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Learning Opportunities for All - A Policy Framework for Education, 1999, 56 p.



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DFID - Department for International Development

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Foreword

In the Government's White Paper *'Eliminating World Poverty: a Challenge for the 21st Century'* (1997) we set out the complete agenda for Britain's work in development; we committed ourselves to internationally agreed goals - including halving the numbers living in poverty and achieving universal primary education.



We put people at the heart of all our work, in human rights,

health, economic well-being, sustaining the environment - and in education. As we wrote in the White Paper "What we want for our own children, we want for all children".

This means that we want opportunities for all to learn, free from harassment, hunger or concerns about ill-health. Education must be valuable, both to the individual and to the economic development of the country. Girls as well as boys must attend school and gain the benefits of education. Adults also need the opportunity to benefit from literacy and gain access to skills training. Education systems should be effective and equitable and provide opportunities for all, especially the poorest.

Education is a complex web of competing priorities and needs: quality against cost; universal primary education against the skills needs at higher levels.

Helping our partner countries to build and sustain education

systems which give priority to primary education for all, but also develop effective higher education institutions, promote literacy and lifelong learning, and capture the benefits of education for development - this is our objective.

In *'Learning Opportunities for All'* we set out the policy framework for DFIDs work in education; the principles we aim to follow, the challenges we face, and the ways in which we intend to work in order to achieve our collective, global goals and objectives.

Secretary of State for International Development



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Acknowledgements

This policy framework is informed primarily by the experience and knowledge of many people in the countries with which DFID works. It draws too on DFID research into education and development and on reports and papers published by the World Bank, UNICEF, UNDP and other UN agencies. The campaigning and research work of UK based international NGOs including OXFAM and ActionAid has contributed to the formulation of the framework. A one day forum of UK NGOs provided helpful insights. In the early stages of drafting, several small UK advisory groups drew on their considerable experience and assisted DFID in thinking through some of the central ideas and themes. The work of all of these

contributors is acknowledged with gratitude.



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Glossary

ADEA	The Association for the Development of Education in Africa
CEDAW	Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CICHE	Committee for International Cooperation in Higher

	Education
COL	The Commonwealth of Learning
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
CSFP	Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFID	The Department for International Development
DPEP	District Primary Education Project (India)
EFA	Education for All
EU	European Union
FICHE	Fund for International Cooperation in Higher Education
ICT	Information Communications Technology
IDG	International Development Goal
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations

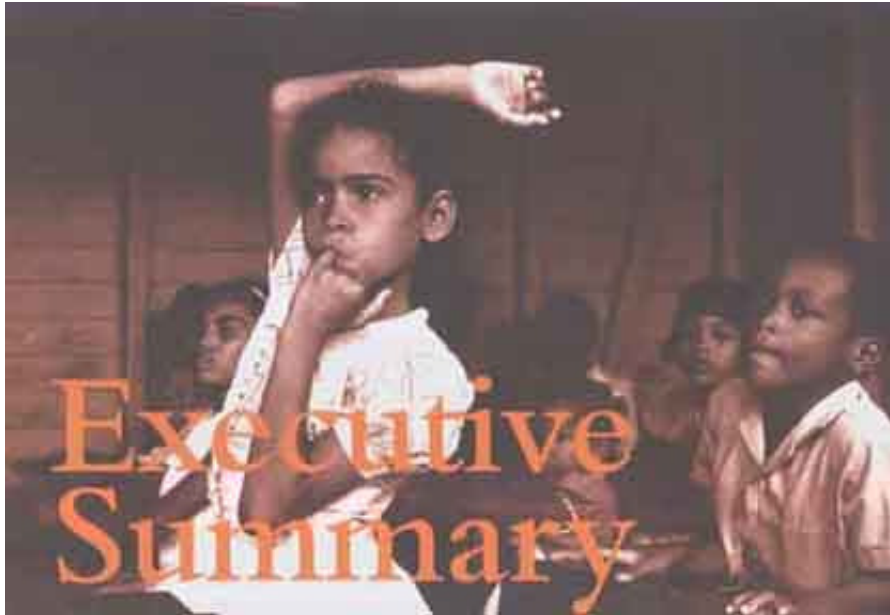
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education



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Executive summary



DFID's Commitment

To Promote

- education for the elimination of poverty
- better education for poor people
- education: a human right
- education for human development
- partnerships in support of education
- long-term support for major international education goals

Key Challenges

- effective, equitable schooling for all
- skills and knowledge for sustainable livelihoods

Major Goals

- effective and equitable universal primary education
- gender equality in school education
- literacy and skills development
- knowledge and skills for development in a global

world

- sustainable, well-managed education institutions, systems and partnerships

Ways of Working

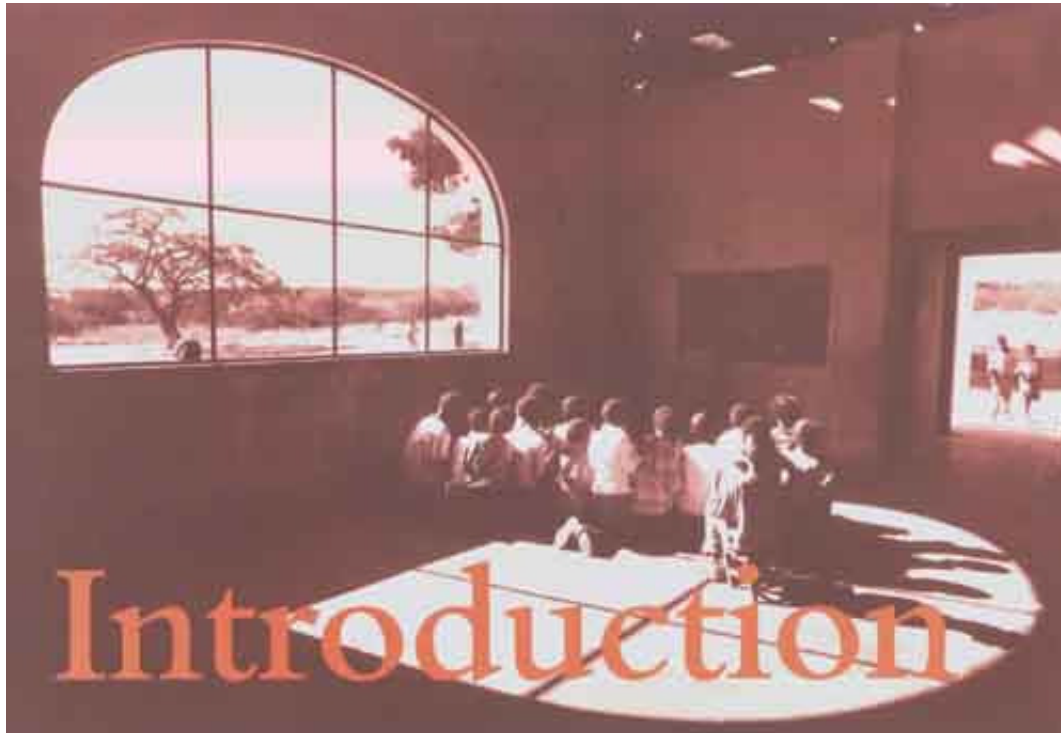
- education: a collective endeavour
- long-term bilateral partnerships
- influencing and sustaining international commitments
- generating and applying knowledge
- creative use of expertise



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Introduction



Education matters for the elimination of poverty and for meaningful development. It enables people to extend their range of opportunities and choices and to enjoy

more productive and satisfying lives. It contributes to the creation of sustainable livelihoods and economic well being. Education is an essential part of the route map away from poverty on the road to human development.

The British Government is committed to refocusing its international development efforts on the elimination of poverty and encouragement of economic growth which benefits poor people. It is doing this through support for international development targets and policies that create sustainable livelihoods for poor people, promote human development and enrich the environment. Long-term partnerships designed to promote education for all represent a significant contribution to this commitment.

This paper is written primarily for all those within DFID who are involved in the definition and implementation of education policy, particularly at a country and programme level. It is also for those with whom DFID works in governments, civil

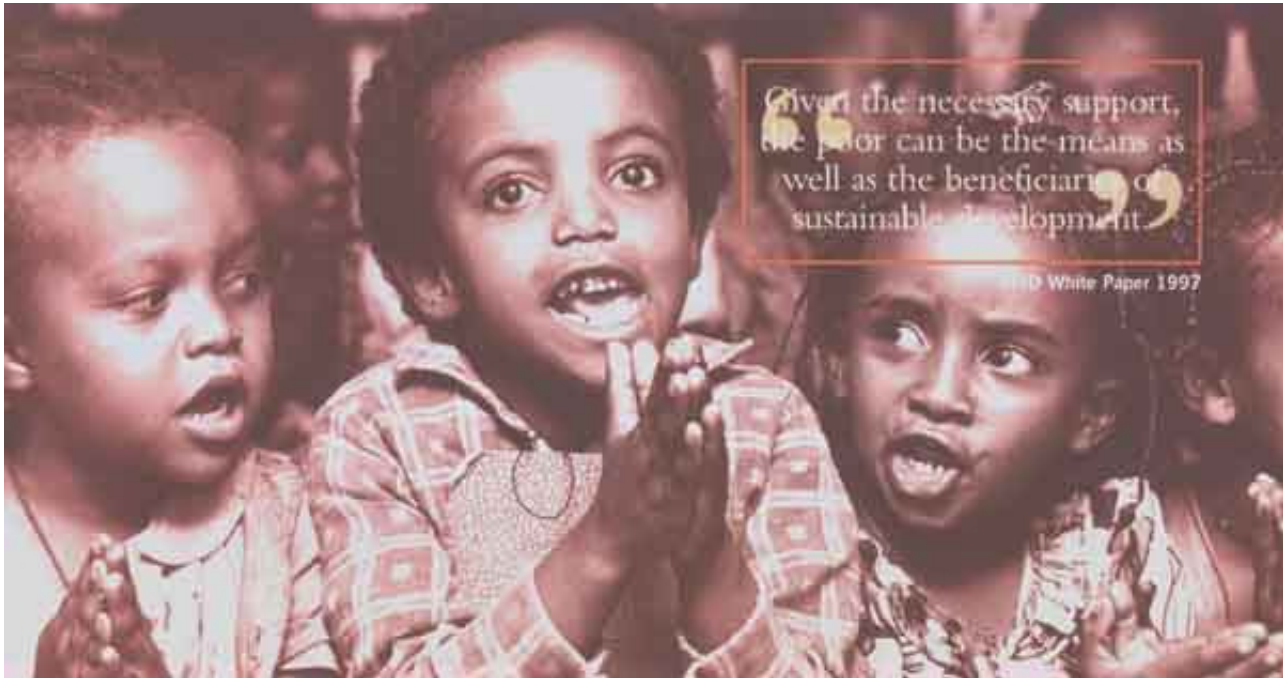
society organisations, educational institutions, and regional and international agencies. In large measure, it is a product of the discussions emanating from these relationships.

The framework is in four parts:

- Principles to guide action
- Challenges and opportunities
- Goals and outcomes
- Ways of working

"Without an education, people cannot work productively, care for their health, sustain and protect themselves and their families or live culturally enriched lives."

UNICEF 1998



DFID's commitment to education is guided by six major principles:

- Education for the elimination of poverty

- Better education for poor people
- Education: a human right
- Education for human development
- Partnerships in support of education
- Long-term support for major international education goals

Education for the Elimination of Poverty

Creating opportunities to acquire and apply knowledge and skills for the elimination of poverty underpins DFID's policy on education.

Nearly one quarter of the world's population live in extreme poverty, on less than the equivalent of US\$ 1 per day. 70% of these people are women. 39% of the 1.3 billion people live in South Asia, 34% in East Asia and the Pacific and 17% in Africa. For the poorest one fifth of the world's population, their share of the world's income fell from 2.3% to 1.4% in the

30 years from 1960.

Besides inadequate access to such basic essentials as personal and community security, food, health and assured basic income, poor people are deprived of adequate educational opportunities for themselves and for their children. It is estimated that over 900 million adults are illiterate; two thirds of whom are women.

