World Poverty: Making Globalisation Work for the Poor**, White Paper on International Development. London, The Stationery Office.

DFID. (2001). **Project submission for Strengthening Primary Education in Kenya III**. May

DFID (2001). **Final Output to Purpose Review Malawi Primary Schools Community Project and Malawi School Sector Systems Programme**. May.

DFID (2001). **Joint Strategic Review of the Education Sector Support Programme, Ghana**. July

 DFID. (2001**). Project Completion Report for Primary School Management (PRISM), Kenya**

DFID (2001). **Project Completion Report for Strengthening Primary Education in Kenya II**

DFID (2001) **BRAC Education Programme Mid-Term Review of NFPE III**

DFID (2001). **Joint Review Mission of the District Primary Education Programme India (14th, 15th and 16th)**

DFID (2001) **The Challenge of Universal Primary Education: Strategies for achieving the international development targets**. London, Department for International Development.

DFID (2002) **Mid-Term Review of Effective Schools Through Enhanced Education Management (ESTEEM).** March

Dore, R. (1973). 'Pre-vocational studies: A comment on recent developments in Ceylonese Education'. **IDS Discussion Paper** No. 89. Brighton.

Foster, M. (2000) 'New Approaches to Development Co-operation: What can we learn from experience with implementing Sector Wide Approaches?' **Overseas Development Institute Working Paper Series** No. 140. London.

Fuller, B., and Snyder, C.W. (1991), 'Vocal teachers, silent pupils? Life in Botswana classrooms', **Comparative Education Review, 53:**74-294.

Harrold, P. and Associates (1995). 'The Broad Sector Approach to Investment Lending: Sector Investment Programs'. **World Bank Discussion Papers**, **Africa Technical Department Series,** No.320

Heneveld, W. and H. Craig (1996). **Schools count: World Bank project designs and the quality of primary education in Sub-Saharan Africa**. Washington DC, World Bank.

Jeewanjee, H. E. (1996). **Africa and the Middle-East Branch (CIDA): Bilateral Expenditures on Education and Training, Fiscal Years 1985/86 - 1995/96**.

Jones, S. (1997). 'Sector-Investment Programs in Africa: Issues and Experience'. **World Bank Technical Paper No. 374**, Africa Region Series.

King, E., and M.A. Hill, (1993) (eds), **Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies**, Johns Hopkins, Baltimore.

Lewin, K. M. (1994). 'British Bi-lateral Assistance to Education: How Much, To Whom, and Why?' **International Journal of Educational Development 14**(2): 159-176.

Little, A. (1995). **Insider Accounts: the monitoring and evaluation of Primary education projects in Sri Lanka**, SIDA.

Lockheed, M., D. Jamison, and L. Lau, (1980), 'Farmer Education and Farm Efficiency: A Survey', **Economic Development and Cultural Change** 29, October:37-76.
Malawi Primary Community Schools Project (1997), "Gender Strategy" (draft), Lilongwe.

Malawi Primary Community Schools Project (1998a), "Project Overview and Issues", Lilongwe.

Malawi Primary Community Schools Project (1998b) "Draft Log Frame", Lilongwe.

Malcolm, H., McLean, J., et al. (1998**). The ALPS (Active Learning and Professional Support) Project in Indonesia**. London, DFID: Evaluation Department.

McGinn, N., and Borden, A., (1995), **Framing questions, constructing answers. Linking research with education policy in developing countries,** Cambridge, MA: Harvard Institute for International Development.

Mensch, B.S., and C.B. Lloyd, (1997), 'Gender differences in schooling experiences of adolescents in low income countries: the case of Kenya', **Working Paper 79, Population Council, New York.**.

Montero-Sieburth, M., (1992), 'Models and practice of curriculum change in developing countries', **Comparative Education Review, 36**, 2:75-193.

Murphy, D. S. (1996). **The Girl Child Education Project - Phase I: A Review**, CIDA.

