

ACCESS TO QUALITY EDUCATION PROGRAM

Review of the International Literature on Social Protection Programs

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List of Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AQEP	Access to Quality Education Program
BISP	Benazir Income Support Programme
BPC	Continuous Cash Benefit Program
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CTE	Conditional Transfers for Education
FAP	Family Assistance Program
FESP	Fiji Education Sector Programme
FPE	Free primary education
GoI	Government of Indonesia
GPE	Global Partnership for Education
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IUGR	Intrauterine growth retardation
JPS	Jaring Pengaman Sosial (Indonesia)
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi Rural Employment Scheme in India
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PESP	Primary Education Stipend Project
PKH	Program Keluarga Harapan (Family Hope Program)
RNGPS	Registered Non-Government Primary Schools
TNP2K	National Team for Accelerating Poverty Reduction (Indonesia)
UN	United Nations
UNDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WFP	UN World Food Programme

Executive Summary

This paper begins by briefly examining the link between poverty and access to education, school attendance, and drop-outs. It then reviews the global literature on social protection programs that have been successful in improving access to primary education for children living in poverty, as well as highlighting the challenges of such programs and offering some possible ways of mitigating these issues. The paper will inform the Access to Quality Education Program (AQEP) team's consideration of social protection mechanisms that may be effective in Fiji.

In general, poor countries have lower levels of school enrolment, and children of poor households receive less education,² although the exact nature of the correlation between these factors is complex and varies greatly between countries and communities.

Students in developing countries may suffer from both *absolute* poverty – the inability to realise the most basic needs because of lack of resources – and *relative* poverty, which excludes members of a society from mainstream economic and social life through discrimination and marginalisation, rendering them comparatively poor.³ Relative and absolute poverty can therefore be experienced simultaneously, and both affect education access, retention and achievement in many ways, including through:

- Lack of ability to conceive of possible pathways to a better life ('capacity to aspire')
- Lack of demand for education services,
- Poor nutrition and health for mothers and children
- Child labour
- Inability to pay school fees
- Geographical barriers to attendance
- Discrimination based on gender, disability, ethnicity, language, class and other factors
- Low education quality, including poorly trained teachers and poor school infrastructure

Social protection is designed to address some foundational causes of inequities in education access and outcomes by alleviating poverty. Social protection schemes in developing countries often involve one or more of the following: income transfers, access to basic services (such as education and health), and labour market interventions such as productive employment and asset building, all aimed at increasing access to economic opportunities for the poorest in society.⁴

² Oxaal, Zoe (1997) 'Education and Poverty: A Gender Analysis', *BRIDGE Report* No. 53, prepared for the Gender Equality Unit, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida)

³ Van der Berg, Servaas (2008) 'Poverty and Education', *Education Policy Series* No. 10, UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning, p 2

⁴ Barrientos, Armando & Hulme, David (2009) 'Social Protection for the Poor and Poorest in Developing Countries: Reflections on a Quiet Revolution', *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4: 439-456, p 441

Broadly speaking, social protection program logics either arise out of a human capital perspective, or a capabilities/capacities perspective. The *human capital perspective* conceptualises the education of children as an investment in a country's economic future and focuses on an individual's contribution as an economic actor. *Capabilities/capacities perspectives* focus on the opportunities afforded to individuals and the knowledge and experience required to transform resources into functioning.

Social protection programs specifically designed to improve educational outcomes often take the form of Conditional Transfers for Education (CTE) programs, which take a human capital approach to the problem of education access and retention, providing money contingent on certain behaviour, such as school enrolment and attendance. Programs in Mexico, Brazil and Bangladesh use this approach, with varying degrees of success.

Other common education social protection programs take the form of in-kind social transfers, such as the abolition of school fees and school feeding programs. Such programs can create significant problems if there are no supply-side interventions to ensure that schools have adequate resourcing to cope with any increase in enrolments. Kenya for example has experienced dramatic and sudden increases in enrolment after abolishing fees, and subsequent declines in education quality.

Formal social protection programs are limited in the Pacific have limited coverage and are not well targeted. Informal protection, provided by church and community groups, may offer a way forward. Channelling public funds through these informal networks under formal government-community partnership agreements may reduce cost and improve targeting.⁵ It is essential however, to address structural inequalities caused by poverty, and the problems of relative poverty (such as disability or gender), as well as the provision of basic needs. Additionally, education access without quality does not represent a genuine fulfilment of the right to education. It is vital to implement complementary programs alongside social protection schemes, that properly resource schools and teachers so that when children do attend school, they receive a quality, inclusive education.

⁵ Woodruff, Alison & Lee, Sunhwa (2010) 'Social Protection of the Vulnerable in the Pacific,' in *Enhancing Social Protection in Asia and the Pacific: The Proceedings of the Regional Workshop*, Asian Development Bank, p 36

⁵ OECD (2009) 'Social Protection, Poverty Reduction and Pro-Poor Growth' in *Promoting Pro-Poor Growth: Social Protection*, accessed 27/11/2011 at <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/63/10/43514563.pdf>, p 320

1 Background

The Access to Quality Education Program (AQEP) is aimed at reducing the barriers for children to access school education in Fiji. The program has been prepared to help safeguard gains and achievements in the education sector by mitigating the negative effects of the financial crisis and poor economic growth on the poorest families in Fiji.⁶

It builds on the work undertaken under the Fiji Education Sector Programme (FESP), which ran from 2003-2009, and aimed to improve the access, delivery, and quality of education services to children in remote and disadvantaged communities in Fiji, by capacity-building within the Ministry of Education and improving teacher education.⁷ The Completion Report acknowledged the achievements of FESP, including improved leadership, management and policy and planning skills in MoE, but recommended further external assistance to ensure that the system benefits are transmitted to the classroom in the form of improved education quality.⁸

Rising poverty in Fiji is combined with the fact that education is not free and remains unaffordable for many families, and the MoE has reported increasing drop-out rates. In 2008 fifteen per cent of primary students and 25 per cent of secondary students did not complete their education. School infrastructure and maintenance remains under-resourced, and school facilities are falling into disrepair.⁹

In light of these facts, the AEQP Program objective is to work with the MoE and other education service providers to implement activity through three related components:¹⁰

- (a) Component 1: reducing financial barriers to accessing school education. This involves mitigating the effects of the global recession on the most vulnerable children;
- (b) Component 2: investing in school infrastructure in the poorest communities to ensure that facilities are adequate and safe and contribute to improved student learning outcomes; and
- (c) Component 3: conducting targeted research and analysis on the systemic challenges to achieving improved education outcomes in Fiji. This activity will involve a range of short-term, demand driven technical assistance and the provision of flexible support to MoE priorities.

⁶ AusAID (2010) *Access to Quality Education Program, Fiji: Framework for Delivery*.

⁷ Pennington, Bill, Ireland, Nelson & Narsey, Wadan (2010) 'Fiji Education Sector Program: Independent Completion Report', Prepared for AusAID, accessed at www.ausaid.gov.au/publications/pdf/fiji-fesp.doc

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ AusAID (2010) *Access to Quality Education Program, Fiji: Framework for Delivery*.

¹⁰ Ibid.

This review focuses on key issues impacting Component 1 of the AQEP program. Component 1 aims to increase access to schools through reducing financial barriers to accessing education for the poor. Such measures may take the form of grants, cash transfers or other social protection measures targeted at the bottom 10% of schools, and will be based on global best practice in the area.¹¹

This literature review will inform the AQEP team's consideration of social protection mechanisms that may be effective in Fiji. This paper begins by briefly examining the link between poverty and access to education, school attendance, and drop-outs. Section 2 reviews the global literature on a range of social protection strategies and programs that have been successful in improving access to primary education for children living in poverty, as well as highlighting the challenges of such programs and offering some possible ways of mitigating these issues. Section 4 focuses in on the specific challenges of the Pacific context as well as the successes of some programs in the region. Reference is made throughout to case studies which are reproduced in more detail in Annex 1.

See Annex 2 for the scope and methodology of the literature search undertaken to support this review.

2 School Education Access and Poverty: Inextricably linked

The human right to inclusive, quality education for all has long been enshrined in a number of human rights instruments, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948),¹² UNESCO's Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960),¹³ and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966).¹⁴ Quality universal primary education is also a Millennium Development Goal¹⁵ and the focus of the Global Partnership for Education (GPE).¹⁶

The ways in which education and poverty are linked must be carefully examined, and the many and varied barriers to education created by poverty must be addressed before education outcomes can improve. In general, poor countries have lower levels of school enrolment, and children of poor households receive less education,¹⁷ although the exact

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), Article 26(1)

¹³ UNESCO Economic and Social Council (2008) *Inclusive Dimensions of the Right to Education: Normative Bases*, Concept Paper prepared for the Eighth and Ninth Meetings of the Joint Expert Group on the Monitoring of the Right to Education, accessed at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0017/001776/177649e.pdf>

¹⁴ International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) Article 13

¹⁵ United Nations (2010) *Millennium Development Goals: Goal 2 – Achieve Universal Primary Education*, United Nations Summit, 20-22 September 2010, New York, Accessed at http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/MDG_FS_2_EN.pdf

¹⁶ Global Partnership for Education: Quality Education for All Children website, <http://www.globalpartnership.org/about-us/about-the-partnership/> [GPE was formerly known as 'Education For All'].

¹⁷ Oxaal, Zoe (1997) 'Education and Poverty: A Gender Analysis', *BRIDGE Report* No. 53, prepared for the Gender Equality Unit, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida)

nature of the correlation between these factors is complex and varies greatly between countries and communities. While it is clear that poverty affects access to education in complex ways, “more and better education improves a poor country’s economic growth and thereby generates economic opportunities and incomes.”¹⁸ Thus education and poverty are linked in a mutual relationship, and the barriers to education created by poverty must be addressed before education outcomes, and corresponding poverty levels, can improve.