The elimination of extreme poverty requires action on many fronts. For economic growth to enable large numbers of people to escape poverty will require changes in the distribution of assets in favour of the poor; better distribution of the benefits of economic growth; macro-economic stability to create the environment for investment; economic policies to encourage employment; and social policies to ensure adequate levels of investment in education and health. And an active civil society is essential if the voices of the poor, including children, are to be heard in debates about their own

future.

Poverty is a substantive barrier to sustainable development. It limits the potential for economic growth and denies many people the opportunity to acquire knowledge and skills to enable them to participate fully in the social, economic and cultural life of their communities.

The lack of educational opportunity is a manifestation of poverty, a denial of individual and social rights and needs. Conversely, poverty limits access to education and is a barrier to the development of the knowledge and the skills needed to help in its elimination.

"...there are new ways to enable those who are poor, marginalised, illiterate and excluded to analyse their realities and express their priorities; that the realities they express of conditions, problems, livelihood strategies and

priorities often differ from what development professionals have believed; and that new experiences can put policy-makers in closer touch with those realities."

Robert Chambers 1998

Better Education for Poor People

DFID will support policies and programmes that are responsive to the educational realities and expressed needs of children, poor households and disadvantaged communities.

The design of effective and sustainable education strategies should be informed by an understanding of the nature and the causes of poverty. Poverty and education interact at different levels; within families and households (women and men, boys and girls), within communities and nationally. There is

vulnerability and uncertainty at each level. The poor are most at risk.

For children in poor households or those obliged to fend for themselves, the relationship between education and poverty is likely to be a vicious circle. The poverty of their families means that children share the stress and the burden of both lack of income and social exclusion. There may be little time for informal education. Distance from schools may limit access, as do the hours children contribute to household survival. This affects girls more than boys and involves caring for siblings, fetching water and fuel, preparing food, or working on city streets, all of which can be exploitative and dangerous. Lack of nutritious food and safe water compromises health and development.

It is relatively unusual for national education strategies to take close account of poverty assessments and tailor programmes accordingly. DFID will support governments which decide to

match both policy and practice more closely to the realities and expressed needs of poor people. Many civil society organisations and NGOs are able to offer helpful, innovative and nationally relevant experience in this regard.

It is equally important, to have clear analysis of the macroeconomic context within which governments approach pro-poor reform. Developing realistic, sustainable, and protected expenditure frameworks to meet the educational needs of the most disadvantaged is a necessary component of economic and social development policy.

Education: A Human Right

Many developing countries are signatories to international conventions and have enshrined the basic right to education in national constitutions and policy statements. These commitments provide a strong basis on which to build supportive international partnerships.

The DFID White Paper, *Eliminating World Poverty* (1997) endorses the emphasis of the World Summit on Social Development (Copenhagen 1995) that sustainable development is not possible unless human rights are protected for all, including the poorest and most disadvantaged.

The right to education is enshrined in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) and in more recent conventions, notably the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989) which has been ratified by 191 countries. The World Conference on Education for All (Jomtien 1990) signalled the emergence of a new international consensus, founded on the need for a quality basic education for all, which extends beyond schooling into adulthood.

DFID subscribes strongly to the Jomtien *World Declaration on Education for All* (EFA) when it states:

The most urgent priority is to ensure access to, and improve the quality of, education for girls and women, and to remove every obstacle that hampers their active participation.

Education is a basic human right which provides the individual with the opportunity to learn, a process of intrinsic human value. It is also a means of helping to realise human rights. It enables people to participate more fully in civil society and democratic processes; to be proactive in their own development.

Education for Human Development

Education contributes to both the means and the ends of human development. DFID will support programmes designed to strengthen productive linkages between education and other sectors and disciplines.

Education is central to human development. It is a key part of the process of expanding human capabilities. In meeting basic learning needs it provides:

"Education is a human right with immense power to reform. On its foundation rest the cornerstones of freedom, democracy and sustainable human development.... there is no higher priority, no mission more important, than that of Education for All"

Kofi Annan 1998

"...for some developing regions, achievement of DAC poverty targets depends critically on the pattern as well as the rate of growth."

Hanmer, de Jong, Kuman and Mooj 1998

"A study of 45 developing countries found that the average mortality rate for children under 5 was 144 per 1,000 live births when their mothers had no education, 106 per 1,000 when they had primary education only, and 68 per 1,000 when they had some secondary education."

World Development Report 1998

"....essential learning tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy and problem solving) and the basic learning content (knowledge, skills, values and attitudes) required by human beings to be able to survive, to develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions and to continue learning"

(World Declaration on Education for All 1990).

It has both direct and indirect effects:

"The expansion of human capabilities (including through education) has both "direct" and "indirect" importance in the achievement of development. The indirect role works through the contribution of capability expansion in enhancing productivity, raising economic growth, broadening development priorities and bringing demographic changes more within reasoned control. The direct importance of human capability expansion lies in its intrinsic value and constitutive role in human freedom, well-being and quality of life"

(Amartya Sen 1997).

Conceived in this way, education encourages thinking across sector boundaries, promotes the idea of linkage and continuity, recognises the social, economic and human welfare benefits that flow from education and provides a framework for education within the wider domain of sustainable human development. Figures A and B demonstrate some of these linkages.

LINKAGES: INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY

LINKAGES: EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

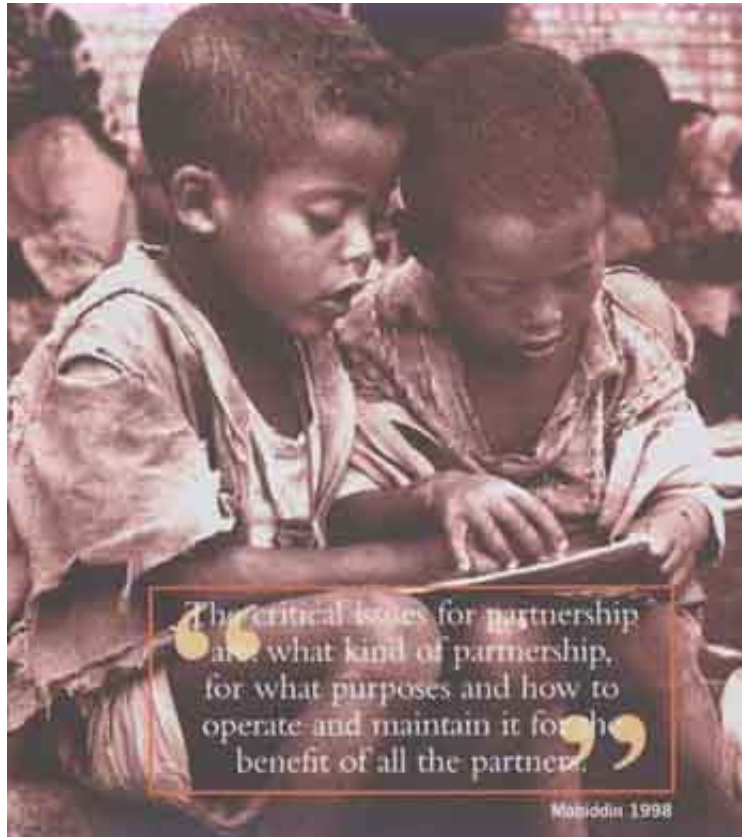
Partnerships in Support of Education

DFID will assist the strengthening of education systems through partnerships that build in a sustainable way on local and national initiatives.

DFID will help to build and sustain partnerships for the

elimination of poverty. We will support governments which have a clear commitment to meeting the International Development Goals (IDGs) for education and a willingness to involve primary stakeholders in the definition and development of educational change. We will work to strengthen existing systems and structures and help to build the capacity of key institutions. We will support innovation and risk taking where this is directed to the search for ways to effect nation-wide change. We will be informed by, and give support for, research, and will promote the sharing of national and international experience.

Country programmes will be underpinned by country strategy agreements, the product of a consultative process with governments and informed by discussions with civil society organisations and international partners. Defining support for education will be part of this process.



The critical issues for partnership are: what kind of partnership, for what purposes and how to operate and maintain it for the benefit of all the partners.

Mubiodin 1998

"We want to work with governments who are

committed to poverty eradication targets in their country.....We are talking much more about working with governments sectorally to get big changes in their development, and working with civil societies to support these changes"

Clare Short 1998

Relationships with education ministries are taking new forms. Partnerships are being forged with government, NGOs, civil society organisations and other bilateral agencies in support of sector *wide* change and reform. Local level partnerships are critical for the success of this process. New codes of conduct, instituted by governments and development agencies together, are being put into place. In some countries, where there is a supportive environment, short-term project commitments are being replaced by long-term budgetary support.

Sustaining commitment and support for education for all requires strong international consensus. We will enhance DFID's capacity to influence and support multilateral and regional organisations and programmes, including the World Bank, the European Union and the UN system.

The UK possesses a rich resource of individuals, institutions and organisations dedicated to pro-poor education policy and practice. This resource needs to be engaged with us in ways of working which have the potential to help realise international education objectives.

Long-term Support for Major International Education Goals

As part of its commitment to promoting education for all and better education for poor people, DFID will give particular emphasis to national and international efforts to meet the education-related goals of Education for All and the

International Development Goals (IDGs) set by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

Priority will be given to meeting the International Development Goals (IDG) of:

- Universal Primary Education (UPE) in all countries by 2015
- Demonstrated progress towards gender equality and the empowerment of women by eliminating gender disparity in primary end secondary education by 2005.

DFID will also help to promote adult literacy, lifelong learning and the acquisition of practical skills for development, for women and for men. All of these priorities are in line with the International Declaration on Education for All (EFA Jomtien 1990) and other international commitments (New York 1990,

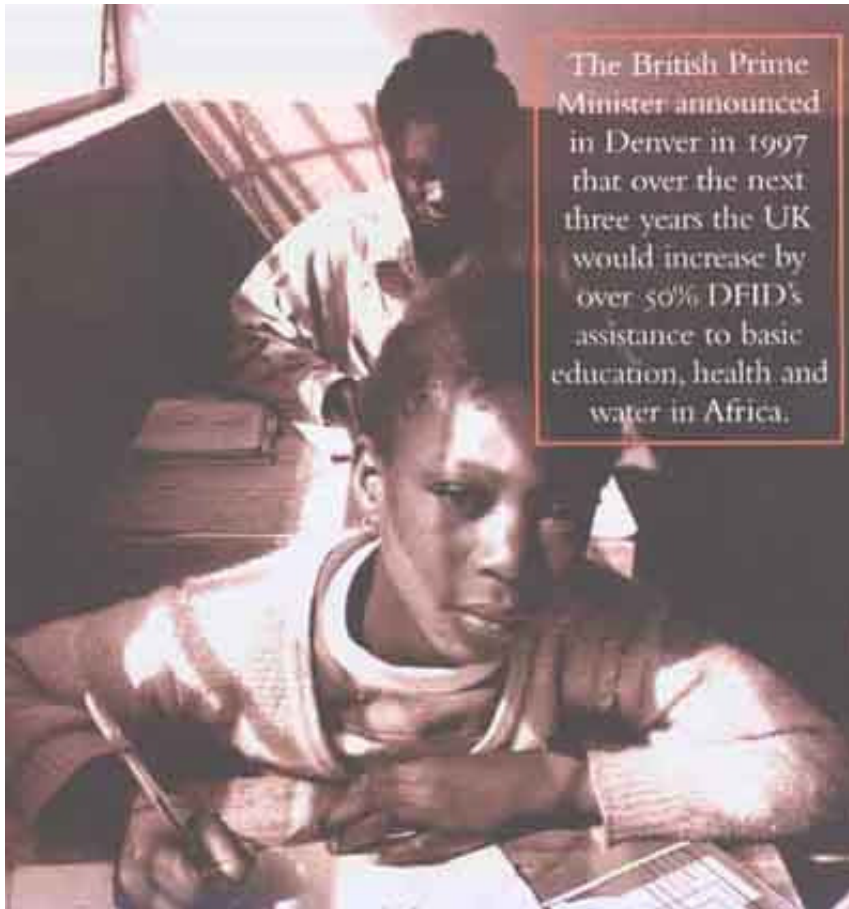
Rio 1992, Vienna 1993, Cairo 1994, Copenhagen 1995 and Beijing 1995).