NORAD (1998**). NORAD's Support to Primary Education in Pakistan: Some Lessons from Experience**. Karachi.

Nordic Consulting Group (1998). **Review of Primary Education Textbook Paper Project (BGD 036)**.

Norton, A. and B. Bird (1998). 'Social Development Issues in Sector Wide Approaches', Social Development Division, DFID. **Working Paper No.1:** 23.

ODA (1982). **British Aid to Education in Developing Countries**. London, Overseas Development Administration.

ODA (1984). **British Aid to Education in Developing Countries**. London, Overseas Development Administration.

ODA (1990). **Into the Nineties: An Education Policy for British Aid**. London, Overseas Development Administration.

ODA (1994). **Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) Expansion of Non Formal Primary Education Programme (NFPE): Project Memorandum**. London, Overseas Development Administration.

ODA (1994). **Malawi Primary Community Schools Project 1995-2002: Project Submission**. London, Overseas Development Administration.

ODA (1995a). **Aid to Education in the 90s. London, Education Division**. London, Overseas Development Administration.

ODA (1995b). **Belize Primary Education Development Project: Mid Term Review**. London, Overseas Development Administration.

ODA (1995c). **Malawi School Support Systems Project 1996-2001: Project Submission**. London, Overseas Development Administration.

ODA (1996a). **British Aid Statistics 1991/92 - 1995/96**. London, Overseas Development Administration.

ODA (1996b). **First Phase Review of the Malawi Community Schools Project**, Malawi Ministry of Education and BDDCA.

ODA (1996c). **Malawi Primary Community Schools Project: Joint Ministry of Education/ Overseas Development Administration Monitoring Mission**, Malawi Ministry of Education and Overseas Development Administration.

ODA (1996d). **Strengthening of Primary Education Project Phase II (SPRED II): Project Submission**. London, Overseas Development Administration.

ODA (1996e). **West Bengal District Primary Education Project: Project Submission**. London, Overseas Development Administration.

ODA. (1997a). **Action to Improve English, Mathematics and Science (AIEMS) Project Review**. London, Overseas Development Administration

OECD DAC (1979), **Guidelines on Local and Recurrent Cost Financing.** Paris Press/A(79) 21.

Okidegbe, N. (1997b). 'Fostering Sustainable Development: The Sector Investment Program'. **World Bank Discussion Paper**, No. 363.

Psacharopoulos, G., (1985), 'Returns to Education: A Further International Update and Implications', **Journal of Human Resources** 20/4:583-604.

Pudasaini, S.P., (1983), 'The Effects of Education in Agriculture: Evidence from Nepal', **American Journal of Agricultural Economics**, 65/3:509-15.

Ratcliffe, M. and M. Macrae (1999). **Sector Wide Approaches to Education: A Strategic Analysis.** London, Department for International Development**: 64**.

Rust, V.D., and Dalin, P., (1990), **Teachers and Teaching in the Developing World,** New York: Garland.

Searle, B. (1985). **Evaluation in World Bank Education Projects: Lessons from Three Case Studies**. Washington, World Bank.

Schultz, T.P., (1993), 'Returns to Women's Education', in King and Hill (1991:43-78).

SIDA (1996a). **Policy for SIDA Cooperation in Basic Education and Education Reform**, Department for Democracy and Social Development, Education Division.

SIDA (1996b). **Towards Education for All in Rajasthan: Lok Jumbish and Shiksha Karmi Projects**, Department for Democracy and Social Development Education Division.

SIDA (1997). **SIDA Support to Education Programmes 1992/93, 1993/94, 1994/95**, Department for Democracy and Social Development, Education.

SIDA (1998a). **Evaluation of Sahaj Shiksha Programme of Lok Jumbish**.

SIDA (1998b). **Facts and Figures 1997: Education Programmes**, Department for Democracy and Social Development.

Sinclair, M. and K. Lillis (1980). **School and Community in the Third World**. London, Croom Helm, for the Institute of Development Studies.