Students in developing countries may suffer from both *absolute* poverty – the inability to realise the most basic needs because of lack of resources – and *relative* poverty, which excludes members of a society from mainstream economic and social life through discrimination and marginalisation, rendering them comparatively poor.¹⁹ Usually the term relative poverty is used in the developed country context to describe a situation where members of society have their basic needs fulfilled but are comparatively poor in relation to their fellow citizens, but it has been recognised that relative poverty can also be suffered by those in developing countries. Bourgignon states that the development literature often focuses on either absolute or relative poverty rather than considering them simultaneously, and argues that “too much priority given in the past to absolute poverty over relative deprivation, or equivalently social exclusion, may have contributed in some cases to inadequate policies.”²⁰

It is therefore important that solutions in the developing world address both the provision of basic needs, and the structural inequalities that make certain segments of an already poor population further disadvantaged.²¹ A person living in both absolute and relative poverty, for example, may be a poor child with a disability. In particular, poor girls face additional barriers to education because of entrenched gender discrimination. Positive impacts on poverty indicators are shown when the education levels of girls and women improve. Unquestioned and silent patriarchal social relations take place at the household, community, state and international levels. Examples include unequal participation in the creation of culture; lack of involvement in political decision-making and lack of reproductive freedoms; inequality in both paid and unpaid labour activities; unequal rights under, and access to, the law; unequal labour arrangements and global economic policies; and the viewing of women as victims, rather than agents of their own futures.²² These contributing

¹⁸ Van der Berg, Servaas (2008) ‘Poverty and Education’, *Education Policy Series* No. 10, UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning, p 2

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Bourgignon, Francois (1999) ‘Absolute Poverty, Relative Deprivation and Social Exclusion’, *Inclusion, Justice and Poverty Reduction: Villa Borsig Workshop Series*, accessed at <http://www.gdsnet.org/GDS/BourgignonRelativeDeprivation.pdf>

²¹ Van der Berg, Servaas (2008) ‘Poverty and Education’, *Education Policy Series* No. 10, UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning, p 2

²² Outhred, Rachel (2010) ‘The Life Chances of Women and Children, Does Development make a difference?’, PhD. Thesis, Flinders University Library.

factors to relative poverty are entrenched in societal expectations regarding the roles of various groups within the community.²³

A prevalent example found in feminist literature is that of the double/triple day which results in inequitable outcomes for girl children in education. This occurs when girl children are expected to perform domestic duties before and after school, and have less time for study. So whilst gender disparity in access to education is decreasing globally,²⁴ societal expectations regarding gender and domestic work (the gendered division of labour) results in a variety of outcomes that reduce girl children's educational engagement and performance, including lower rates of homework completion.²⁵ Furthermore, when classed, raced and gendered expectations interact with discourses regarding HIV infection, sexuality, or disability, multiple inequalities are created and vulnerability to educational exclusion increases.²⁶

Work carried out by the UN and other development organisations shows that social protection can address poverty in a number of different ways, including by: empowering the poor and building social infrastructure; reducing intergenerational transmission of poverty through health and education programs aimed at youth and children; working against discrimination to ensure that women and minorities have equal access to employment and education; and managing risks to integrate unemployed youth into the labour market.²⁷

Relative and absolute poverty can therefore be experienced simultaneously, and affect education access, retention and achievement in many ways, including at the systemic, household and individual level:

Individual/Household

- Lack of ability to conceive of possible pathways to a better life ('capacity to aspire')²⁸
- Poor nutrition and health for mothers and children, including malnourishment, HIV/AIDS and other diseases, can cause stunting and poor cognitive development as well as affect school attendance;²⁹
- Inability to pay school fees, and purchase school materials and uniforms;³⁰

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Arnot, Madeleine, David, Miriam E., & Weiner, Gaby (1999) *Closing the Gender Gap: Postwar Education and Social Change*, Wiley Blackwell Publishing

²⁵ Ndegwa, Charles, Mengich, William & Abidha, Ombech (2007) 'Parental participation in pupils' homework in Kenya: In search of an inclusive policy' *International Education Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 1: 118-126

²⁶ Outhred, Rachel & Ismail, Leila (2011) 'Social Norms and Student Equity, Unpublished Report submitted to UNICEF New York HQ.

²⁷ Heyzer, Noeleen (2010) 'Keynote Speech', in *Enhancing Social Protection in Asia and the Pacific: The Proceedings of the Regional Workshop*, Asian Development Bank, p 30

²⁸ Appadurai, Arjun (2004) 'The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition', in Rao, Vijayendra and Michael Walton (eds) *Culture and Public Action*, pp 59-84

²⁹ Sabates-Wheeler, Rachel, Devereux, Stephen & Hodges, Anthony (2009) 'Taking the long view: what does a child focus add to social protection?' *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 40, No. 1: 109-119

- Logistical difficulties of school attendance – Rural children are often amongst the poorest, and may have to travel large geographical distances to and from schools, which limits time available for out of class study and affects school attendance. This problem is compounded by an inability to pay for transport, even where it is available;³¹
- The requirement of children to work either in the labour market or domestically to support family³²

Systemic

- Lack of demand for education services,³³ leading to a lack of school and education program resourcing, because of:
 - pressures created by poverty, including the need for children to work,
 - poor quality education which discourages parents from seeing the benefits of education
 - lack of job opportunities for educated workers
- The requirement of children to work to support the national economy through child labour, which affects school attendance and also limits time to do out of class study (such as homework and assessment);³⁴
- Low salaries for teachers, linked to lower standards of teaching, lack of teachers and poorer quality education.³⁵
- Poor school infrastructure, lack of sanitation, availability of clean water, and lack of basic equipment and facilities such as pens and paper, chairs and desks.³⁶
- Poor communities often lack resources in every sector, not just education, and entrenched poverty may coexist with social problems such as unemployment, alcoholism, suicide, low life expectancy, family violence, high rates of infant mortality and diseases such as HIV/AIDS. This creates an environment of systemic direct and indirect discrimination that affects access to and achievements in education.³⁷

³⁰ Avenstrup, Roger, with Liang, Xiaoyan & Nellemann, Søren (2004) 'Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi and Uganda; Universal Primary Education and Poverty Reduction', a case study from *Reducing Poverty, Sustaining Growth – What Works, What Doesn't, and Why: A Global Exchange for Scaling Up Success*, Scaling Up Poverty Reduction: A Global Learning Process and Conference Shanghai, May 25–27, 2004.

³¹ Ortiz, Isabel & Yablonski, Jennifer (2010) 'Investing in People: Social Protection for All' in *Enhancing Social Protection in Asia and the Pacific: The Proceedings of the Regional Workshop*, Asian Development Bank, p 36

³² Cockburn, John (2001) 'Child Labour Versus Education: Poverty Constraints or Income Opportunities', Center for the Study of African Economies, accessed 30/11/2011 at

<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.197.4562&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

³³ Ortiz, Isabel & Yablonski, Jennifer (2010) 'Investing in People: Social Protection for All'

³⁴ Cockburn, John (2001) 'Child Labour Versus Education: Poverty Constraints or Income Opportunities'

³⁵ Mehrotra, Santosh & Buckland, Peter (2003) 'Managing Teacher Costs for Access and Quality', *UNICEF Staff Working Papers: Evaluation, Policy and Planning Series*, No. EPP-EVL-98-004, accessed <http://www.unicef.org/education/files/teachfin.pdf>

³⁶ Bedi, Arjun Singh & Edwards, John H.Y. (2002) 'The impact of school quality on earnings and educational returns—evidence from a low-income country', *Journal of Development Economics*, Vol. 68: 157-185.

³⁷ Ismail, Leila (2011) 'Indigenous self-determination and education in Australia: A Rights-Based Approach to improving education outcomes', Unpublished paper prepared for Master of Public and International Law, Melbourne University, p 11

- Institutionalised discrimination based on gender, disability, ethnicity, language, class and other factors exacerbate the barriers to education for poor children, as discussed above.³⁸
- Teachers and wider society may have lower expectations of poor children, which can result in poor educational outcomes.³⁹

Poverty creates vulnerabilities for children that differ to those facing adults, which necessitates a child focused approach to social protection. As Sabates-Wheeler et al argue, “recognising the ways in which deprivation and poverty are transmitted across generations and across time requires that social protection programmes take the long view, tackling multiple deprivations through protective as well as transformative agendas.”⁴⁰

Additionally, globalisation has increased the vulnerability of poor people and countries to changes in global markets, most recently demonstrated by the global financial crisis. Natural disasters, fuel price volatility, political instability and military conflict, and the impacts of climate change are other factors that increase risks of vulnerability.⁴¹ The income shocks at the household level produced by these economic crises and natural disasters can further entrench poverty, which in turn affects access to education in the ways described above. At the national level, a country’s lack of financial stability often means less investment in schools and teachers, which may reduce quality of education.

Therefore, even when access to education is improved, if quality of provision is not addressed, any gains in enrolments may backslide.⁴² Educationalists argue that quality education must be examined at both the level of the individual learner, and at the level of the learning system. At the level of the *learner*, quality education should seek to uncover and acknowledge learners’ prior knowledge and to provide a safe, supportive learning environment. At the level of the *learning system*, “a support structure is needed to implement policies, enact legislation, distribute resources and measure learning outcomes, so as to have the best possible impact on learning for all.”⁴³ The framework below shows how the components of education quality, including learner characteristics, resource inputs and local, national and global contexts, relate to education outcomes.

³⁸ Outhred, Rachel & Ismail, Leila (2011) ‘Social Norms and Student Equity’, Unpublished Report submitted to UNICEF New York HQ.

³⁹ Farr, Steven & Teach for America (2010) *Teaching as leadership: the highly effective teacher's guide to closing the achievement gap*, Jossey-Bass: San Francisco.

⁴⁰ Sabates-Wheeler, Rachel, Devereux, Stephen & Hodges, Anthony (2009) ‘Taking the long view: what does a child focus add to social protection?’ *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 40, No. 1: 109-119, p 109.