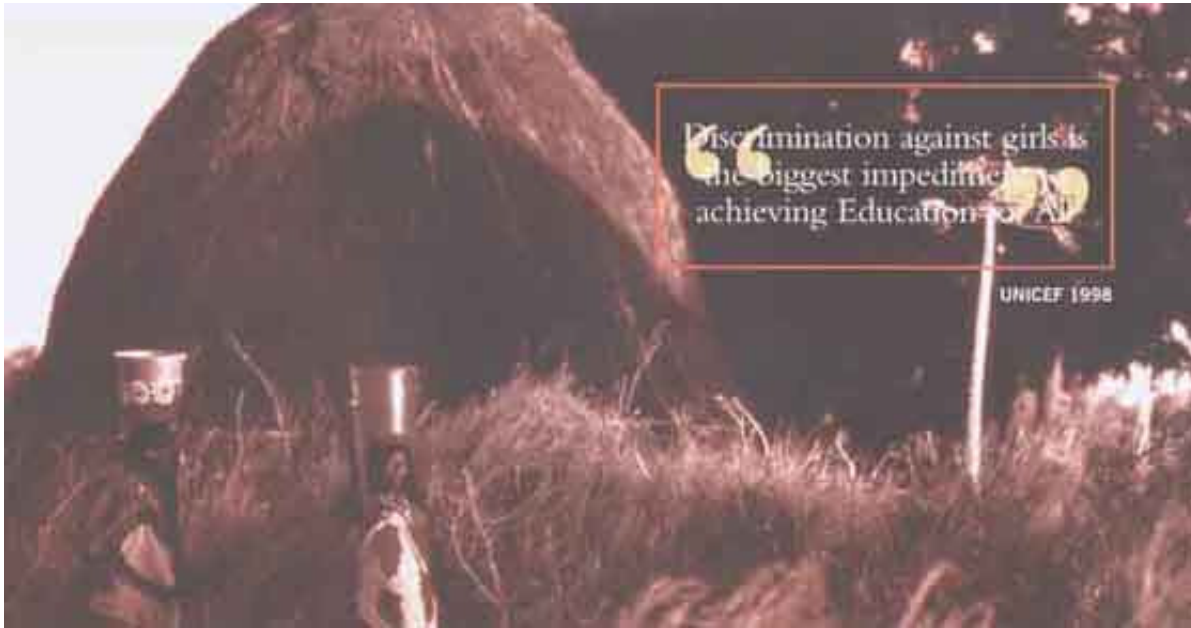
The relationships between better health and better education will receive more focused attention. The impact of HIV/AIDS on education systems and the importance of education in promoting changes in attitudes and behaviour will be given priority, especially in Africa. The pandemic seriously threatens UPE and is having a major negative impact on human development. Links between nutrition, safe water and effective sanitation will inform primary education programmes. Strengthening national capacities to provide the skills and the knowledge to promote and sustain education for poverty elimination will remain a key DFID strategy.

These priorities will receive attention in the knowledge that national education systems and their constituent activities, formal and nonformal, are inextricably linked. Development in one part of the sector has almost immediate implications for

other sub-sectors - professionally, economically and developmentally. The need to act within an overall sector context will strongly inform DFID's approach.

Strategies to attain the major international goals need international support. DFID will continue to argue for enhanced financial resources for basic education. In some countries this may be linked to debt alleviation strategies, enabling governments to increase spending on pro-poor development including education.





The Challenge of Universal Primary Education

Effective and equitable universal primary education is an essential foundation for creating and sustaining education for all.

There have been remarkable successes in increasing the access of children to school. Approximately 75% of school age children are enrolled in the primary schools of developing countries. The figure was below 50% in 1960.

50 million more children were enrolled in 1996 than 1990. However, many countries will fail to achieve the 1990 EFA commitment of universal access to, and completion of, primary education by the year 2000. Without clear and strongly directed strategies they will remain off course to meet the IDG target by 2015.

More than 130 million children do not attend primary school at all; 21% of the primary school age population. Of this figure, 73 million are girls and in countries where overall enrolment is low, girls' enrolment is likely to be lower than boys'. In sub-Saharan Africa the out of school population aged between 6 to 11 is expected to increase by 44% during the 1990s, primarily as a result of population growth. Girls will

outnumber boys in this out of school population.

There are many groups of children whose chances of gaining access to primary education are slim: those who live in poor, isolated rural communities, AIDS orphans (8 million in sub-Saharan Africa), children involved in armed conflict, the disabled, street children and disadvantaged ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. It is estimated that there are 250 million children working full or part time in developing countries.

Reaching these "missing children" is a challenge which requires resources, political commitment and will, and a flexibility of response to match specific circumstances.

Increasing the availability of a school education and raising enrolment levels is the first step to achieving UPE; retaining children in school in order that they may acquire a meaningful basic education which helps to equip them to lead productive

and enriched lives is the real goal. It is not easy to keep children who live in poverty, at school, for a full cycle of basic education. In South Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean only two thirds of the children who start primary school reach the fifth year of primary education. A complex mixture of supply and demand factors means the poverty of communities and the poor quality of schooling threaten attendance and limit meaningful learning. A range of school-based and out of school strategies are needed to ensure that schools offer an education which is relevant for every child and for the community from which she or he comes. In some countries, NGOs, working alongside governments, help to provide and sustain primary education through a mix of formal and non-formal programmes. Early childhood care and development, including pre-school education, is an important contribution to early learning and basic education but is uneven in its coverage and variable in its quality.

Figure C - Estimated Number of 6-11 old children out of school in the 2000

UNICEF and World Bank 1998

"...the evidence suggests that, except in the very poorest settings, the key to closing wealth gaps in enrolment and attainment will require actions which raise the demand for schooling of the poor. Raising the quality of schooling received at the primary level is likely to be the key ingredient to attract and retain poor children in school."

Filmer and Pritchett 1998

For the majority of boys and girls from poor households, primary education is the one chance they will have to acquire basic literacy, numeracy and some essential life skills to

enhance their chances of a sustainable livelihood. For some, it will provide a platform for further, formal learning opportunities. Improving the quality of primary education is central to ensuring that these life chances are real and enriching. Attendance at school does not always mean that learning takes place. Attendance without learning ultimately wastes extremely scarce resources.

Understanding and implementing strategies which are effective in improving the quality of schooling is one of the greatest challenges facing developing countries in their quest for UPE. Poor quality schooling depresses the demand for education and limits the impact which UPE can have on the elimination of poverty and economic growth.

The Challenge of Gender Equality in School Education

Gender equality is a strategic objective for "people-centred" development.

Gender equality in education, and in development more generally, has been reflected and promoted in a sequence of major international conventions and declarations. The external benefits which flow from the education of girls are well documented. But translating the commitments and the research evidence into policies and practice remains a significant challenge.

There is a need for specific targets for achieving equality in the involvement of women and girls in education, as well as very practical approaches to improving the integration of gender into the mechanisms of policy development and implementation. It is important to understand the web of issues, constraints and power relationships that affect the schooling of girls - within families, communities, schools, cultures and societies, and within governments - if practical solutions are to be defined, shared and implemented.

There is a major challenge too for women working in

education systems. Women teachers are important role models in many societies. But their professional and career opportunities are rarely as good as those of their male counterparts.

In some countries the gender balance tilts in the opposite direction. In the Caribbean, it is boys who drop out of school and male youths who experience the poverty of being unemployed and unskilled.

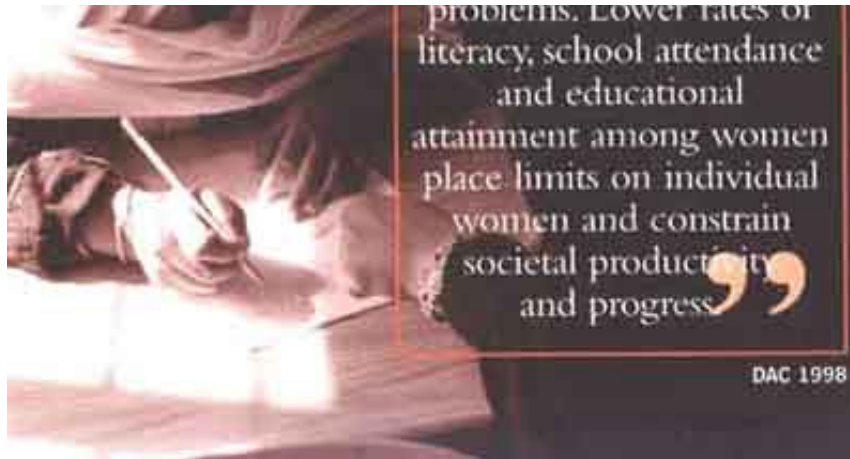
The Challenge of Literacy

Literacy in its many forms and uses is an essential component of pro-poor development.

Literacy is difficult to define and to measure and figures need to be treated with caution. A widely used estimate is that there are 900 million people over the age of 15 who cannot read or write, two thirds of whom are women. This figure is

based on a definition of functional literacy: the ability to use reading and writing skills effectively in a local context. There is little or no global evidence about numeracy. There are large and deeply embedded disparities across and within countries: it is estimated (UNESCO 1995) that over 55% of adult illiterates (471 million) are in South Asia. World Bank sources (1998) suggest that 45% of women and 24% of men in low income economies are illiterate.





While effective UPE is the long-term answer to the eradication of illiteracy, primary education is more effective for children who have literate parents and guardians. Literate parents are more likely to ensure that their children attend school; effective adult literacy programmes contribute to effective UPE. This gives added importance to enabling out of school youth and adults, particularly women, to acquire forms of literacy that give them greater control over their lives. One literate person in a household has the potential to make a

substantial difference for each illiterate member, in providing access to information and accomplishing tasks that require literacy skills.

"Literacy in itself is not sufficient to empower people unless conscious and planned efforts are made to interweave it with a participatory and empowering development process."

Phnuyal 1998

"The basic learning needs of youth and adults are diverse....literacy programmes are indispensable because literacy is a necessary skill in itself and the foundation of other life skills."

World Declaration on Education for All 1990

Few governments have accorded adult literacy high priority. Neither have donor agencies. National literacy campaigns have often been poorly resourced or ill-managed, lacking direct relevance to the circumstances of people. Islands of adult literacy, resulting from the initiative of community or civil society organisations lie in a sea of inactivity. Sustaining literacy within communities has received little attention.

There is no single strategy to meet the needs and circumstances of illiterate people. There is a requirement to search for imaginative ways of responding to the learning needs of adults in a manner that accepts that a basic education is as much the right of women and men as it is of children. It was for this reason that the World Declaration on Education for All (1990) included a commitment to reducing adult illiteracy by one half from 1990 to 2000.

The Challenge of Skills and Knowledge for Sustainable Livelihoods

Skills Development and Knowledge Creation Secondary and Higher Education

Effective UPE, progress towards gender equality, and adult literacy are all essential planks in the platform of learning opportunities for all. They are priorities which respond to the learning needs and aspirations of poor people. They are a major and necessary contribution to education for sustainable livelihoods. They provide basic skills. But they are not the whole of the story.

Skills Development and Knowledge Creation

Two of the six goals of the World Declaration on Education for All (1990) recognise the importance of basic education and training for youth and adults and the importance of improved dissemination of the knowledge, skills and values

required for better living and for sustainable development.

The World Development Report: *Knowledge for Development* (1998/99) addresses the need for human capital, as well as physical, social and economic wealth. It identifies the difference between the poor and the rich, both countries and people, not only in terms of wealth, but also knowledge. Closing the knowledge gap and enhancing the capacity of institutions and individuals in poorer countries to create and apply knowledge is a challenge which extends well beyond the boundaries of formal education systems

Devising productive linkages between formal, school-based education, skills training and creating opportunities for economically sustainable livelihoods are elements in a complex debate which is active in all countries. Developing skills training policy and practice to meet the needs of both the formal and informal sectors and to give priority to the most economically disadvantaged, leads to a variety of

models and systems - public and private. Policy and practice do not sit neatly within a single sector. Training is more heterogeneous than general education and there are few examples of genuinely comparable national training systems.