Smith, R., J. Khan, et al. (1993**). Report of a Mission to Review NORAD's Support for Primary Education in Pakistan**. Islamabad.

Stefano, J. (1996). 'Community-Based Primary Education: Lessons learned from the Basic Education Expansion Project (BEEP) in Mali', USAID SD Publication Series Office of Sustainable Development Bureau for Africa: **Technical Paper no 15**.

Stefano, J. D., A. Hartwell, et al. (1995). 'Basic Education in Africa: USAID's Approach to Sustainable Reform in the 1990s'. **Technical Paper No. 14**.

Steward, J. and A. Felton (1998**). Evaluation of the Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project**. London, DFID: Evaluation Department.

USAID (1995). 'Overview of USAID Basic Education Programs in Sub-Saharan Africa II', SD Publication Series, Office of Sustainable Development, Bureau for Africa, **Technical paper no. 13**.

USAID/Ethiopia (1994). **Basic Education System Overhaul (BESO): Program Assistance Initial Proposal (PAIP) and Project Identification Document (PID)**, USAID, Ethiopia.

USAID/Malawi (1991). **Girls Attainment in Basic Literacy and Education (GABLE)**, USAID, Malawi.

Verspoor, A. (1991). **Lending for Learning: Twenty years of WB support for Basic Education**. Washington, World Bank.

World Bank, (1991), **World Development Report**, Washington D.C.

World Bank (1992a). **Bangladesh: Fourth Education (Primary) Project**. Performance Audit Report

World Bank (1992b). **Indonesia: Third Education Project and Second Textbook Project**. Performance Audit Report

World Bank (1994). **Ghana: First Education Sector Adjustment Credit**. Performance Audit Report

World Bank (1995). **Tanzania: Fourth Education Project, Fifth Education Project and Seventh Education Project**. Performance Audit Report

World Bank (1996). **Mali: Third Education Project**. Performance Audit Report

World Bank (2001) **Education and Health in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review of Sector Wide Approaches**. Washington D.C., The World Bank.

World Bank (2001) **A Chance to Learn: Knowledge and Finance for Education in Sub-Saharan Africa**. Washington D.C., World Bank.

Yogev, A. (1997). 'School Based Inservice Teacher Education.' **Prospects 27**(1).

DEPARTMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The Department for International Development (DFID) is the UK government department responsible for promoting development and the reduction of poverty. The government first elected in 1997 has increased its commitment to development by strengthening the department and increasing its budget.

The central focus of the government's policy, set out in the 1997 White Paper on International Development, is a commitment to the internationally agreed target to halve the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by 2015, together with the associated targets including basic health care provision and universal access to primary education by the same date. The second White Paper on International Development, published in December 2000, reaffirmed this commitment, while focusing specifically on how to manage the process of globalisation to benefit poor people.

DFID seeks to work in partnership with governments which are commited to the international targets, and seeks to work with business, civil society and the research community to this end. We also work with multilateral institutions including the World Bank, United Nations agencies and the European Community.

The bulk of our assistance is concentrated on the poorest countries in Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. We are also contributing to poverty elimination and sustainable development in middle income countries in Latin America, the Caribbean and elsewhere. DFID is also helping the transition countries in central and eastern Europe to try to ensure that the process of change brings benefits to all people and particularly to the poorest.

As well as its headquarters in London and East Kilbride, DFID has offices in many developing countries. In others, DFID works through staff based in British embassies and high commissions.

DFID's headquarters are located at:
94 Victoria Street
London SW1E 5JL
UK

(from January 2002: 1 Palace Street, London SW1E 5HE, UK)

and at:

DFID
Abercrombie House
Eaglesham Road
East Kilbride
Glasgow G75 8EA
UK

Switchboard: 020 7023 0000 Fax: 020 7023 0016
Website: www.dfid.gov.uk
Email: enquiry@dfid.gov.uk
Public Enquiry Point: 0845 3004100
From overseas: +44 1355 84 3132
ISBN: 1 86192 5166