⁴¹ Heyzer, Noeleen (2010) ‘Keynote Speech’, in *Enhancing Social Protection in Asia and the Pacific: The Proceedings of the Regional Workshop*, Asian Development Bank, p 30

⁴² Somerset, Anthony (2011) ‘Access, cost and quality: tensions in the development of primary education in Kenya’, *Journal of Education Policy*, Volume 26, Number 4: 483-497

⁴³ UNESCO (2004) ‘Chapter 1: Understanding Education Quality’, pp 27-37 in *Education for All: The Quality Imperative*, *Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2005*.

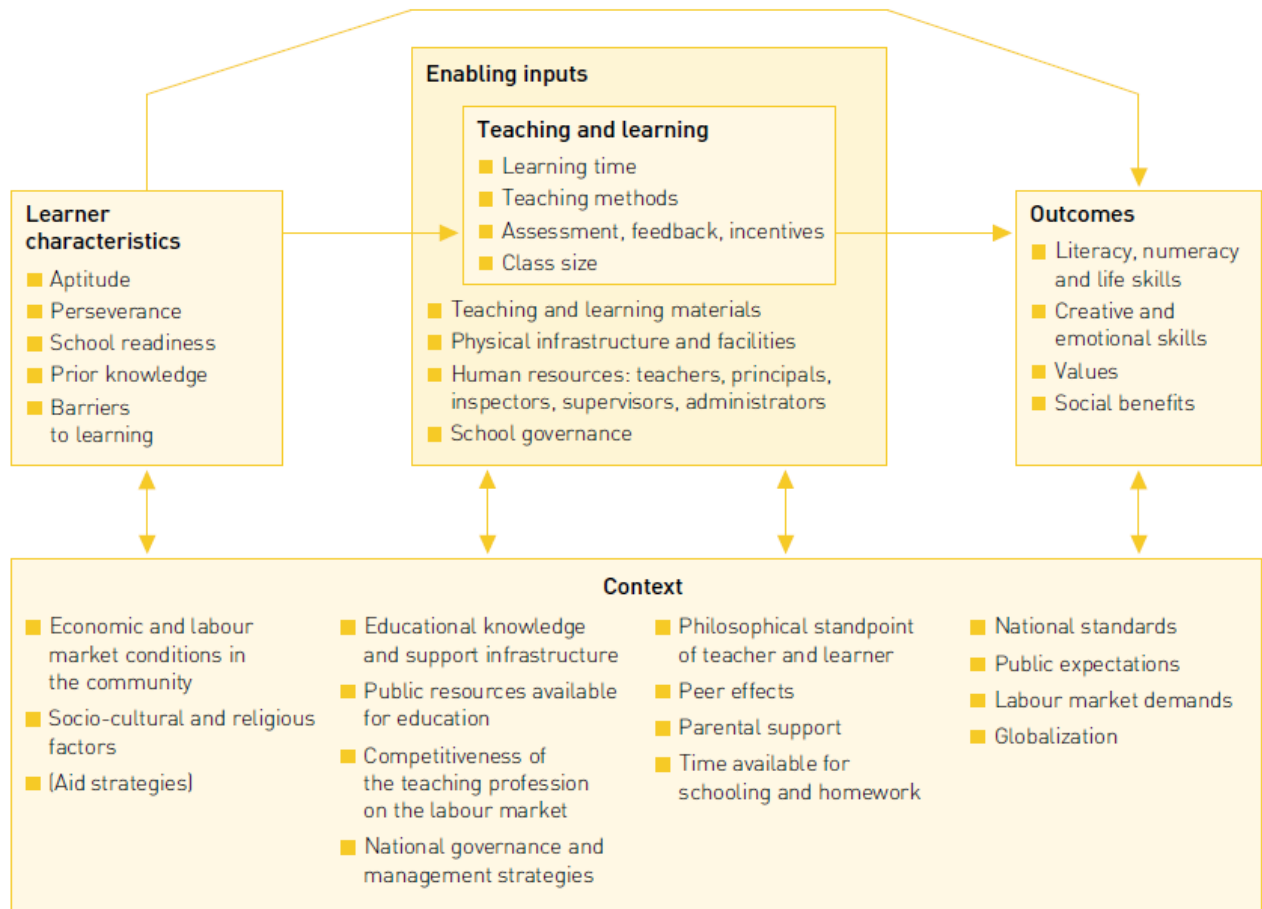


Figure 1: A Framework for Understanding Education Quality

From UNESCO (2004) 'Chapter 1: Understanding Education Quality', pp 27-37 in *Education for All: The Quality Imperative*, Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2005, p 36.

2.1 Social Protection

Social protection policies are frameworks designed to address “levels of vulnerability, risk, and deprivation which are deemed socially unacceptable within a given polity or society”⁴⁴ through the implementation of programs focused on poverty reduction. Social protection schemes in developing countries often involve one or more of the following: income transfers, access to basic services (such as education and health), and labour market interventions such as productive employment and asset building, all aimed at increasing access to economic opportunities for the poorest in society.⁴⁵ Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community groups often deliver informal social protection, which may include, for example, a feeding program for children instigated and delivered by a church organisation. Where governments do implement these programs, it is often implemented with significant donor funding.

⁴⁴ Conway et al, cited in Barrientos, Armando & Hulme, David (2009) 'Social Protection for the Poor and Poorest in Developing Countries: Reflections on a Quiet Revolution', *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4: 439-456, p 441

⁴⁵ Barrientos, Armando & Hulme, David (2009) 'Social Protection for the Poor and Poorest in Developing Countries: Reflections on a Quiet Revolution', *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4: 439-456, p 441

Broadly speaking social protection program logics either arise out of a human capital perspective, or a capabilities/capacities perspective. The *human capital perspective* conceptualises the education of children as an investment in a country's economic future and focuses on an individual's contribution as an economic actor. *Capabilities/capacities perspectives* focus on the opportunities afforded to individuals and the knowledge and experience required to transform resources into functioning. These perspectives are discussed further in the next section along with the evidence of impact associated with the broad approaches.

Social protection policies have been criticized on economic grounds for expending public funds, and having a negative impact on overall economic performance.⁴⁶ This criticism is based on the argument that social protection policies often involve large financial investments by the state, that are not quickly recoverable, and this reduces investments in other areas. It has also been argued that social protection creates "disincentives in the labour market leading to dependency on public support and undermining the work ethic, as well as hindering structural change."⁴⁷

Social protection policies have also been critiqued on the basis that they do not challenge political and economic power structures and relations, and "may merely be a palliative that diverts attention from the real obstacles to equitable, inclusive development and social justice, and postpones actions which would initiate the structural change necessary to sustainably eradicate poverty and vulnerability."⁴⁸ Development theorists have therefore proposed 'transformative' social protection, a sustainable approach that aims to address the root causes of poverty as well as alleviating immediate poverty situations. Transformative social protection is discussed further in section 3.3.1 of this paper.

It is important to note that although this paper focuses on social protection interventions specifically related to education due to scope restrictions, it is acknowledged that other programs may have an effect on educational attendance and achievement by removing barriers created by poverty to education access. Social protection, in the OECD's view, is linked in a mutually-reinforcing way with productive employment and well-functioning labour markets. The OECD defines social protection as referring to "policies and actions which enhance the capacity of poor and vulnerable people to escape from poverty and

⁴⁶ Somerset, Anthony (2011) 'Access, cost and quality: tensions in the development of primary education in Kenya', *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 26, No. 4: 483-497

⁴⁷ Garcia, A Bonilla & Gruat, J.V. (2003) *Social Protection: A Life Cycle Continuum Investment for Social Justice, Poverty Reduction and Sustainable Development*, International Labour Office, Geneva, accessed at <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/protection/download/lifecycl/lifecycle.pdf>

⁴⁸ Koehler, Gabriele (2011) 'Transformative Social Protection: Reflections on South Asian Policy Experiences', *International Conference: Social Protection for Social Justice*, Institute of Development Studies, 13-15 April 2011

enable them to better manage risks and shocks,”⁴⁹ and lists social protection measures as including social insurance, social transfers and minimum labour standards, and sees social protection as a way to increase self-reliance by “stimulating the involvement of poor women and men in the economy”.⁵⁰

For example, micro-insurance schemes, which are targeted to the poor and based on the idea of ‘risk pooling’, are particularly beneficial for small-scale agriculture and the informal sector in urban areas. Most poor people in Asia and the Pacific are not covered by formal insurance, which leaves them vulnerable to income shocks caused by natural disasters, unemployment, illness, death, old age, disability, harvest failure, and climate change. Such income shocks can entrench poverty and increase barriers to education such as the inability to afford school fees and materials, and may also force children to drop out of school to support their families through domestic or labour market work. Micro-insurance premiums are usually low cost and do not exclude poor people, who are often thought of as high-risk. In Asia, micro-insurance is “increasingly being used to help vulnerable households mitigate risks and enhance their coping strategies.”⁵¹ For example, in the Philippines, the Center for Agriculture and Rural Development Mutually Reinforcing Institutions is a grass-roots micro-insurance organisation that has served 5 million people since 1999.

Labour market interventions are not specifically education related, although they may have significant impacts on education demand, enrolment and retention. Koehler argues that “asset inequality and the absence of decently remunerated, dignified, long-term productive employment ... are the core causes of persistent vulnerabilities, poverty and socio-economic insecurity.”⁵² Parents will not see the benefit in their children attending school to higher levels if there is no employment available for skilled and educated workers, or if wages are low. This reduces demand for education. Interventions such as minimum wage requirements raise households out of absolute poverty, enabling them to afford school fees and materials and thus may increase demand for education, but without strict enforcement of child labour regulations may have an adverse effect.⁵³ Labour market regulations that are designed to reduce or eliminate child labour may work to reduce the opportunity costs associated with sending a child to school, instead of to work, if they are properly enforced in conjunction with other social protection measures, such as minimum wage requirements, to compensate households for lost income.