There is a growing number of countries in which there are pressing demands for training systems to reach socio-economic excluded groups, in spite of the generally disappointing results of these programmes. A new clientele of increasing importance is those in or about to enter the informal sector. Lifelong learning rather than once and for all skill acquisition is increasingly finding favour with governments

(Fluitman 1998)

DFID's evolving Skills for Development programme is being designed to address some of these challenges. It recognises

four broad categories of skills needed by individuals and the societies within which they live:

- those enabling or empowering the individual to escape from poverty;
- those promoting the development of scientific, technological and technical skills for employment;
- enhanced professional skills; and
- higher level policy, analytical and planning skills.

Secondary and Higher Education

A further challenge is the need to impart the knowledge and skills in the secondary and tertiary levels of education which will develop capabilities and capacities to contribute directly and substantively to economic growth and the elimination of poverty.

In many education systems there is no overt distinction

between primary and junior secondary education. Basic education is often defined to include the junior years of secondary education; seven to nine years of schooling in all. The two greatest challenges for the secondary level are to absorb the growing numbers of students from expanded primary systems and to provide a quality of education which will build on their basic knowledge and skills, broaden their competencies and enhance their employment opportunities. Many developing countries start from a low base: 23% secondary Gross Enrolment Rate for boys and 14% for girls in the least developed countries in 1995. Figure D provides examples.

Secondary education builds on the basic skills of literacy and numeracy. It focuses on discipline-based study and should enhance social and scientific awareness. At best, it is a preparation for higher education, lifelong learning and the world of work. The skills and competencies required to lessen young people's vulnerability to poverty and provide

skills which are meaningful for economic development in a global world, highlight the importance of secondary education.

Higher education too is vital for a learning society and yet tertiary enrolment in developing countries stands at 8.8% compared with 59.6% in industrialised countries. The World Conference on Higher Education (UNESCO Paris 1998) sought to shape a new international vision for higher education:

Figure D - Secondary School Gross Enrolment Rate 1990-1996

UNESCO 1998

"There needs to be a more realistic assessment of the relationships between various modalities of education for all and versions of productive

work for all....Too little is known about the extent to which what goes on in education and training institutions provides valuable learning for sustainable livelihoods."

King and McGrath 1999

"The aggressive investment in tertiary education that many of the East Asian economies made enabled them to sustain the new industries that provided the basis of their later growth. Thanks to these education investments, these economies were able to sustain their strategy of technology adoption in a world of constantly shifting knowledge."

World Development Report 1998/99

Without adequate higher education and research institutions providing a critical mass of skilled and educated people, no country can ensure endogenous and sustainable development and, in particular, developing countries... cannot reduce the gap separating them from the industrially developed ones. Sharing knowledge, international co-operation and new technologies can offer new opportunities to reduce this gap.

(World Declaration on Higher Education for the Twenty First Century: Vision and Action. UNESCO 1998)

The need of developing countries to absorb and exploit global knowledge and new technologies, requires the capacity to assess, adapt and develop appropriate national responses. This requires investment in higher education which may be difficult to sustain given the necessary demands of basic

education, hard decisions about the areas of study to which tertiary education should give priority and clarity on how best to create productive links with the world of work and with other parts of the education system. And it points to the importance of research and knowledge generation which is directly relevant to poverty elimination and economic growth.

The role of universities and other higher education institutions is clear: they provide the essential skills needed to build a critical mass for the professions - law, teaching, medicine, economics - and the sciences - natural, social and applied - which contribute to the creation of human capacities and capabilities. Countries' economic development correlates with their ability to adopt and adapt new technologies. This capacity needs to be fostered in a properly resourced and managed environment of open intellectual enquiry. In many poorer countries this environment is fragile or may hardly exist.

Constraints to Meeting the Challenges

Creating opportunities to acquire and apply knowledge and skills for the elimination of poverty requires responsive, comprehensive and well-managed national education systems.

The challenges are formidable and take different forms in different societies. They are inter-related and their significance and the priority which is accorded to one or more of them will be context specific and will change over time.

There are major constraints to be overcome. Figure E summarises some of the more important of these in relation to the challenges of UPE and gender equality in schooling. The absence of coherent policy and the limitations of much of the practice are not peculiar to education. However the nature of education - its timing, its duration, its processes and its objectives - requires strong, long-term advocacy and

commitment, clarity and consistency of policy and sustained, well-managed provision of financial and human resources.

Figure E

Major constraints in achieving UPE and gender equality in school education

Policy	Practice
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • lack of political commitment to UPE and gender equality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • insufficient and/or inappropriate budgetary allocations - geographically and sub-sectorally
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • inappropriate, non poverty-focused priorities: e.g defence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • placing the financial burden on parents (directly and indirectly) with strong negative impact on education, particularly for girls.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • inter and intra-sector budgetary imbalances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • highly centralised and inefficient management systems: failure to

	involve primary stakeholders and school-based personnel
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the absence of development related education objectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the failure to place the child and the school at the heart of the education enterprise: the lack of a whole school improvement ethic; insufficient focus on the process of learning in classrooms
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • goals which fail to take into account the different needs of women and men 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the absence of minimum learning packages - poorly motivated teachers, a dearth of learning materials, poor or dangerous learning environments
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • policy which is not grounded in a consultative process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • inflexible school schedules which may discriminate against girls and severely disadvantaged communities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the lack of medium term 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • insufficient attention to health

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● the lack of medium-term programming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● insufficient attention to health, nutrition, sanitation and safe water
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● the absence of cross sector linkages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● inappropriate curricula; a lack of gender awareness or the reinforcement of gender bias
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● lack of reliable and gender-disaggregated data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● ill co-ordinated, time consuming donor supported projects
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● failure to learn from the experience and from the aspirations of the poor, women and men; to understand the nature of the demand for education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● inconsistent NGO practices
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● the absence of policy advocates and champions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● the lack of meaningful innovation, research and impact study

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a slow move into UPE and girls' education by bilateral aid agencies: duplication; poor co-ordination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the absence of cross sectoral approaches to education at community level
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • failure to respond to the diversity of geographical, economic, social, religious and cultural circumstances in defining policy/practice 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the weak exploitation of partnerships - local, national and international - in the definition of policy 	

"A problem analysis phase, including

stakeholder participation, is underway to generate a better understanding of the primary education system, especially how it relates to ethnic minority groups and the poor in Vietnam. It may identify possible changes to policies, including those that affect cost recovery, hours spent in the classroom by pupils and teachers, and matters that bear on repetition rates."

DFID Country Strategy Paper Vietnam 1998

There is growing evidence in many developing countries of a shift towards giving greater priority to the educational challenges and priorities identified above and of a serious intent to address some of the constraints set out in Figure E. There are indications too of a willingness on the part of the international community to bring greater coherence and coordination to its collective efforts in support of education for

poverty elimination and sustainable economic growth.

These opportunities need to be exploited. The collective agreements enshrined in international conventions and expressed in specific goals and targets provide frameworks for action. The progressive policies of countries prepared to commit themselves strongly to UPE, gender equality, literacy and skills development should be supported, studied and their positive experiences shared.

Governments developing policy and practice in a consultative and truly participatory way, responsive to a diversity of circumstances, and willing to devolve management to those directly involved in educational activity, deserve international encouragement and support.

Strong national commitment to clearly defined education goals and objectives, set within a long-term, nation-wide, sector policy and underpinned by a viable budgetary

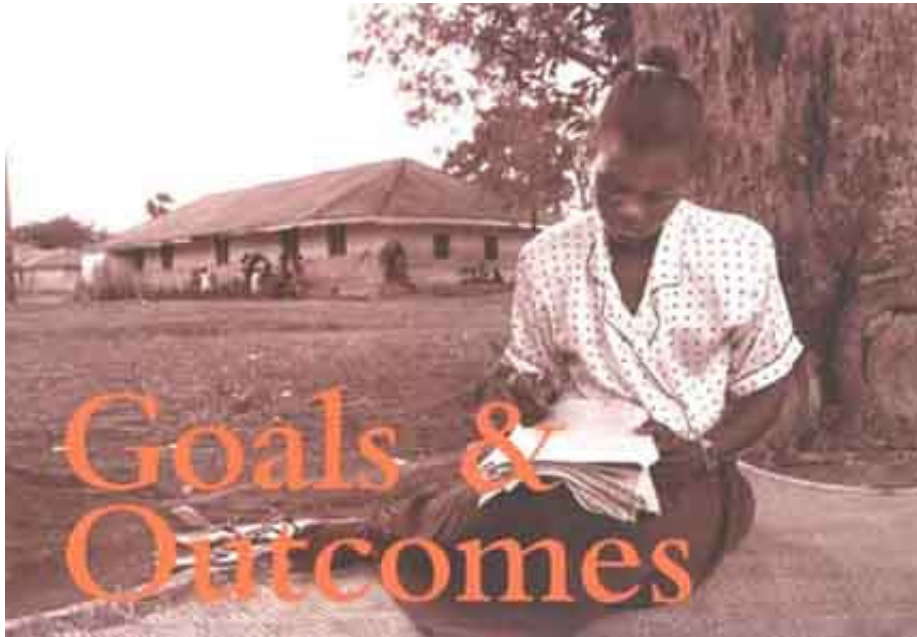
framework can provide an important vehicle for sustained and meaningful support to education.

Opportunities and benefits from cross-sectoral linkage are increasingly being identified and exploited. The nexus of education, health, water and sanitation is one important grouping. Established connections between girls' education, improved levels of nutrition, family planning and economic productivity, provide external impetus for ensuring that every girl is able to capitalise on her right to education. Policy and practice in respect of girls' education should reflect and support these complex inter-relationships.

Literacy is by no means the preserve of the formal education system. Many literacy programmes are embedded in the needs of other activities - agriculture, health and civil rights. Or they grow from the expressed concerns of individuals and communities.

Skills development and knowledge creation cut across ministries, the private sector and community-based organisations. These range from the acquisition of simple technical skills to the application of sophisticated technologies for national programmes. The process of generating knowledge and disseminating information exists within communities as it does through government and private sector systems. The diversity of contexts within which the acquisition of literacy, skills and knowledge are set, necessitates a policy environment which enables a mix of responses, which is sensitive to circumstance and need.





A Framework for Action

Education for all is central to national policies for the elimination of poverty, human development and

sustainable economic growth.

In helping to create opportunities to acquire and apply knowledge and skills for these purposes, DFID will support the efforts of peoples and governments committed to:

- Effective and equitable UPE
- Gender equality in school education
- Literacy and skills development
- Knowledge and skills for development in a global world
- Sustainable, well-managed, education institutions, systems and partnerships.

The attainment of these goals requires:

- strong political commitment and leadership
- realistic budgetary and expenditure frameworks and effective financial management systems

- the management of education close to educational activity
- the application of knowledge and technology - including Information Communications Technology (ICT) - to improve management systems and enhance the quality of learning.

The link between education, the elimination of poverty and economic growth is neither a neat nor a linear relationship. What is clear is that the eradication of poverty and pump-priming sustainable economic growth is unlikely to happen without strong and sustained commitment to creating educational opportunities and enabling people to benefit from them throughout their lives.

Effective and Equitable UPE

Overcoming Barriers to Access
Supporting Children to Complete a Full Cycle of
Basic Education
Improving the Quality of Schooling
Equity for All Children
Placing UPE within the Wider Education Sector

Universal Primary Education by 2015 is a challenging target. It is an objective which will underpin and inform DFID's approach to education in its country level and international partnerships. It will be a major benchmark against which to assess its investments in education.

Effective UPE requires increased access to learning opportunities and the regular attendance of girls and boys at school (or its nonformal equivalent) for a complete cycle of good quality basic education. Defined in this way, UPE is more than 100% net enrolment. It encompasses:

- overcoming barriers to access and retention
- supporting children to complete a basic cycle of education
- improving the quality of schooling
- equity for all children
- placing UPE within the wider education sector

Attaining and sustaining effective UPE will lie at the heart of DFID's co-operation with national governments, NGOs and other development agencies. Progress towards UPE within individual countries will be monitored carefully. Where appropriate, assistance will be given to develop national, regional and international capacity to collect accurate, gender-disaggregated data on core indicators, including net primary school enrolment, completion rates and post-school literacy levels; data which is essential to measure progress and inform policy. DFID will help to sustain international commitment to UPE through such fora as Education For All

(EFA), within the European Union and with UN agencies.