⁴⁹ OECD (2009) ‘Social Protection, Poverty Reduction and Pro-Poor Growth’ in *Promoting Pro-Poor Growth: Social Protection*, accessed 27/11/2011 at <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/63/10/43514563.pdf>, p 12

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Babajanian, Babken K. (2010) ‘Social Protection in Asia: The Latest Thinking and Policy Contours’, in *Enhancing Social Protection in Asia and the Pacific: The Proceedings of the Regional Workshop*, Asian Development Bank, p 545

⁵² Koehler, Gabriele (2011) ‘Transformative Social Protection: Reflections on South Asian Policy Experiences’, *International Conference: Social Protection for Social Justice*, Institute of Development Studies, 13-15 April 2011

⁵³ Cockburn, John (2001) ‘Child Labour Versus Education: Poverty Constraints or Income Opportunities’, Center for the Study of African Economies, accessed 30/11/2011 at <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.197.4562&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

SUMMARY BOX 1

1. Poor people may suffer from both absolute and relative poverty and affect access to education at an individual/household and systemic level.
2. globalisation has increased the vulnerability of poor people
3. Education quality as well as access is important to improving outcomes
4. Social protection is designed to address the causes of inequities in education access and outcomes by alleviating poverty at the household and system levels.
5. Social protection program logics either arise out of a human capital perspective, or a capabilities/capacities perspective.
6. Non-education specific social protection schemes do have an impact on access to education by protecting against income shocks, and should be considered in conjunction with more direct education interventions. For example:
 - a. Risk mitigation, including micro-insurance strategies provide income protection in the case of natural disasters, climate change, economic crises and household shocks.
 - b. Labour market intervention can ensure that there is demand for skilled jobs that require education – this in turn increases demand for quality education and encourages children to stay in school because of increased opportunities. Additionally, measures designed to eliminate child labour while compensating families for associated loss of income, can positively

3 Social Protection Strategies

This section begins by providing an overview of types of social protection strategies that aim to increase access and retention in school education. It highlights key theoretical issues that impact on the design of effective social protection. Section 3.4 then looks at program types and highlights some of the strengths and shortcomings of the different programs.

3.1 Human Capital Perspective

Under a human capital approach, the education of children is conceptualised as an investment in human capital for the future. Because earning capacity is linked to educational attainment, educated children may become “productive assets” for their families, communities and countries when they reach adulthood. Human capital approaches acknowledge that the human rights of children, including to life, health and education, must be ensured to allow them access to increased economic opportunities in future, and that child labour must be addressed as part of this agenda.⁵⁴

The human capital perspective is most commonly used by international development organisations such as OECD, the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank, whose focus remains on “protecting basic levels of consumption [and] investment in human capital and other productive assets.”⁵⁵ Risk management is a large component of this approach, including policies and reforms that assist individuals, families and communities to manage income risks and shocks such as unemployment, natural disasters (including drought), illness or death. More broadly, the World Bank conceptualises social protection as a means to provide macroeconomic stability and financial market development.⁵⁶

The Social Protection Strategy of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), approved by all ADB member countries in 2001, defines social protection as a set of policies and programs designed to reduce poverty and vulnerability by promoting employment and efficient labour markets, diminishing people’s exposure to risks and enhancing their ability to protect themselves against hazards and interruption or loss of income. The ADB Social Protection Index measures expenditure, coverage, poverty targeting, and impact on incomes.⁵⁷

According to the ADB, social protection consists of five major elements:

1. labour markets, including minimum wage provisions

⁵⁴ Ortiz, Isabel & Yablonski, Jennifer (2010) ‘Investing in People: Social Protection for All’ in *Enhancing Social Protection in Asia and the Pacific: The Proceedings of the Regional Workshop*, Asian Development Bank, p 36

⁵⁵ Barrientos, Armando, & Hulme, David (2009) ‘Social Protection for the Poor and Poorest in Developing Countries: Reflections on a Quiet Revolution’, *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Asian Development Bank (2008) *Social Protection Index for Committed Poverty Reduction*, accessed at <http://beta.adb.org/publications/social-protection-index-committed-poverty-reduction>

2. social insurance (to protect against risks associated with unemployment, health issues, disability, work injury and old age),
3. social assistance (for groups with no means of support, including social services, conditional or unconditional transfers of cash or goods, temporary subsidies)
4. micro and area-based schemes to protect communities (food security programs, social funds, disaster prevention and management), and
5. child protection.

The International Labour Organization grounds its approach to social protection in its 'decent work' agenda. The ILO focuses on ensuring basic needs and social justice through social welfare measures, and by enhancing the income of poor and vulnerable people through labour protection, including wages, conditions, safety and managing and mitigating risks to income.⁵⁸

Examples of human capital-based social protection programs designed to improve education access include: school-feeding programs, subsidised or free education, scholarships, unconditional cash transfers such as child grants, conditional cash transfers (discussed in section 4.2), and child protection legislation. Labour market interventions and insurance schemes, while not directly related to education, are designed to increase the resistance of households to economic shocks, which reduces the risk of vulnerability and may improve access to education by removing the barriers created by poverty.

3.2 Capabilities/Capacities Approach

Barrientos and Hulme argue that the risk management approach to social protection has more recently been enhanced by a "human needs and capabilities" approach.⁵⁹

Capabilities and capacities approaches are often grounded in a human rights framework. According to the UN, social protection policies are supported by "fundamental values concerning acceptable levels and security of access to income, livelihood, employment, health and education services, nutrition and shelter."⁶⁰ These fundamental values are drawn from the human rights to life, education and health, amongst others. UNICEF places a specific focus on the rights of the child, as enshrined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR).

A rights based approach is designed to respond to the shortfalls of resource-based approaches that are not sensitive to structural issues that affect the distribution of these resources. However, Nussbaum recognises that even where resource-based approaches *are*

⁵⁸ Garcia, A. Bonilla & J.V., Gruat (2003) *Social Protection: A Life Cycle Continuum Investment for Social Justice, Poverty Reduction and Sustainable Development*, accessed 5/12/2011 at <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/protection/download/lifecycl/lifecycle.pdf>

⁵⁹ Barrientos, Armando & Hulme, David (2009) 'Social Protection for the Poor and Poorest in Developing Countries: Reflections on a Quiet Revolution', *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p 441

sensitive to distribution, often they do not adequately recognise that individuals vary in their ability to convert such resources into functionings. For example, for all citizens to achieve the same level of educational attainment, more resources will need to be available for those citizens who encounter obstacles from traditional hierarchies or prejudice – for example, women’s literacy will often require more resources than men’s literacy.⁶¹

According to Appadurai, the cycle of poverty can only be broken through increasing an individual or community’s ability to conceive of and navigate pathways to a better life, and is developed through experimentation, practice and experience. Appadurai argues that because the aspirations of the relatively poor are formed within the constraints of cultural norms “whose social effect is to further diminish their dignity, exacerbate their inequality, and deepen their lack of access to material goods and services,”⁶² there is often only limited opportunities for the exploration of possible alternative futures, and the ability to aspire is therefore diminished.

To empower the poor and develop their capacity to aspire, it is necessary for them to develop a “voice” and engage in decision making processes. Koehler argues that in ideal cases, “social protection efforts can contribute to improving chances for social inclusion or political voice.”⁶³ The social protection agenda of UNICEF, for example, explicitly focuses on transformative interventions “aimed at addressing power imbalances that create or sustain economic inequality and social exclusion.”⁶⁴

Koehler discusses a number of social protection programs that have their origins in developing countries that have helped address structural inequalities – the Mahatma Gandhi Rural Employment Scheme in India (MGNREGA); the Bangladesh girls’ secondary education grant (to be discussed in section of this paper in section 3.4.2 and Annex 1); the citizenship based social pension scheme in Nepal; and the Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP) in Pakistan. All these programs contain the following ‘transformative’ elements: They are rights-based; they are longer-term transfers, they cover a significant proportion of the population; and they are seen as part of a broader development strategy.⁶⁵

Examples of capabilities/capacities approaches include programs and policies such as: legislative and policy reform to increase protection of the human rights of children and women (for example, changing patriarchal laws of inheritance, and introducing and

⁶¹ Nussbaum, Martha C. (1999) *Sex and Social Justice*, Oxford University Press.

⁶² Appadurai, Arjun (2004) ‘The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition’, in Rao, Vijayendra and Michael Walton (eds) *Culture and Public Action*, pp 59-84, at p 66.

⁶³ Koehler, Gabriele (2011) ‘Transformative Social Protection: Reflections on South Asian Policy Experiences’, *International Conference: Social Protection for Social Justice*, Institute of Development Studies, 13-15 April 2011

⁶⁴ Blank, Lorraine & Handa, Sudhanshu (2008) ‘Social Protection in Eastern and Southern Africa: A Framework and Strategy for UNICEF’, accessed at http://www.unicef.org/socialpolicy/files/Social_Protection_Strategy%281%29.pdf

⁶⁵ Ibid.

enforcing laws prohibiting child labour and domestic violence); community education programs to challenge social norms that discriminate against vulnerable groups such as girls and children with disabilities or HIV/AIDS; redistribution of wealth via grants and other social assistance; capacity building to improve community leadership, and promote advocacy and participation in policy-making, program design and evaluation; and programs focused on promoting women's empowerment and leadership, including the provision of financial resources to them. Such approaches, discussed further in section 3.3.1 (Transformative Social Protection), are designed to increase poor people's capacity to aspire – to enable them to develop the capability to map pathways to a better future – and also aim to address structural inequalities faced by people living in both relative and absolute poverty.

3.3 Current thinking in Social Protection

Current thinking in social protection attempts to address some of the failings identified through evaluations of earlier strategies and programs. This section highlights significant developments in social protection thinking and the importance of these changes in relation to access to education.

3.3.1 Transformative Social Protection

Structural inequalities, such as marginalisation and discrimination, compound the problems attendant on absolute poverty, such as food and other basic needs,⁶⁶ thereby affecting access to education. For example, Sabates-Wheeler et al acknowledge that many school feeding and maternal nutrition programs have been implemented with little impact on educational outcomes, particularly in Africa, because of structural inequalities that persist over time.⁶⁷

Kabeer argues that the allocation of and access to resources is affected not only by the amount of economic material resources available, but is mediated through the “rules and norms which govern distribution and exchange in different institutional arenas.”⁶⁸ These rules and norms give decision-making authority over resource allocation to particular individuals within a community. If there is societal and parental neglect of vulnerable groups of children, for example, then cash transfers to households may not reach or benefit these children, and indeed may reinforce inequalities.

Development theorists therefore advocate for ‘transformative social protection’ to address these underlying structural issues, which may involve “changes in gender relations and

⁶⁶ Bourignon, Francois (1999) ‘Absolute Poverty, Relative Deprivation and Social Exclusion’, *Inclusion, Justice and Poverty Reduction: Villa Borsig Workshop Series*.

⁶⁷ Sabates-Wheeler, Rachel, Devereux, Stephen & Hodges, Anthony (2009) ‘Taking the long view: what does a child focus add to social protection?’ *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 40, No. 1, p 112

⁶⁸ Kabeer, Naila (1999) ‘Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment’, *Development and Change*, Vol. 30: 435-464, p 437

deep-seated attitudes, as well as anti-discrimination legislation and other ‘transformative’ measures to overcome the social exclusion of ultra-vulnerable marginalised groups.”⁶⁹

Transformative social protection has four key objectives and can include both human capital and capabilities/capacities approaches: *protection* – providing immediate relief from deprivation (e.g. income support); *prevention* – averting deprivation (e.g. insurance); *promotion* – enhancing incomes and capabilities; and *transformation* – addressing concerns of social justice and exclusion.⁷⁰ Examples of social protection programs in each of these four categories are provided in the table below:

Transformative	Promotive	Preventive	Protective
Social protection legislation Legislative and regulatory reform Sensitization campaigns Social communication to promote behavioural change Strengthening legal system for protection of vulnerable Domestication of CRC Overall Social Policy	Second-chance education Skills training Integrated early childhood development Conditional cash transfers Asset building and livelihood development	Contributory social insurance/social security (pensions, maternity, disability etc.) Universal social pensions Universal child allowances Health insurance Savings and credit schemes Burial societies Disaster/crop insurance	Public employment schemes Feeding programs Child protective services Cash transfers Fee waivers Family support services Humanitarian relief

Table 1: Examples of Social Protection programs,

From UNICEF (2008) Social Protection in Eastern and Southern Africa: A Framework and Strategy for UNICEF

Human capital approaches tend to focus on promotive, preventive and protective measures, whereas capabilities/capacities approaches pursue transformative programs and policies. A transformative social protection agenda therefore combines elements from both theoretical frameworks to address both economic and structural inequalities, and absolute and relative poverty.

Sabates-Wheeler et al⁷¹ and Koehler⁷² offer several recommendations for a transformative social protection agenda:

- To ensure sustainability and longevity of the scheme, it should be anchored in government fiscal budgets, not just donor funds;

⁶⁹ Sabates-Wheeler, Rachel, Devereux, Stephen & Hodges, Anthony (2009) ‘Taking the long view: what does a child focus add to social protection?’ *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 40, No. 1, p 112

⁷⁰ Holmes, Rebecca (2011) ‘The Role of Social Protection Programmes in Supporting Education in Conflict-Affected Situations’, *Prospects*, Vol. 41: 223-236

⁷¹ Sabates-Wheeler, Rachel, Devereux, Stephen & Hodges, Anthony (2009) ‘Taking the long view: what does a child focus add to social protection?’ *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 40, No. 1, p 112

⁷² Koehler, Gabriele (2011) ‘Transformative Social Protection: Reflections on South Asian Policy Experiences’, *International Conference: Social Protection for Social Justice*, Institute of Development Studies, 13-15 April 2011

- Program design should build in the preferences and priorities of the participants; “gender empowerment and voices of the excluded and those living in poverty need to be central to the conceptualisation and realisation of policy”⁷³;
- Policy should take a rights based approach, “with transparency and uniformity in eligibility criteria, entitlements, and programme delivery and an established process through which citizens can claim their rights.”⁷⁴ This may include Registering children at birth to give them legal status and identity
- Programs should aim to “create productive assets or continuous income streams for the individual, household and community concerned” in order to move social protection from dependency to self-sufficiency through “productive livelihoods, decent work and security of productive assets.”⁷⁵
- Social protection should be child-sensitive (discussed in section 3.3.2 below)
- An integrated rather than a piecemeal approach is needed between social protection schemes and other government programs and legislation focused on development. This may help to ensure that “cash transfers reach the poorest and most vulnerable children, enhance child protection outcomes and avoid perverse incentives, such as the fostering of children for financial gain.”⁷⁶ An integrated approach means developing comprehensive national social protection strategies and applying a holistic methodology to capacity building, to strengthen ministries that are responsible for a range of benefit programmes and services.⁷⁷

3.3.2 Child-Focused Social Protection

Sabates-Wheeler et al strongly advocate for a child-focused or child-sensitive approach to social protection. A child-focused approach involves adopting “a life-course and intergenerational perspective in order to promote sustainable improvements in wellbeing as well as breaking intergenerational transmissions of poverty.”⁷⁸

Currently, many social protection programs involve providing resources to households to address short-term deficits in income or consumption, which does not take into account the long-term needs of children. Because children are dependent on either the state or their caregivers, the relationships between children, their guardians and wider society must be considered in program design. Sustainable social protection aims to addresses the inter-generational transmission of poverty. For example, it is known that parental levels of education are linked to the attendance at and achievement of children at school.⁷⁹

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Sabates-Wheeler, Rachel, Devereux, Stephen & Hodges, Anthony (2009) ‘Taking the long view: what does a child focus add to social protection?’ *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 40, No. 1, p 117

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

Additionally, poor nutrition and disease in mothers can lead to intrauterine growth retardation (IUGR), which is related to “cognitive impairment, poor educational performance, poorer psychosocial development, lower activity levels, and a failure to acquire skills at normal rates.”⁸⁰ Therefore, “intervention early in the life course and at particular points, especially with respect to ensuring adequate nutrition in the event of shocks (e.g. drought) and stresses (e.g. resulting from chronic poverty), is crucial for reducing long-term deprivations.”⁸¹

Child-focused social protection also requires an acknowledgement that children are uniquely vulnerable, and that particular children are exceptionally susceptible to poverty – based on disability, gender, ethnicity, and HIV status. This has been reflected recently in the drafting of a joint statement by a number of international development agencies, non-governmental organisations and research institutes, on ‘child sensitive social protection’.⁸²

Child protection strategies are also considered to be a vital component of a child-focused approach. Child protection refers to providing, enacting and ensuring access to laws and policies that prevent children from being neglected and abused.⁸³ If children are neglected by parents or other caregivers, it is unlikely that cash transfers provided to a household for their benefit will in fact reach them, or that children will be encouraged to attend school. UNICEF asserts that “children and adolescents whose right to personal safety and well-being is violated are at increased risk of lifelong developmental challenges” and states that “greater vigilance is needed to protect those at greatest risk – including children and adolescents affected by poverty, orphaning or other loss of parental care, disability, natural disaster and conflict – and special attention should be paid to the particular risks to girls in these situations.”⁸⁴

3.3.3 Targeted and Universal Social Protection

Recently there has been a shift in emphasis by donors from universal stipends to targeted stipends. Adato and Hoddinott assert that “evidence suggests that in terms of reaching the poor, targeting cash transfer programs tend to perform better than untargeted subsidies.”⁸⁵ Means of targeting include: means testing (which has occurred in South Africa); selection by community-based committees (which has been successfully piloted in Zambia and Malawi);

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² UNICEF (2009) ‘Joint Statement on Child Sensitive Social Protection’, Policy Brief, accessed 26/11/2011 at http://www.unicef.org/socialpolicy/index_53801.html

⁸³ Outhred, Rachel (2010), p 27; also see Needham, Emma (2007) *A Mapping of National Child Protection Systems: Summary Report*, Save the Children.

⁸⁴ UNICEF (2007) *Enhanced Protection for Children Affected by AIDS: A Companion Paper to The Framework for the Protection, Care and Support of Orphans and Vulnerable Children Living in a World with HIV and AIDS*, p 10, accessed 1/12/2011 at http://www.unicef.org/publications/files/Enhanced_Protection_for_Children_Affected_by_AIDS.pdf

⁸⁵ Adato, Michelle & Hoddinott, John (2008) ‘Social Protection: Opportunities for Africa’, *IFPRI Policy Brief* No. 5.

targeting by characteristics such as region or age; and self-targeting, where everyone can participate but the poorest “tend to self-select”.⁸⁶

SUMMARY BOX 2

1. The human capital perspective, which focuses on risk management, is most commonly used by international development organisations such as OECD, the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank and conceptualises educated children as potentially productive assets.
2. Capabilities/Capacities approach involves improving the capacity to aspire to a better life and may involve transformative policies. This approach involves dealing with needs and with addressing power imbalances.
3. Transformative social protection has four key objectives that incorporate human capital and capabilities/capacities approaches designed to address absolute and relative poverty: *protection* – providing immediate relief from deprivation; *prevention* – averting deprivation; *promotion* – enhancing incomes and capabilities; and *transformation* – addressing concerns of social justice and exclusion.
4. Child-focused social protection requires an acknowledgement that children are uniquely vulnerable, and that particular children are exceptionally susceptible to poverty – based on disability, gender, ethnicity, and HIV status; and involves adopting an intergenerational perspective in order to promote sustainable improvements in wellbeing.
5. All factors preventing school access should be considered and addressed, especially health and child protection issues.
6. Targeted programs tend to perform better than untargeted subsidies and are more cost effective.
7. Sustainability of programs is important – both in terms of finances and the country’s capacity to continue the program once donor funding has finished.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

4 Social Transfers for Education

The most common form of social protection scheme designed to improve education access are in the form of social transfers. Social transfers are “non-contributory, regular and predictable grants, in cash or kind, which are provided to vulnerable households or individuals in order to ensure a minimum level of well-being.”⁸⁷

Social transfers are designed to “boost demand for services and reduce some of the demand-side barriers (particularly costs) to access by targeting subsidies directly to specific groups of individuals and households.”⁸⁸ This focus on increasing demand is in contrast to supply-side subsidies for education, which often don’t end up benefiting the very poorest, although supply-side interventions (such as funding for schools and teacher training) are needed in conjunction to ensure education quality and access.