Overcoming Barriers to Access

Access to school is denied to many children, particularly girls, because of the costs - direct and indirect - which are incurred by families and individuals. The primary responsibility for the financing of primary education lies with governments. But there is mixed evidence of the willingness of governments to accord basic education (and basic health) the priority which it deserves. DFID will support governments prepared to give sustained budgetary support to basic education within a comprehensive sector framework which recognises the need for equitable geographical and gender-related provision.

"...a combination of reforms to education policy in developing countries, some modest switching of expenditures by them towards primary schooling, and additional transfers of around

\$US 2 billion per year (or about US\$ 2.5 billion in 1990 prices) from northern countries are needed to provide schooling of minimally acceptable quality for all the worlds children."

Colclough with Lewin 1993

DFID generally supports the conclusion of the International Forum on Consensus on Principles of Cost Sharing in Education and Health in Africa (Addis Ababa 1997) that:

General taxation and other forms of government revenue are more effective, efficient and equitable methods of raising revenue for financing social services [defined as basic education and health] than are cost sharing mechanisms".

DFID funded research has suggested that:

"...the aggregate effect [of cost sharing] seems to have been that cost sharing has contributed to a stagnation in enrolment ratios and failure to improve the quality of educational provision, and that it has enabled governments to avoid difficult reforms"

(Penrose 1997).

Where costs have to be incurred by parents and guardians there is scope for measures which lessen the burden on poor people. These include reducing and/or staggering the direct costs of education, non- discretionary exemption schemes and flexibility in the provision of schooling to mitigate seasonal demands on child labour and the requirements of the daily household economy.

Access to school may be denied for physical reasons. There may be no school or it may be at a distance which requires a long daily walk with potential physical dangers and health

risks for very young children, especially girls. Adolescent and pre-adolescent girls may be at risk from sexual harassment and rape. DFID will support sector reforms that address geographical inequalities and enhance institutional capacity to gather accurate data, map social and educational needs and develop sensitive school design, development and management approaches.

Primary education may be barred to children by their parents, guardians or wider community for cultural, religious and other reasons which are grounded in the social, as well as the economic circumstances of households and communities. Understanding these issues and their causes and defining appropriate educational responses is an essential component of any strategy designed to give access to the most disadvantaged. DFID will support national sector initiatives which address context specific issues of language, gender prejudice, inappropriate school calendars, and politically charged or potentially divisive learning processes.

Many of the most severely marginalised children, "missing" from school, are those for whom poverty is compounded by other disadvantages. These include: disabled children, orphan children with HIV/AIDS, the children of nomadic communities, boy and girl soldiers, child parents, the 250 million children in full or part time labour, refugee children, street children, child sex workers and more. Enabling these children to have educational opportunities is one of the most difficult challenges in attaining effective UPE. DFID will support research and innovation designed to respond to the educational rights and needs of these groups of children.

For many illiterate people access to a "second chance", basic education is a lifeline to a more meaningful existence. While UPE refers to eligible primary age children, it can be endorsed, supported and strengthened by enabling out of school youth and adults to acquire literacy and basic skills. In addition to enabling individuals to access written materials, there is the greater likelihood that literate mothers and

fathers will wish their sons and daughters to attend school. DFID will support initiatives which recognise the importance of "second chance" education.

Supporting Children to Complete a Full Cycle of Basic Education

The completion of primary education is unlikely to occur without strong community support and participation. Enshrining the rights of communities in the practice of educating their children is needed at policy level and legislative levels in many countries. A second major challenge is to design effective approaches to the decentralisation of the financing and management of schools to enable communities to play a leadership role in the development of their schools. Sustaining UPE depends in considerable measure on stimulating the interest of boys and girls and their mothers, fathers and guardians, enabling them to help shape local educational provision and contribute to the development

of their school. DFID will encourage research in this important area, support innovation and the sharing of practical and effective strategies and assist sector reform which promotes community participation.

Children are unlikely to stay in school or learn effectively if the physical environment of the school is unhealthy and unsafe. The provision of safe water, good sanitation, secure, safe and physically attractive buildings are important components in making a school which is a place to be, rather than a place to avoid. This is particularly true for adolescent girls who must have access to adequate sanitation facilities.

Hungry, ill-fed children are unlikely to stay in school regularly; hunger affects attention, concentration and learning. Although a complex issue, school feeding programmes may be the answer in certain circumstances.

Improving the Quality of Schooling

Assessment and Evaluation
Whole School Development
Curriculum
Language for Learning
Teachers
Teaching and Learning Materials
The Learning Environment
Community Partnership
Decentralisation

Improving the quality of primary education is at the heart of the UPE challenge.

It is unlikely that all children will stay in school if the actual and perceived quality of what is taking place is poor or unacceptable. As the opportunity costs of schooling are often interpreted by parents as much higher for girls than for boys,

if education is perceived to be of poor quality it can have a particularly negative impact on girls.

"In Liberia, teachers working with boys who had been forced to fight in the civil war have had to experiment with much more flexible teaching methods...it was clear the traditional rigid system would not work with children who had been through so much and were in conflict among themselves as well as with the world."

SCF (UK) 1998

"Egypt.....reforms aimed at generating healthy and health-promoting schools: regular medical checks for all children; special nutrition programme; special help for rural areas; free health insurance for school children; integration

of health and nutrition messages in the curriculum; child to child programmes to promote health in the community."

UNICEF 1998.

Assessment and Evaluation

Understanding what children have really learned is an essential part of continuously improving the quality of learning. In many developing countries there is public concern about the quality of education which may lead to children withdrawing from school. However there is very limited capacity to assess exactly what is happening. This assessment can happen in different ways. In the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) in Andhra Pradesh in India:

".... trained evaluation personnel, teachers and

the community [are] working in partnership to evaluate the effect of DPEP. The true impact of DPEP will be found in hamlets, schools and homes across the state where parents, teachers, children and the community control aspects of their own educational agenda and where habits of reflection, asking questions and seeking solutions, has become a normal activity"

(Evaluation in Primary Education DPEP 1998).

National and international assessments - systematic regular measures of learning achievement - have the potential to provide another important guide to the quality of learning. At best they can monitor pupil achievement levels, help set realistic standards, provide feedback to all key stakeholders and identify where major weaknesses exist. Clearly, disaggregated results will help to monitor differences in the

performance of girls and boys. There is increasing acceptance in many countries that the outcomes of traditional, formal examination systems do not provide information which will assist in designing measures to improve the quality of learning.

Whole School Development

Improving the quality of primary education requires a strong focus on the school and on the totality of its development. Research into the effectiveness and improvement of schools points to the desirability of a whole school approach designed to bring together and integrate the many inputs and processes which constitute the learning environment and the learning experience of children. Whole school improvement incorporates a set of major interrelated factors, some of the more important of which are in Figure F.

DFID has considerable experience of supporting projects and

programmes which target a number of the inputs and processes listed in Figure F. Some of these initiatives will continue but we will also support overall sector reform which sets quality related targets and promotes budgetary and institutional change to enable sustainable, school-based improvements in quality to take root.

Curriculum

The primary curriculum. provides a framework for learning. However, what is designed to be taught, what is taught and what is learned may be three very different things in resource poor systems (and in rich ones as well). While there is broad conceptual agreement on the need for literacy, numeracy and life skills in primary education, the translation of these concepts into practice is more problematic. Clearly defined educational outcomes, widely understood and assessed performance standards, and flexibility in the delivery of the curriculum to match school circumstances are significant

components of the equation which matches purpose with practice.

The meaning of life skills is widely debated: "education in values and behaviours", "general survival skills" and "livelihood skills" are three interpretations of an intention to provide a basic education which provides a strong bridge to the world of productive work and community life. The place of "productive work" in the primary school remains problematic in its timing, practicality and transferability. Comparative study of what is effective in building bridges requires continued international support.

A well-ordered and relevant curriculum requires adequate teaching time. Generally girls and boys from the poorest communities attend schools where time utilised for effective learning is limited, broken or uncertain. Rectifying this situation has complex, practical implications for government policy on the school calendar, teacher management and the

definition of realistic learning targets and outcomes.

Figure F

Policies and Processes Which Promote Whole School Development and Enhance the Quality of Learning

- School based planning and management centred on effective learning outcomes
- Gender aware curricula offering an appropriate and manageable menu of literacy, numeracy and basic life skills acquired through active learning in adequate teaching and learning time
- Realistic learning targets and effective learning outcome assessments which can inform and improve practice
- Motivated, committed and adequately rewarded teachers

of both sexes, involved in their own professional development and school planning and management

- Initial instruction in a familiar language
- Adequate, appropriate and gender aware learning materials
- Safe and healthy physical environments which are conducive to learning and respect the needs of girls and boys
- School partnerships focused on the quality of learning - including children, parents, headteachers, teachers, community leaders, local education officials, and health and community workers
- Support systems for management, inspection, advice and teacher development which are school focused and are

accessible to female and male teachers

- Resource allocations which are school based, reflecting the needs and circumstances of individual schools and communities
- Budgetary reform which readjusts the balance between salary and non-salary expenditures
- Strong assessment and evaluation systems at all levels in the system

"Many children in developing countries such as Malawi and Zambia, appear to be innocent victims of their governments' opting for English in order to modernise and unify the country....the majority who fail to acquire adequate skills in English continue with an

English medium education in a miasma of incomprehension."

Williams, DFID 1998

"...to help address the Chinese Government's commitment to enhancing and improving basic education...we will develop in parallel with the EU a basic education programme in Gansu Province focusing on improving access and the quality and effectiveness of teaching and learning in poor counties"

DFID Country China Strategy Paper 1998

Language for Learning

The acquisition of literacy skills in a familiar language is of crucial significance for escaping from the poverty trap.

Supporting language for literacy purposes is a means for enabling primary school children to benefit from the wider school curriculum and as a key step towards empowering them to participate more fully in the economic, social and political life of their community. Government's language policies can affect poor communities by enhancing educational achievement, but there is also the risk that the overloading of the curriculum with too many languages, or a narrow focus on a minority language, may reinforce social and economic marginalisation. Education in a familiar language has to be complemented in most education systems with access to opportunities embodied in a more widely used national language or an international language. If governments wish to use English or other international languages as a means of alleviating poverty and promoting more equal access to educational and socio-economic opportunities, it is essential to:

- build on literacy skills first acquired in a familiar

language

- foster an appropriate balance in the curriculum between first, second and international languages
- improve the range of low cost reading materials in all languages
- encourage a cross-curricular approach to the teaching of core subjects
- train all teachers in the effective use of language for learning

Teachers

The interaction between learners and teachers is a critical determinant of learning outcomes, so the availability, cost, supervision, accountability and quality of teachers is a primary factor in delivering effective UPE. A UNESCO/IIEP study (*The Quality of Primary Schools in Different Development Contexts*: Carron and Ta Ngoc Chau 1996)

concludes that constraints in the working and living conditions of teachers are gradually eroding their availability and their commitment to teaching. Policies to improve quality underplay these constraints. However, the study also concludes that the margin of manoeuvre for stimulating male and female teachers' motivation is not limited to improving conditions of service. Affordable professional incentives, focused on improving classroom working conditions, can have a powerful impact, especially where these are school based and assisted by advice and professional support which is close at hand.

Improvements to quality must address remuneration, conditions of service and improving teachers' knowledge and pedagogical skills, and be set within the broader objective of ensuring that effective teachers are distributed equitably, to meet the needs of all children and all schools. Out of date teacher employment policies will have to change. In many countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, teacher-

focused, quality reforms are addressed within the context of a very high incidence and increasing impact of HIV/AIDS among serving teachers and trainers. This is an issue to which DFID will give focused attention.

"..recent ministry statements (in Zambia) speak of 680 teachers dying during 1996, 624 in 1997, and more than 200 in January-April 1998. These figures translate into more than 2.1% of trained teachers or almost two per day (equivalent to ten pre-service training colleges)."