4.1 Social Transfers in Kind

Social transfers *in kind* are not in the form of cash, but rather in the form of free goods and services such as fee-free education, school meals, public transport tickets, or school books. Vouchers or scholarships are examples of “near-cash” transfers, which are designed, like in-kind transfers, to change demand-side behaviour by controlling which goods and services are accessed.

A common education social protection approach is the abolition of school fees. This can create significant problems if there are no supply-side interventions to ensure that schools have adequate resourcing to cope with any increase in enrolments. Since Independence, there have been three major free primary education (FPE) programs in Kenya aimed at universalising access to basic education, the most recent in 2003.

As a result of this program, during 2002–2005, the gross enrolment rate in Kenya increased from 88% to 112% (World Bank and UNICEF 2009). However, the universal nature of this policy “caused substantial cost increases, to the detriment of expenditure in other key sectors such as agriculture, infrastructure and health.”⁸⁹

Additionally, the three FPE programmes all had negative quality effects: “each brought about sudden, massive enrolment increases, which led in turn to overcrowded classrooms and to critical shortages of physical facilities, qualified teachers, and ... learning materials.”⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Chapman, Katie (2006) *Using Social Transfers to Scale Up Equitable Access to Education and Health Services: Background Paper*, Scaling up Services Team, DFID Policy Division, accessed at <http://www.educacionenvalores.org/IMG/pdf/social-transfers-back.pdf>, p 4

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Somerset, Anthony (2011) ‘Access, cost and quality: tensions in the development of primary education in Kenya’, *Journal of Education Policy*, Vo. 26, No. 4: 483-497.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

The large drop-out rate following the initial jump in enrolments was partly due to these “quality shocks.” Similar FPE programs implemented in Tanzania led to near-universal primary schooling initially, but did not cause a reduction in poverty in the long run because of quality issues (especially in rural areas) and lack of access to secondary and higher education. As Wedgwood argues, “whilst econometric studies imply that the greatest social rates of return are at primary level, a number of smaller scale and more qualitative studies suggest that for some potential benefits of education, including reduced fertility and improved livelihoods, the effects at the primary level are limited and it is only at the secondary levels that the benefits are fully realised.”⁹¹

Other common in-kind social transfers designed to improve school attendance are school-feeding programs, which aim to improve nutrition of children – which will increase cognitive ability and efficiency of learning – and encourage parents and children in regards to school attendance. The UN World Food Programme (WFP) provides school meals to around 22 million children in over 60 countries. Evidence from studies conducted by the International Food Policy Research Institute indicate that “results from the most careful studies show that in-school meals programs improve primary school attendance of enrolled students where initial attendance was low. Potential impacts on school participation by children not previously enrolled in school are not well known. There is mixed evidence that school meals can improve performance on math and literacy tests, and they may improve cognitive development, depending on the type of food provided, the size of the food rations, and program duration.”⁹² Further studies are needed to establish the long-term impacts of school feeding programs on education outcomes.

4.2 Conditional Transfers

Cash transfers include income support, child grants, disability support, pensions, scholarships and stipends. Pensions are an example of *unconditional cash transfers*, where the recipient has the freedom to use this money in any way they wish. *Conditional cash transfers* are most commonly used to improve education access.

Conditional Transfers for Education (CTE) programs take a human capital approach to the problem of education access and retention, providing money contingent on certain behaviour, such as school enrolment and attendance. The aim is to make people less poor and more productive in the long-term, as well as providing resources to increase and protect their income in the short-term. CTE programs incorporate short-term transfers to the poor to fulfil basic needs, raise low consumption levels and protect from income shocks, and medium- to long-term policies that increase the asset base of the poor, and promote a

⁹¹ Wedgwood, Ruth (2005) ‘Post-Basic Education and Poverty in Tanzania’, *Post-Basic Education and Training Working Paper Series*, No 1, Centre of African Studies

⁹² Adelman, Sarah W., Gilligan, Daniel O. & Lehrer, Kim (2008) ‘How Effective are Food for Education Programs? A Critical Assessment of Evidence from Developing Countries’, *Food Policy Review* No. 9, International Food Policy Research Institute

sustained decrease in poverty.⁹³ CTE programs are specifically tied to educational outcomes, and include programs that allow children and families to earn a monetary or food subsidy for school attendance.

4.2.1 Mexico

For example, in Mexico under the Oportunidades Program (1992-present; before 2002 called PROGRESA), conditional cash transfers are provided to households (linked to school attendance and health clinic visits) to alleviate poverty in the short term by providing basic needs; and to encourage investment in human capital (improving the health, education and nutrition of their children) as a means of improving economic outcomes over the longer term.⁹⁴

There is an ongoing monitoring and evaluation process, including randomly assigned treatment and control groups, administered under contract by an independent organisation (the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)), which has bolstered the program's legitimacy and improved political and public support nationally and internationally.

According to the program evaluation, PROGRESA had the largest impact on children entering secondary school (which is traditionally a period of high drop-out rates in Mexico). A percentage increase in enrolment of over 20 percent for girls and 10 percent for boys was observed, mainly attributable to improved continuation rates, rather than getting children who had already dropped out to return.⁹⁵ The evaluation concludes that the program can be expected to cumulatively increase educational attainment of Mexican children by 10 percent.⁹⁶ There was a more pronounced effect on enrolment than on attendance rates.⁹⁷

The program evaluation found, however, that PROGRESA had no measurable impact on the achievement test scores of children in beneficiary localities or on their regular school attendance. The evaluation concludes that this fact implies that "if the program is to have a significant effect on the human capital of children, more attention needs to be directed to the quality of education provided in schools."⁹⁸

See Annex 1 for a more detailed description of Oportunidades/PROGRESA.

⁹³ Morley, Samuel & Coady, David (2003) *From Social Assistance to Social Development*, Center for Global Development and the International Food Policy Research Institute

⁹⁴ World Bank, 'Mexico's Oportunidades Program', Shanghai Poverty Conference: Case Study Summary, accessed at <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/reducingpoverty/case/119/summary/mexico-oportunidades%20summary.pdf>

⁹⁵ Skoufias, Emmanuel (2005) *PROGRESA and Its Impacts on the Welfare of Rural Households in Mexico*, Research Report Number 139, International Food Policy Research Institute: Washington, DC.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

4.2.2 Brazil

In Brazil, the Bolsa Familia program aims to both reduce short-term and long-term poverty – the former through cash transfers to raise families out of absolute poverty in the form of a non-conditional basic benefit, the latter through increasing human capital by conditional cash transfers tied to education (school attendance) and health (including vaccination and nutrition). Studies have found that the Bolsa program has increased enrolment in Brazil by about 5.5 percent in grades 1-4 and by about 6.5 percent in grades 5-8. It has also been estimated that the program has lowered dropout rates by about 0.5 percentage points and raised grade promotion rates by about 0.9 percentage points for children in grades 1-4, and has reduced dropout rates by about 0.4 percentage points and increased grade promotion rates by about 0.3 percentage points for children in grades 5-8.⁹⁹ However, it was found that the likely benefits in terms of increased wages may not exceed the costs of the program.

Both programs are targeted geographically and via means testing, and were designed by experienced public officials. See Annex 1 for a more detailed description of Bolsa Familia.

Lessons learned from Oportunidades and Bolsa Familia about the design, processes and impact measurement of this type of Social Protection Program include:

- The government must have a strong role in designing and implementing the program, which means that capacity must be developed in the public service as a first step.
- Targeting should be based on geographical and socio-economic factors. This means that there must be good quality and extensive data available to the administering body to ensure targeting is effective.
- Independent evaluation as a component of program design is important. Rigorous monitoring and evaluation processes must be in-built, thus allowing for a control group and ensuring that results of the program were available at an early stage, allowing for a scaling-up of productive aspects of the program, and modification of less successful parts.
- There must be a high level of accountability and transparency to avoid corruption and increase legitimacy.
- Conditional cash transfer programs can reduce current poverty and create a better future for children, both girls and boys, through improved health and education outcomes.
- Large-scale conditional cash transfer programs can be carried out in isolated rural areas in a developing country with limited social welfare infrastructure.

⁹⁹ Glewwe, Paul & Kassouf, Ana Lucia (2010), 'The Impact of the *Bolsa Escola/Familia* Conditional Cash Transfer Program on Enrollment, Drop Out Rates and Grade Promotion in Brazil', accessed at <http://www.anpec.org.br/encontro2008/artigos/200807211140170-.pdf>

- Health and education must be addressed simultaneously to prevent child malnutrition which reduces access to and achievement levels in education
- The special concerns and issues faced by the elderly, people with disabilities and their carers, girls, women, and other marginalised groups, must be factored into any social protection program.
- Existing social protection programs can be scaled up to ensure any new initiative builds on existing successes and prevents wastage.
- Support for female household heads must be provided to ensure they are not additionally stressed by the responsibility of ensuring child school attendance. The possibility of involving other household members, including fathers, in ensuring school attending should be explored.

4.2.3 Bangladesh

Bangladesh has a number of social protection programs in place to improve education access for the poor, including free pre-primary schooling, the Primary Education Stipend Project, and the Secondary Female Stipend Program.

A nation-wide Female Stipend Program was launched in 1994, and aimed to address structural gender inequalities and reduce poverty levels, by delaying marriage (to reduce population growth), increasing girls' enrolment, and improving employment opportunities and social status for women.¹⁰⁰ Female enrolments increased from 442 000 in 1994 to over one million in 2004. Moreover, girls supported by the program had higher pass rates than the female national average, and the drop-out rate fell from 15 to 3 per cent. Importantly, the program helped educate people about the benefits of educating girls (World Bank, 2011).

However, it has been found the program has been less successful at removing barriers to education for the poor, because the stipend is untargeted. Untargeted stipends effect the enrolment of girls from households with greater land wealth disproportionately. Girls from households with a food surplus are receiving the stipend in greater numbers than those in food deficit. Hossain and Zeitlyn conclude that, "These stipends, which have used a huge proportion of the education budget, have proved a relatively ineffective tool for tackling the lack of access to education for the poorest in rural Bangladesh."

There has more recently been a shift in emphasis by donors from universal stipends to targeted stipends, and better quality schooling rather than just a focus on access. Access in the absence of quality will not raise educational outcomes. There is also a concern about the sustainability of the program after the completion of donor funding.¹⁰¹ Abadzi has noted that there are no provisions to assist girls stay in school once they have enrolled or to assist them

¹⁰⁰ Mahmud, Simeen (2003) *Female secondary school stipend programme in Bangladesh: A critical assessment*, Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, accessed at <http://portal.unesco.org/education>

¹⁰¹ Raynor, Janet & Wesson, Kate (2006) 'The Girls' Stipend Program in Bangladesh', *Journal of Education for International Development*, Vol. 2, No. 2

to achieve highly.¹⁰² One of the requirements of receipt of the stipends is girls' achievement levels in exams. However, girls who are less likely to achieve well are the very individuals who need the stipend most.¹⁰³

See Annex 1 for a more detailed description of the social protection programs in Bangladesh. Lessons learned include:

- Stipends should be targeted, to avoid the disproportionate diversion of funds to non-poor households
- Social protection programs aimed at increasing education access should begin at pre-primary level, to ensure poor children are well prepared for primary school and able to achieve as well as their wealthier peers.
- Girls face different barriers to education than boys, including lack of reproductive freedoms and equality within marriage, and social norms which prescribe gender roles.
- Programs must be sustainable by the government and local NGOs after the end of donor funding.
- Quality, as well as access, should be a prime consideration
- The costs of primary education exceed the stipend by up to three times, meaning that households eligible for the stipend may still be unable to afford to send their children to school.

See Annex 1 for a description of conditional and unconditional cash transfers and social protection in Indonesia and selected countries in Africa.

¹⁰² Helen Abadzi, cited in Raynor, Janet & Wesson, Kate (2006) 'The Girls' Stipend Program in Bangladesh', *Journal of Education for International Development*, Vol. 2, No. 2

¹⁰³ Chapman, Katie (2006) *Using Social Transfers to Scale Up Equitable Access to Education and Health Services: Background Paper*, Scaling up Services Team, DFID Policy Division, accessed at <http://www.educacionenvalores.org/IMG/pdf/social-transfers-back.pdf>, p 12

SUMMARY BOX 3

1. Social transfers for education may be *in-kind* (scholarships, fee-free education, school feeding programs) or *cash*: either conditional (dependent on school attendance), or unconditional (child grants, disability pensions).
2. Program design is crucial and must be carefully thought through
3. Government plays a vital role in designing and regulating any social protection programs, even if implemented by non-governmental organisations, so capacity within government must be scaled up appropriately.
4. Adequate resourcing from government, aid organisations and NGOs is required and a commitment from the highest levels of government is needed.
5. To be effective, social protection programs cannot be piecemeal. They must be undertaken on a larger-scale to affect poverty, and they ought to take into consideration existing programs in place.
6. Supply-side consequences of programs designed to increase demand must be carefully considered and education quality ensured.
7. A sector-wide approach should be taken and programs attempting to expand access to primary schooling should take into account the quality and quantity of secondary education available.
8. There must be accountability and transparency of programs
9. Programs must be actively monitored and thoroughly evaluated.
10. Social protection programs aimed at increasing education access should begin at pre-primary level, to ensure poor children are well prepared for primary school and able to achieve as well as their wealthier peers.
11. Consequences of placing responsibility on female household heads to ensure child school attendance should be considered and adequate support provided.

5 Overcoming problems in the Pacific Context

This section looks at the specific issues experienced in the Pacific region and reviews social protection programs that have been implemented in the recent past.

As Woodruff and Lee state, “risk is an inherent part of life in the Pacific.”¹⁰⁴ This is because of natural disasters; economic recession and commodity price shocks (such as high food and oil prices); and household level shocks such as unemployment, sickness or death of a family member. Informal social protection systems have developed over time, and “redistribution of resources among communities and extended family networks is at the core of most Pacific island cultures.”¹⁰⁵ Traditional community leaders and decision-making structures are often regarded as the most legitimate institutions. However, these informal social protection programs are most effective in dealing with household shocks where only some households require assistance.¹⁰⁶ In case of natural disaster and the global financial crisis, for example, these traditional methods may not be as effective.

The formal social welfare system in the Cook Islands combines universal benefits to the elderly and children, as well as targeted support for people with disabilities, caregivers and people facing poverty or hardship with no means of support. Generally, the efficiency of spending on social protection programs in the Pacific is low.¹⁰⁷ Universal programs come at a high cost, and involve the provision of resources to sections of the community who are not in need.

There are social protection programs in place in Papua New Guinea, however very few are government funded. Most programs are funded by NGOs, churches, the private sector, and community groups.¹⁰⁸ Social protection in Papua New Guinea is limited because: (i) it is difficult to provide assistance to a population which is scattered, inaccessible, rural and living predominantly on subsistence cultivation; (ii) the government has financial constraints; (iii) of the reliance on traditional kinship based social protection; (iv) of Government priorities related to education and health which together account for over 10 times the expenditure on social welfare.¹⁰⁹

However, the PNG Government has established a National Task Force on Social Protection, with representatives from all key government agencies, to develop potential social

¹⁰⁴ Woodruff, Alison & Lee, Sunhwa (2010) ‘Social Protection of the Vulnerable in the Pacific,’ in *Enhancing Social Protection in Asia and the Pacific: The Proceedings of the Regional Workshop*, Asian Development Bank, p 36

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Asian Development Bank (2007) ‘Vol. 19: Papua New Guinea Country Report – Final’, in *Scaling Up of the Social Protection Index for Committed Poverty Reduction*, London: Halcrow China Limited and Tanorama (PNG) Limited, p 4-5, accessed at <http://www.adb.org/Documents/Reports/Consultant/39261-REG/39261-01-reg-tacr-22.pdf>

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

protection policy models. The resulting report is intended to guide the government in the adoption of a PNG Social Protection Programme. The interagency Task Force is the first of its kind in PNG.¹¹⁰ Additionally, the Government of PNG will eliminate school fees from elementary prep in 2012, and from the lower and upper primary grades from 2015 and 2018 respectively. These fees will be replaced by decentralized subsidies.¹¹¹

In Samoa, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, fee-free education has been introduced with donor support – however, the quality of education remains poor, and often is limited to urban areas. Government capacity to design, implement and evaluate programs is limited, and data is either unavailable or of poor quality.¹¹²

5.1 Fiji

Factors driving poverty in Fiji include old age, number of children, education and employment and gender of household-heads.¹¹³ Poverty in Fiji is often likely to be conceptualised as ‘hardship’ by the government, especially because Fiji is not generally perceived as having a significant problem with starvation or hunger (although in fact evidence shows that many families in the Pacific may well be experiencing hunger).¹¹⁴ However, in the case of Fiji, “it may well be preferable to understand poverty as relative, multi-dimensional and contextual to the country in question.”¹¹⁵

Households with a larger number of children and elderly people are much more likely to be poor, particularly in rural areas. The percentage of children living in poverty is 39.5%, which has declined from 42.5% in 2009 but is still higher than the rate for adults.¹¹⁶ This fact has important implications for access to education. In Fiji, poverty is significantly lower for households where the head has attained a post-secondary education, with an average poverty rate of only 10.3%. By contrast, households with less than secondary education have poverty rates of 50%. Thus, the most vulnerable households are rural households with a large number of children and elderly people, and low levels of education.¹¹⁷

The Family Assistance Program (FAP), introduced in Fiji in 1975, targets low-income households and provides a monthly cash allowance of between F\$15 and F\$80, with the recipients classified into six groups: the aged, the widowed, the chronically ill, deserted

¹¹⁰ United Nations in Papua New Guinea (2011) ‘Joint Report for the Universal Periodic Review of Papua New Guinea’, United Nations Human Rights Council, 11th session, May 2011, p 16, accessed at http://lib.ohchr.org/HRBodies/UPR/Documents/Session11/PG/UNCT_UNCountryteam-eng.pdf

¹¹¹ Ibid., p 18

¹¹² Woodruff, Alison & Lee, Sunhwa (2010) ‘Social Protection of the Vulnerable in the Pacific,’ in *Enhancing Social Protection in Asia and the Pacific: The Proceedings of the Regional Workshop*, Asian Development Bank

¹¹³ World Bank (2011) *Poverty Trends, Profiles and Small Area Estimation (Poverty Maps) in Republic of Fiji (2003-2009)*, Report No.: 63842-FJ.

¹¹⁴ AusAID (2010) *Social Protection in the Pacific: A Review of its Adequacy and Role in Addressing Poverty*, p 9

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ For adults, the poverty rate was 38.51 in 2003 and 33.43 in 2009.