Kelly/Oxfam 1998

Teaching and Learning Materials

The availability of teaching and learning materials is a key determinant for literacy and improving the quality of learning. For most poor countries there is a dearth of learning

materials and little or no provision within sector budgets beyond that which may be available from external agencies. The poorest, usually rural schools, invariably have fewer learning materials than their urban counterparts. Outdated materials are often gender biased. The primary objective for governments is to plan and mobilise resources to develop and supply a range of cost-effective materials for teaching and learning purposes in a way which is equitable, transparent and sustainable. This should not result in increased costs for poor parents. The objective requires a holistic view of materials development, from conception, through preparation, trialling, editing, production, pricing, procurement, distribution and effective usage. National book policies provide an important strategic framework for this approach.

The quality of the learning process is enhanced when books take close account of the needs and aspirations of those who use them. Low cost materials which are developed, published

and marketed locally, school-based book selection and decentralised book procurement procedures all contribute to developing effective learning materials to match real learning environments. Girls as well as boys are the "end users". Learning materials should reflect the need for gender equality and balance. Teachers need skills to improve the reading environment within schools with the materials at their disposal. Improving access to books more widely within communities develops and consolidates literacy. Libraries, book selling outlets, book boxes and community centres represent a few of the ways in which it is possible to improve access to books. Where appropriate, DFID will support programmes designed to ensure that good quality, relevant books and learning materials reach the poorest and most remote areas.

The Learning Environment

Safe and healthy environments are conducive to teaching and

learning. There is no international template which encompasses building materials, maintenance, the provision of safe and good sanitation, electricity, basic classroom design, furniture and equipment, and space per pupil. What is known is that there is a spectrum of school environments which range from a total lack of any infrastructure, primarily in rural areas, through to well-equipped and managed schools in prosperous urban areas. No school should be allowed to fall below a minimally acceptable level of physical provision however that is defined. Priority should be accorded to those communities where nationally agreed and gender appropriate benchmarks are not met.

Community Partnership

A focus on improving the overall quality of a school requires a wider appreciation of the support systems which have the potential to nurture and foster a positive learning culture.

Community school partnerships, united in a common vision of

the purpose and direction of the local school and agreed on the value of drawing on the knowledge and support of all sections of a community, represent an important way forward. There is growing international evidence of the place of the community in schooling which requires careful interpretation for the cross-national lessons which it may have to offer. The active participation of women is an essential element of local partnerships for quality schooling.





"Lok Jumbish (meaning People s Movement), in Rajasthan, is a grass roots movement mobilising village communities to participate in education planning and empower women through education. The main emphasis is on improving the quality of primary education and improving access to disadvantaged groups."

DFID Project Submission, India 1999

Decentralisation

Decentralisation of school management, school advisory and inspection systems and school financing offers another important dimension of improving quality. It fosters strong local management and accountability. It is a challenging route to pursue. There is some evidence to suggest that decentralisation can hold more of a threat than a promise for poor people. For effective but accountable authority to lie

with local communities and authorities a set of key issues need to be addressed:

- decentralisation should be driven by school improvement rather than considerations of political and administrative efficiency
- local government structures need the resources and the capacity to manage and deliver effective primary education
- decentralisation requires a real transfer of discretionary powers to facilitate attention to school level problems
- the design and implementation of decentralisation requires gender balanced stakeholder consultation
- decentralisation requires provision for community

level training

- clarity of roles and responsibilities is paramount
- transparent and efficient mechanisms for resource transfers to school are essential
- decentralisation requires a willingness on the part of government to countenance a shift in power between communities and education professionals
- coherence and congruence is needed in educational decentralisation with wider political decentralisation structures
- the potential of the school headteacher in school level management and decision taking should be a part of effective decentralisation

- the importance of developing the concept of accountability at school level - among students, parents and teachers
- decentralisation must incorporate measures to involve women and address gender issues
- extreme decentralisation of funding will lead to greater disparities unless government plays a regularising role

(drawn from Gaynor 1995)

Equity for All Children

Equity is a thread which runs through all facets of UPE. Equity of access and equitable approaches to the process of delivering effective primary education underpins a "based" approach to education. It is particularly important that every

school and every classroom develops an ethos of equity, to ensure that differences that derive from gender, language, economic well-being and disability are addressed in ways which are educationally inclusive. DFID will be supportive of national legislation, sector policies, reforms and strategies which are informed by these considerations.

Placing UPE within the Wider Education Sector

Achieving effective UPE has implications that extend well beyond the primary sub-sector and its non-formal equivalents.

As UPE cohorts move through the primary cycle the demand for access to secondary school strengthens. The pressure on secondary education to be effective in its dual task of preparing students for higher levels of education and for the world of work will intensify as UPE becomes a realisable objective.

DFID will support the clear articulation of objectives for secondary education within the framework of a sector development policy. This will include the need to identify realistic and equitable approaches to the financing of an expanding sub-sector. It may involve the identification and development of new ways of delivering secondary education, including distance education and the use of new communication technologies.

In some countries, specific programme and project support will target secondary education, recognising when a country has reached the point in its educational development at which effective secondary schooling is critical for national development. As economies diversify in response to globalisation, the demand for, and value of, discipline-based and pre-vocational skills increase. Primary education has strong links with other parts of the education sector, including the research, training and management capabilities of universities, training colleges and public sector management

institutions. These linkages are a vital and integral part of the drive to, and the sustenance of, effective UPE.

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.

The management of UPE cannot be divorced from the management of the sector more generally and, in some countries, with public service reform policies. DFID support for UPE will recognise the need to engage with this wider political, economic and institutional environment.

"Secondary education will also need major assistance if it is to do more than. cater for 60,000 students in a population of 15 million... It will look at opportunities for distance learning to improve the quality of teaching."

DFID Country Strategy Paper, Mozambique, 1998

"To ensure universal enrolment for girls at primary and secondary levels over the next 15 years will require an additional investment of US\$ 5-6 billion a year. Of course, money is only one component of the package....What is essential is to formulate national and global strategies to achieve universal female education over the next 15 years - and to earmark enough resources in national budgets and allocations to meet that target."

Human Development Report 1995

Gender Equality in School Education

Reform to remove gender disparities in primary and

secondary schooling by 2005 will receive strong support from DFID. It is an essential component of the poverty elimination agenda. It is a strategic objective for people-centred development. This will be the second major benchmark against which DFID will assess its contribution to education for poverty elimination.

DFID will continue to promote international commitment to the education of girls. We will build on the Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW 1979), Jomtien (1990), and The Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing 1995). We will develop programme partnerships with international and regional agencies where this offers real opportunities to make progress on enrolment, attainment and literacy targets. We will be responsive to requests from governments for support to develop policies and strategies which address the complex of issues which impact on the attendance, retention and achievement of girls

in school. We will recognise that gender equality in education requires a cross-sectoral and integrated approach.

Eliminating gender disparities in primary education is an integral part of attaining UPE by 2015. It is not a separate route map. It deserves focused and mainstream attention within the broader framework of sector reform and pro-poor education policies. Special measures, projects and interventions may be needed but these should be within the wider purpose of enabling education for all to become a reality.

The major but not exclusive route for DFID support for countries planning to make progress towards eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 will be through sector wide support. This approach requires a clear understanding of gender and equality issues more generally and of the need to develop links between education policies and reforms with related gender objectives

in health, economic opportunity and social, political and cultural freedoms.

Six major barriers to girls undertaking an effective cycle of primary and secondary education have been defined:

- persistent apprehension, and ambivalence, on the part of parents, children, teachers and society at large regarding female education, its cost effectiveness and the value of keeping girls in school
- the poor quality of the teaching and learning environment, particularly in rural areas, in which most children, particularly girls, learn very little
- sexual harassment and liaison and early pregnancy
- the high level of wastage because of repeaters

and drop-outs which discourages parents, students and teachers

- the low level of girls esteem regarding their status in society and their academic potential
- poor returns to female education in the labour market.

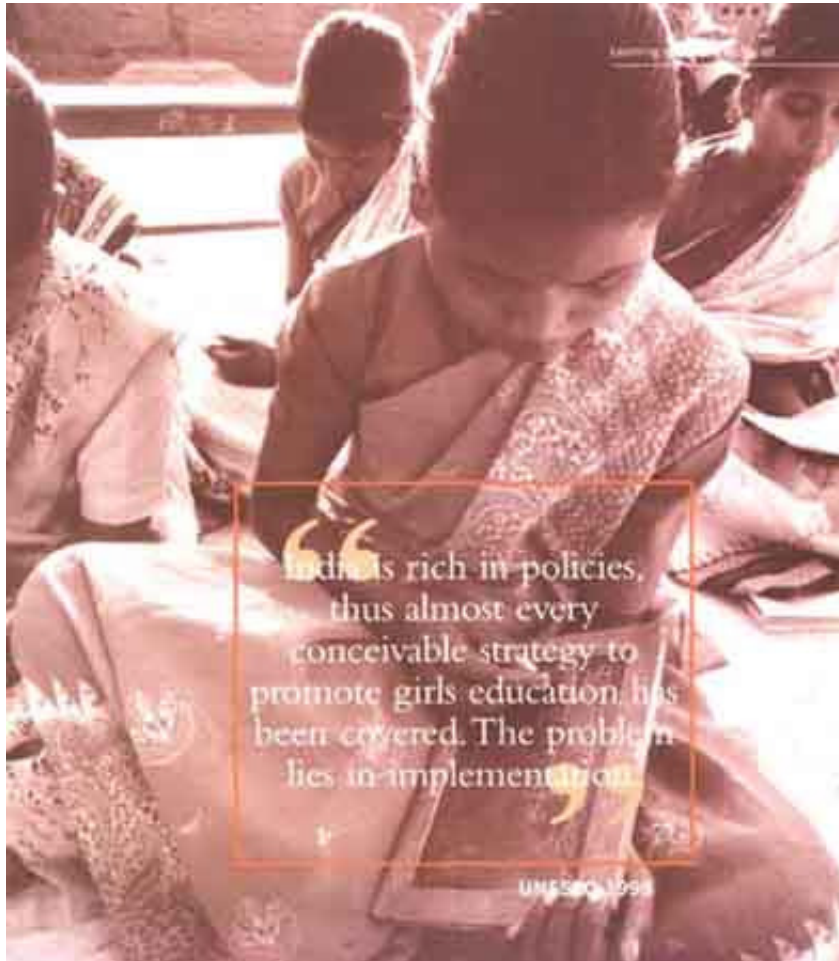
(based on Odaga and Heneveld World Bank 1995)

DFID will support reform which recognises these challenges and the need for measures which address both the supply and the demand side of girls' education. This requires close analysis of the constraints and practical policy options that are manageable and acceptable within different countries and cultures. DFID will continue to support national and international research which helps to raise awareness of workable strategies. It will support the development of

gender aware planning, policy formulation and expenditure frameworks.

DFID will be supportive of governments which set clear targets in relation to girls' access to primary and secondary education and to retention levels and learning achievements. These targets are most likely to be met if they are translated into objectives at school and district levels and are based on a clear public understanding of their nature and their purpose.

DFID will be proactive in helping governments and other agencies identify and implement measures which encourage high level and widespread political commitment for girls' education, engage community participation, especially of mothers and undertake effective, national and local information campaigns which emphasise the socio-economic benefits of girls' education.



"To expand the pool of women interested in teaching and increase teacher retention in rural areas, community based teacher training is being instituted in some countries...improving school facilities and assuring safety are also critical to retention of female teachers."

Educating Girls: Investing in Development CAI 1994

National policies and programmes should be designed to increase the social demand for girls education. This requires attention to the costs of schooling, direct and indirect, in ways which lessen the financial burden on parents. The direct costs and opportunity costs of educating girls are major barriers to eliminating gender disparities. But so too are the lack of economic incentives in labour markets which discriminate against women, concerns over sexual

harassment and high rates of pregnancy in schools, and strong cultural beliefs about the place of girls and women within the fabric of society.

Supply side measures are complex and numerous. They require detailed attention at the level of the school, its overall ethos and mainstreaming of gender equity through every aspect of a school's operation.

Increasing the supply of effective women teachers is an important contribution to redressing gender inequalities. Women teachers frequently have domestic responsibilities which inhibit their ability to take advantage of professional development opportunities. They may be reluctant to take up rural or remote teaching posts. Yet, women teachers and headteachers are important role models for girls. They can contribute to the design of school-based initiatives which encourage girls to stay at school and become students who perform well. Enhancing the supply, addressing difficult

deployment issues and improving the status, conditions and career development of women teachers are important components of national teacher management strategies. DFID will support research and innovation in this area.

The closer a country gets to UPE the more the demand for secondary school opportunities for girls grows. This is likely to require substantive additional investments which may include single sex, boarding schools or additional boarding hostels for girls, bursary schemes and fee exemptions, distance education programmes and gender aware approaches to the full spectrum of subject disciplines. Sustained and earmarked resources in national budgets and development assistance will be needed to reach the IDG 2005 objective for secondary education.

Literacy and Skills Development

Literacy

Practical Skills for Sustainable Livelihoods

DFID will support education sector policies and programmes which enable poor people to acquire practical skills for development, including literacy.

Effective UPE is a pre-requisite for human development and economic growth but will not in itself meet the diversity of education needs which flow from policies designed to promote sustainable livelihoods and the economic well-being of poor people. DFID will support countries committed to skill development opportunities that are directly accessible to poor men and women

Literacy

Literacy in its many forms and uses is an essential

component of pro-poor development. It is an underlying aim of Education for All, although little progress has been made since 1990. The overall figure of illiterates over the age of 15 is relatively static. The gender gap in literacy is widening. Well-constructed literacy programmes can enable people to bring about significant changes in their lives. These changes, direct or indirect, include: increases in productivity and consumption, improved health and nutrition, the adoption of new agricultural practices, better appreciation of personal and community rights and responsibilities, and greater self-esteem.

DFID will support governments committed to giving greater priority to adult literacy as a significant means of enabling people to enhance their economic and social wellbeing. It will give priority to countries, and regions within countries, which have low levels of female literacy. It will encourage programmes conceived within the framework of clear language policies. Use of a familiar language provides the

best route for those acquiring initial forms of literacy.

DFID will recognise the diversity of government and non-government responses which are required to "enable literacy to develop in different contexts.. We will encourage the inclusion of literacy strategies within sector wide reforms of education and in policies for health and population, rural and urban development and community development policy more generally. Literacy is not the preserve of a single sector. Where appropriate, we will support programmes to build the research and management capacity that is needed to shape and implement literacy strategies.

DFID will continue to support innovative action research and literacy programmes which respond to the circumstances of significant numbers of people or have the potential to influence national and international policy and practice.

"Abdul Awall is 18.. has five brothers and

sisters. He is a farmer. Now that he knows more... he has started a business collecting timber and making chairs and boats. He keeps accounts... he used to earn Taka 700-800 per month... now it is Taka 1500-2000. He teaches his nieces and nephews simple literacy and numeracy.."

Nijera Shikhi Movement, Bangladesh. Cawthera 1997





"Literacy rates in Nepal are among the lowest in the world: 28% in 1995. The government and local, national and international NGOs are active in the provision of adult literacy programmes. Most programmes target women. The DFID-funded Community Literacy Project seeks to establish Nepal's first Community Literacy Resource Centre. The programme will strengthen in-country capacity to facilitate the use of literacy skills in Nepalese communities."

DFID Internal Memorandum 1999

Practical Skills for Sustainable Livelihoods

Practical skills for productive work and sustainable livelihoods are acquired in a variety of formal, nonformal and informal ways. Existing patterns of work and the economic

opportunities which may be open to people with additional skills, should help to define appropriate education and training responses.

DFID supports skills development in a variety of direct and indirect ways; through micro-enterprise and micro credit programmes, agricultural extension, the better management of natural resources, safe water programmes and improving access to markets. DFID will sustain this commitment through country programmes.

Formal, government financed education systems have a relatively poor track record in helping to meet the practical, skill needs of the poor. International support for this sub-sector has declined.

DFID plans to give a strong new focus to promoting practical "Skills for Development". Particular attention will be accorded to building stronger connections between formal schooling

and training provided in technical and vocational training institutions - public and private - and to strengthening the interface of this complex institutional system and the practical, skill development needs of the world of work.

DFID will support governments committed to redirecting, and developing the capacity of strategic training institutions to design, implement and manage training programmes which are responsive to the economic and employment circumstances of the poorest sections of the national community.

DFID's contribution to the Fund for International Cooperation in Higher Education (FICHE) will provide an important means of enhancing further education institutions however these may be defined in individual countries.

We will support countries endeavouring to re-establish a skills development capacity as they recover from prolonged and

damaging periods of conflict and civil strife.

We will help to build on community initiatives which recognise that the primary school can be a centre for more than the education of young children, with the potential to provide a community base for youth and adults to acquire literacy and develop knowledge and new basic skills. DFID will be responsive to the needs of initiatives which give priority to men and women working in the informal sector, urban and rural, and to those for whom limited periods of formal schooling provide an insufficient skills base for entering productive employment.

In addition to mainstream country programmes, DFID will explore the potential of alternative funding for new training initiatives, assist cross-national applied research, and, where appropriate, help to build private sector capacity to play a stronger and more direct role in basic skills development.

"The UK's National Skills Task Force identifies three groups of skills: generic, vocational and job-specific. Key generic skills are transferable: communication, numeracy, problem solving, team working, information technology, and improving ones own learning and performance. Vocational skills include specific skills for an occupation, while job-specific skills include functional skills such as operating equipment or particular working methodologies."

**From Skills for Development Issues
Paper DFID (internal) 1998**

Knowledge and Skills for Development in a Global World

**Information Communications Technology (ICT)
Support for Knowledge Based Links and**

Programmes

Information Communications Technology (ICT)

The fast changing world of global markets, global capital and Information Communication Technology (ICT) carries both threats and opportunities. There are major risks that the poor and disadvantaged will become even more marginal in a world where the flow of capital and knowledge can buttress power and authority in the hands of the few. More positively, globalisation offers access to knowledge and technology to help address the scourge of poverty.

The ICT revolution has the potential to have a profound impact on the management, delivery, content and quality of education services throughout the world. Currently, the degree of penetration of ICT and its benefits are much less marked in poorer countries and particularly for the most

disadvantaged in those countries.

ICT offers particular benefits at the higher, vocational and management levels of the education sector which operate in a more global context than schools. It can help people who are distant from major centres of educational activity to gain access to learning which would otherwise be beyond their reach. But it should not be allowed to divert resources away from the disadvantaged in resource-poor systems.

DFID recognises considerable potential for ICT in:

- improving education sector management
- improving access to post primary educational opportunities
- enhancing the quality of secondary, tertiary, and vocational education

"The international development goal of reducing

by one half the proportion of people living in extreme poverty will not be achievable by 2015 unless greater numbers of people are able to develop and utilise knowledge and skills necessary for their own development, and thereby contribute to their country 's development."

DFID, White Paper 1997

Figure G tabulates some specific opportunities under each of these headings. If ICT is to pay its way in serving poor communities and students, it must do so by enhancing the capacity of those parts of education systems which, through improved efficiency and quality, can better meet the direct educational needs of the poorest members of society and enhance the productive capacity of the country.

DFID will support ICT for better education through the

technical cooperation components of country level, sector development programmes and through projects and programmes, including institutional links with UK universities.

Support for Knowledge Based Links and Programmes

DFID will continue to assist major scholarship and award schemes, notably the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan (CSFP) and DFID Shared Scholarships, as a significant contribution to knowledge and skill development and the building of bilateral partnerships in education. We will support proposals for the reshaping of these programmes to heighten their contribution to areas of study which have direct impact on poverty elimination and building skills for development. We will sustain support for academic links under FICHE (overseen by the Committee for International Cooperation in Higher Education: CICHE) and, as appropriate, will build new links under the aegis of the Skills for Development Programme.

DFID will continue to support the programmes of the Commonwealth of Learning (COL) as an international vehicle for developing distance education to increase access to learning opportunities. We will encourage an examination of the place of distance and open learning within national educational strategies and the identification of key sectors and potential participants.

We will explore ways by which study and training opportunities can be provided more readily within countries, regionally or in third country institutions through a more flexible mix of skills development opportunities, including attachments, work based experience and study tours.

"The potential is great for developing countries to take advantage of the new technologies to upgrade education systems, improve policy formulation and execution and widen the range of new opportunities for business."

World Development Report 1998

Figure G

ICT for Education

Education Sector Management	<p>Well-managed ICT based information and communication systems have the potential to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • improve teacher deployment • help manage the procurement and distribution of learning materials • identify "ghost" teachers • aid decentralised budget preparation • monitor resource allocation and use • monitor school improvement • improve systems communications
Increasing	ICT-assisted distance education has the

**Increasing
Access****ICT-assisted distance education has the
potential to:**

- help train more teachers, especially female teachers who are unable to attend distant centre based training
- increase access to vocationally - oriented adult education and "second chance" education
- increase access to international languages
- increase access to overseas courses

**Enhancing
Quality****ICT can offer:**

- access to a wider world of knowledge for tertiary level institutions
- an alternative to costly, laboratory based science education
- new approaches to the upgrading of teachers

	• institutional linkages
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Sustainable, Well-Managed, Education Institutions, Systems and Partnerships

Sector Wide Approaches

Institutional Capacity Development for Effective Sector Reform

DFID will give strong support to national, sector-wide approaches and programmes designed to enhance the capacity of the sector as a whole to contribute to poverty elimination and sustainable development.

Sector Wide Approaches

DFID will give priority to countries which are committed to the

principles set out earlier in this paper and where there are real prospects for making substantive progress towards sustainable UPE, gender equality, literacy, and knowledge and skills development within a framework of coherent, long-term sector development.

Traditionally, poorer countries have sought technical assistance and other resources mainly through development projects. In many countries projects have become islands of excellence in a sea of under-provision.

Projects usually underplay the need for resources to sustain and maintain systems and capacity. Separate, donor driven projects may inhibit the development of coherent sector policy. Management capacity can be undermined by the need to service donor funded projects. And projects may have their own, but not system wide, budget disciplines.

Figure H

Characteristics of a Sector Wide Approach

- Governments define a macro-economic framework within which medium term expenditure frameworks determine the resources available for individual sectors

- Governments lead a consultative process with stakeholders and investors, including development agencies to define:

an overall sector policy framework

priorities, objectives and performance measures

expenditure programme,

institutional, reform and capacity building

jointly agreed management, reporting and accounting

arrangements

- Major donors jointly support the process and the practice

of the sector programme preferably using common procedures

- Technical assistance is commissioned by governments rather than donor agencies and

The scale of the poverty agenda and the challenges identified in this policy framework, including the IDGs, require new development relationships. In education, as in other sectors, DFID will move towards sector wide support for educational development and in countries where there is a strong commitment to this approach.

The key elements of a sector wide approach are defined in Figure H; it offers the potential of prioritising scarce resources around a spending framework which has commonly shared objectives. It moves away from project funding towards direct budgetary support.

"Policy objectives rather than operational activity; programme objectives rather than project inputs; broad budgetary support rather than project input accounting; a national accounting framework rather than individual contracts; sustained broad partnership rather than individual deals; review of sector performance rather than project performance; and common management arrangements rather than disparate systems."

From Minister of Education's Address Uganda 1998

DFID analysis of the lessons which have been learned on the application of sector wide approaches thus far highlights the importance of:

- strong national and local leadership and

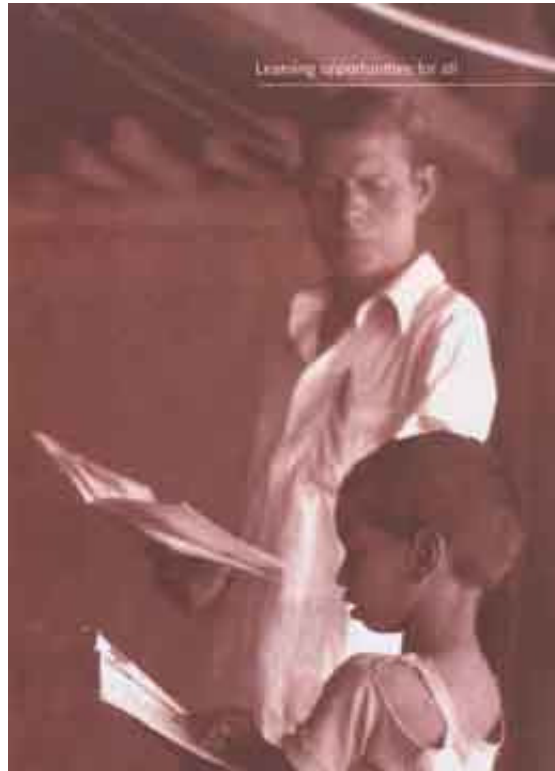
commitment

- a shared and widely understood vision
- avoidance of a centrally-driven and top down approach
- a clear sector wide context and budgetary framework
- sufficient time to fully develop a sector programme; interim systems and approaches are needed to ensure that progress is not hampered.
- analysis of resource allocations within a sector
- overall budget frameworks (government and donors) within which a sector programme is set

- monitoring trends in overall resource allocations
- regular formal dialogue on budget frameworks
- regular review of long term recurrent cost sustainability
- integration of sector programmes in central budget and civil service reform
- a relatively simple set of key indicators
- shared monitoring procedures.

Sector development programmes will take different forms and will change over time. No two situations are entirely alike so the formulation of a sector approach needs to take full account of local situations. Currently, DFID is supporting major sector-related programmes in Bangladesh, India,

Ghana, Malawi, Pakistan, South Africa, Uganda and Zambia.
Discussions are underway in Ethiopia, Nepal, Tanzania and
Mozambique.





Some of these programmes are sub-sector programmes; others relate to parts of a country, for example, at state level. These may or may not be interim stages in the development of a national, all-inclusive programme.

In some countries DFID will not be a major player in a sector wide approach but will seek to ensure that other forms of support - projects, training awards, research, challenge funding for innovation, public service reform - are consistent with sector policies and budgetary frameworks.

Institutional Capacity Development for Effective Sector Reform

Many countries are now recognising the need to analyse and re-evaluate the work and purpose of their education system in an holistic way - including institutional structures, finance and economic planning, professional and technical capacity, learning outcomes and, more generally, the impact of education on human development. This is a process of sector renewal and reform.

Education sector reform has a complex of institutional development implications. These include:

- the refocusing and repositioning of ministries of education to play a strategic sector role in planning and financing, co-ordinating, guiding and evaluating as opposed to systems maintenance

- gender analysis in all aspects of the planning and implementation of basic education and skills development
- capacity to acquire and use knowledge about the expressed educational needs of poor communities
- the creation of devolved and accountable systems of school management
- the development of research and training capacity in universities and colleges geared to contribute directly to effective UPE
- the identification and application of new technologies and new strategies for learning, including distance education in its many forms
- developing robust monitoring and evaluation

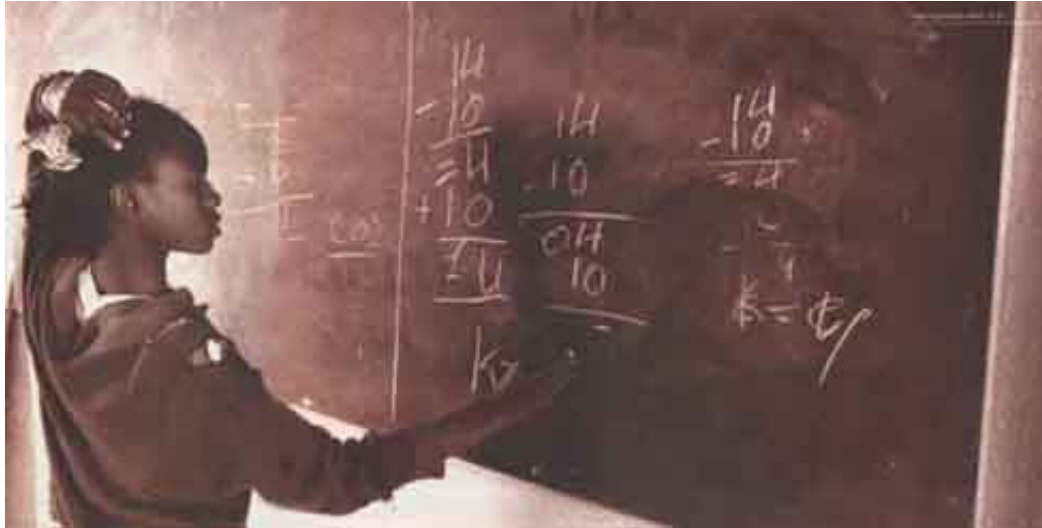
systems

This is a major agenda for action. DFID will support sector policies and national reforms which incorporate these components of institutional change. For many countries the resources available to change institutional cultures and structures are scarce. Resources to provide governments with access to expertise and useful comparative experience will be a part of the technical cooperation component of sector wide programmes.

Institutional strengthening which has clear UPE and gender equality related objectives will be incorporated in the reshaping and further development of UK-supported scholarship, training awards and. links programmes.

DFID is supporting education sector reform through the programmes of the European Union (EU) in line with policies set out in the 1994 EU Council Resolution on Education and

Training in Developing Countries and the 1996 EU Resolution on Human and Social Development.

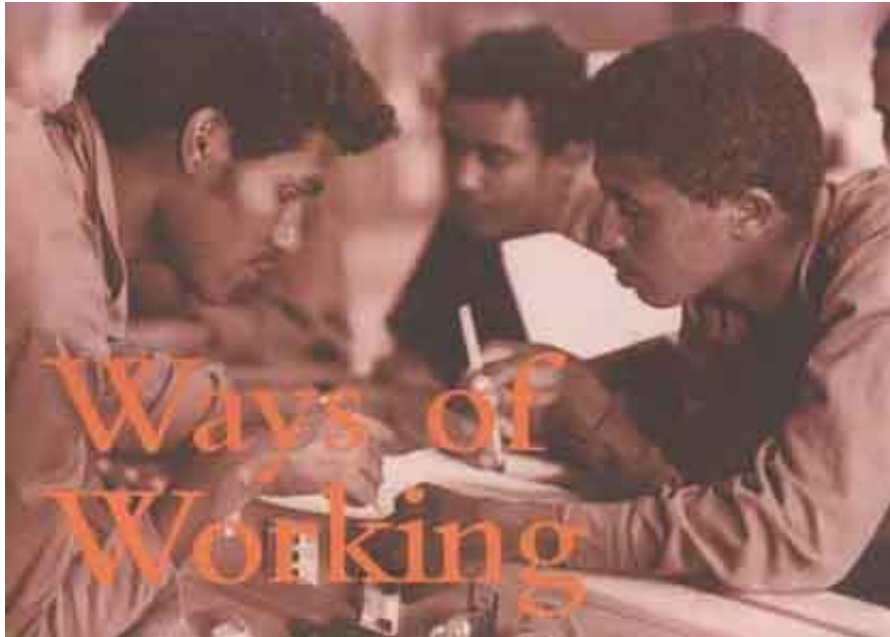


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Ways of Working

Educational: A Collective Endeavour
Influencing and Sustaining International
Generating and Applying Knowledge
Evaluation and Performance Measurement
Creative Use of Expertise
Conclusion



To give reality to the educational objectives of DFID's White Paper *Eliminating World Poverty*, Education for All, the IDG targets, and the more specific benchmarks set out in country strategy papers, requires a strong commitment to improved ways of working and greater

equality in the relationships which define resource transfer, sector reform and programme design.

At best, external assistance has the potential to bring additional resources and the benefits of international experience to bear on the challenge of education for development. At worst it can place conflicting demands on fragile government systems and sustain unequal power relationships.

Educational: A Collective Endeavour

DFID will continue to contribute to national and international efforts to define more effective ways of working to achieve common goals. We will sustain long-term, country programmes where these have the potential to contribute substantively to the goals of UPE, gender equality, literacy, skills development and knowledge creation.

We will support governments prepared to give leadership to collective ways of working, both internally, and with external agencies. The Code of Conduct for Education Sector Funding Agencies developed by the EU and reviewed by a group of Ministers and officials from developing countries offers one way forward. The success of this type of approach will be monitored carefully.

DFID will seek to develop stronger partnerships with bilateral agencies in defining supportive ways of working and in the sharing of collective experience.

Influencing and Sustaining International

Influencing and Sustaining International Commitments and Programmes

DFID will work to sustain the international commitment and consensus on education for all which has developed during

the 1990s. It is imperative that this support is maintained at the highest political levels. DFID will play its part in key international fora. We will argue for a coherent international approach to resource transfers for basic education, for social sector priorities to be central to debt reduction negotiations and for the protection of education budgets.

DFID will work with the Education for All Forum; the UN system, EU member states in the context of Horizon 2000; the World Bank at a country level and through joint international initiatives; the Commonwealth; regional banks and with other bilateral agencies.

DFID will continue its support for specialised agencies which have the potential to work productively through cooperation. The Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) is one such mechanism. DFID will continue to lead ADEA's specialised group on books and learning materials. The Commonwealth of Learning (COL) offers a valuable

network and source of expertise for learning through distance education. We will continue to support innovative practice through project finance and through a seat on the COL Board of Governors.



Generating and Applying Knowledge

DFID will encourage in-country applied research and innovation where this has the potential to address major constraints in achieving key policy objectives. This may be through project activity, the work of NGOs and CSOs, research institutes and the private sector. Channels for providing this support will include projects, institutional link programmes and tailor-made training packages. This work may be part of a sector wide programme or consist of separate initiatives which are consistent with the objectives of sector policy development, for example in the areas of girls' education, literacy, and basic skills development.

We intend to develop our own capacity to generate, disseminate and use knowledge about education in order to enhance our corporate contribution to development. We shall expand our research outreach, and include knowledge gained from best practice in the programmes with which we work in cooperation with governments, agencies and institutions.

Evaluation and Performance Measurement

DFID needs to ensure that its contribution to the goals agreed nationally and internationally is carefully monitored and evaluated. We will support initiatives to strengthen the capacity to collect, interpret and use data within countries, and internationally through agencies such as UNESCO's Institute of Statistics, and within DFID itself.

Creative Use of Expertise

Within the United Kingdom there is a rich education and development resource. This resides in other government departments, in tertiary academic and training institutions, international NGOs with strong education programmes, specialised project and research management groups, examinations and qualifications bodies and parts of the private sector. DFID is committed to strengthening its links with this varied and experienced constituency where this will

contribute to the achievement of our education goals. DFID will strengthen its own institutional base for education. We shall increase the number of in-country advisers to ensure that we are able to contribute fully to the development of a collective partnership. We will reshape our knowledge and research strategy to ensure it is more closely aligned to major policy objectives and has a stronger base in developing countries. We will share cross-national information and evaluation more effectively, including through the Internet and our Website.

DFID will not, and should not, limit its use of educational expertise to Britain. We will draw on institutional and individual capacity from Europe, the Commonwealth and the many developing countries with whom we work.







Conclusion

There is no one single magic route to bring about more effective ways of working together to meet a common set of objectives. In-country leadership which derives its authority from a popular and shared vision of better education for development is the most important constituent of effective cooperation and international partnership. DFID can bring a range of experience and resources to build on national partnerships. For many developing countries, achieving UPE, gender equality, and improved levels of literacy, providing new skills and generating knowledge for development will require long-term, sustained international support. DFID brings this commitment to its work in education.





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

The policy of the government was set out in the White Paper on International Development, published in November 1997. The central focus of the policy 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.

DFID seeks to work in partnership with governments which

are committed to the international targets, and seeks to work with business, civil society and the research community to encourage progress which will help reduce poverty. We also work with multilateral institutions including the World Bank, United Nations agencies and the European Commission. 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, and helping the transition countries in Central and Eastern Europe to try to ensure that the widest number of people benefit from the process of change.

As well as its headquarters in London and East Kilbride, DFID has offices in New Delhi, Bangkok, Nairobi, Harare, Pretoria, Dhaka, Kathmandu, Suva and Bridgetown. In other parts of the world, DFID works through staff based in British embassies and high commissions.

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