¹¹⁷ World Bank (2011) *Poverty Trends, Profiles and Small Area Estimation (Poverty Maps) in Republic of Fiji (2003-2009)*, Report No.: 63842-FJ, p ix

wives, the physically disabled, and prisoners' dependents. However, FAP's coverage is limited, and the program design does not allocate sufficient resources per household (mainly because it does not take into account household size). Additionally, "the process under which householders are deemed to be eligible is far from transparent," resulting in eligible citizens not receiving benefits they are entitled to.¹¹⁸ A recent World Bank Report recommends that FAP be scaled up to increase coverage and fiscal allocations and reformed to remain consistent with best practice in social protection programs. The World Bank Report also recommends that pension coverage (unconditional cash transfers) should be increased, because "[e]very FJ\$100 received annually in remittances reduced the incidence of poverty by 1.5% and 1% (percentage points) in urban and rural areas respectively over the period."¹¹⁹ Currently however, the Fiji National Provident Fund (which provides pensions to older citizens) is not well targeted, leading to 71% of the overall value of the pensions accruing to the three wealthiest deciles.¹²⁰ Recently, Fiji has introduced a program to provide transport subsidies to school children, and since 2010, FAP has also included food vouchers.¹²¹

Local NGOs and community organisations are integrated into the social fabric in the Pacific, and can be cooperated with to deliver formal social protection programs. Non-government organisations such as churches run 98% of schools in Fiji (education is not free), and provide informal protection to people with disabilities and women. These local organisations are not subject to government administrative and logistical limitations, and are more accountable to benefit recipients because they are located in the community they serve.¹²² Channelling public funds through these informal networks under formal government-community partnership agreements can reduce cost and improve targeting.¹²³ However, poorer households may have smaller networks and may be marginalised in communities because of patriarchal structures. Urbanisation can cause community breakdown, although informal urban community networks have developed, for example, in Port Moresby and Honiara.¹²⁴ Therefore there is a strong role for government in administration and oversight.

ADB's regional strategy, 'Pacific Approach 2010-2014', advocates country-led development and implementation of programs, and aims to strengthen understanding of the nature and extent of vulnerability in the Pacific, and pilot-test semi-formal safety net models of social protection which build on existing community mechanisms.¹²⁵

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p 321

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ AusAID (2010) *Social Protection in the Pacific: A Review of its Adequacy and Role in Addressing Poverty*

¹²¹ Woodruff, Alison & Lee, Sunhwa (2010) 'Social Protection of the Vulnerable in the Pacific,' in *Enhancing Social Protection in Asia and the Pacific: The Proceedings of the Regional Workshop*, Asian Development Bank, p 316

¹²² Ibid., p 323

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Woodruff, Alison & Lee, Sunhwa (2010) 'Social Protection of the Vulnerable in the Pacific,' in *Enhancing Social Protection in Asia and the Pacific: The Proceedings of the Regional Workshop*, Asian Development Bank, p 325

¹²⁵ Asian Development Bank (2009) *ADB's Pacific Approach 2010-2014* Accessed at: <http://www.adb.org/Documents/Books/adb-pacific-approach-2010-2014/ADB-Pacific-Approach-2010-2014.pdf>

SUMMARY BOX 4

1. Community groups and NGOs already providing informal and traditional social protection should be supported to continue this provision and/or be used to implement formal social protection schemes. This can reduce wastage and improve targeting. This requires strengthening formal and informal links between community, NGOs and Government.
2. Strengthen understanding of nature/extent of vulnerabilities specific to country in which program is to be implemented and carry out pilot testing of programs
3. Carry out genuine consultations with communities according to human rights principles to establish needs in communities and to evaluate programs
4. An inter-agency approach, involving several key government agencies in the development of social protection programs, should be considered.

6 Conclusion and Issues to Consider

Several key themes emerge when examining case studies of social protection programs and the broader literature. The following section will expand on the findings from previous sections as contained in the ‘Summary Boxes’ and provide a brief overview of theoretical approaches, key lessons that contribute to the success of social protection programs, and the impact of social protection programs on schooling.

6.1 Theoretical approaches

The unique situation for poor people in each country must be uncovered in terms of the types of poverty in existence (whether relative or absolute) and the structural and economic issues that lead to marginalisation of particular groups within society.

Such issues can include:¹²⁶

- geographic – such as remote locations and isolated rural areas which need to be connected to education services;
- economic and financial – including limited access to employment opportunities and productive assets;
- sociocultural – including social exclusion and discrimination based on identity (e.g. ethnicity, religion, gender, age, and physical ability); and
- legal – such as complicated or poorly administered registration systems for children, and lack of protection of human rights in national legislation.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Ortiz, Isabel, & Yablonski, Jennifer (2010) ‘Investing in People: Social Protection for All’ in *Enhancing Social Protection in Asia and the Pacific: The Proceedings of the Regional Workshop*, Asian Development Bank, p 36

¹²⁷ Bachelet, Michelle (2011) *Social Protection Floor: For a Fair and Inclusive Globalization*, Report of the Social Protection Floor Advisory Group Convened by the ILO with the Collaboration of the WHO, International Labour Organization, p xxv

Thus it is important to consider a transformative social protection approach, which aims to deal with structural inequalities, such as marginalisation and discrimination, which can cause relative poverty, as well as those factors which can cause absolute poverty. It is important to understand the social dimensions of vulnerability – poverty is not entirely an economic issue, so economic solutions such as food aid or cash transfers are only partial solutions.¹²⁸ This involves implementing programs that incorporate both human capital and capabilities/capacities approaches, and have a firm foundation in the human rights agenda.

Social protection projects should therefore start by identifying the “cultural map of aspirations”¹²⁹ that exists around the particular intervention being proposed. In the case of education, the aspirations that parents, teachers and other members of society have for children, and that children have for themselves, should be ascertained through extensive engagement with local communities to uncover the social and cultural norms that may be affecting education access, retention and achievement before social protection programs are designed and implemented. Transformative programs can then be devised to address these structural inequalities, as well as protective, preventive and promotive programs to ensure basic needs and rights. The conceptual map of transformative social protection below shows how this approach can move from securing basic consumption and therefore addressing absolute poverty, to the transformation of institutions and relationships to combat the social exclusion associated with relative poverty.

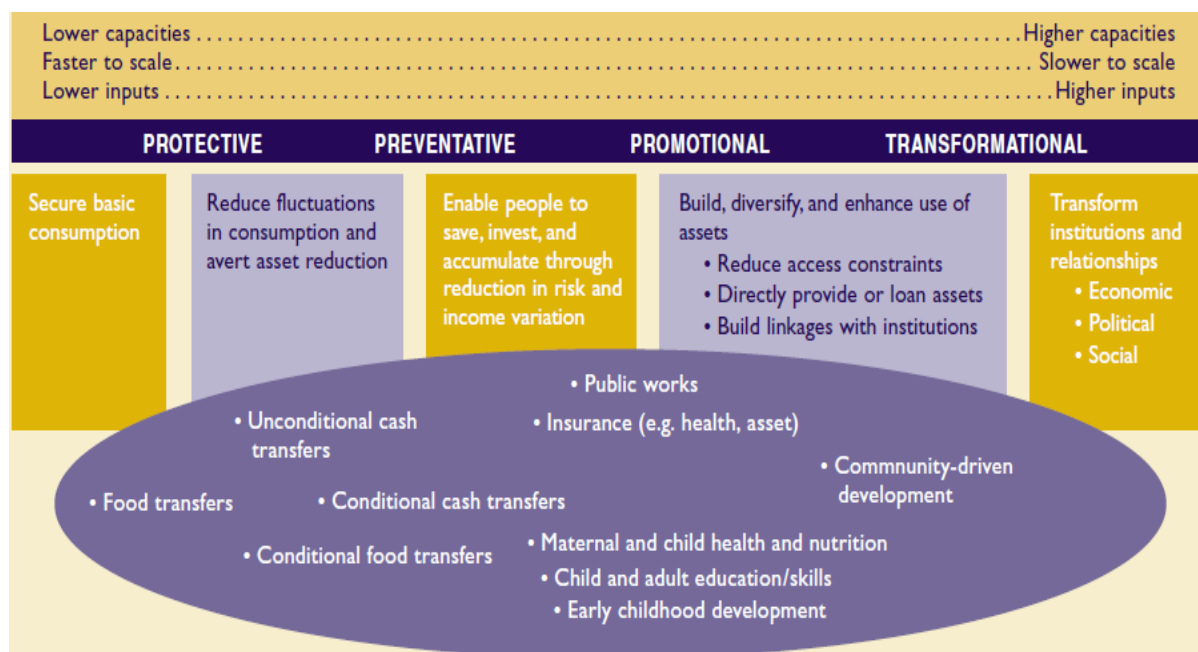


Figure 2: Social Protection Conceptual Map

From Adato, Michelle and Hoddinott, John (2008) 'Social Protection Opportunities in Africa' *IFPRI Policy Brief*, No. 5, Accessed at <http://www.ifpri.org>

¹²⁸ Ortiz, Isabel, & Yablonski, Jennifer (2010) 'Investing in People: Social Protection for All' in *Enhancing Social Protection in Asia and the Pacific: The Proceedings of the Regional Workshop*, Asian Development Bank, p 36

¹²⁹ Appadurai, Arjun (2004) 'The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition', in Rao, Vijayendra and Michael Walton (eds) *Culture and Public Action*, pp 59-84, at p 83.

6.2 Key lessons for Social Protection Programs

Drawing on the research on social protection and the evidence of program impacts, several important factors should be considered in both the *design* of programs, and the *processes and systems* in place to ensure effective implementation and sustainability.

6.2.1 Design factors

1. Carry out a rigorous needs analysis and assessment prior to program design to strengthen understanding of nature/extent of vulnerabilities specific to country in which program is to be implemented.
2. Targeted cash transfer programs are better at reaching the poor compared with untargeted (i.e., universal) programs. Given this, one needs to determine who ought to be targeted. This can be undertaken in a number of ways, including: means testing, selection by the community, targeting a particular area or age, or self-selection. The best approach for Fiji should take into account the program objectives, as well as the country's social intricacies and capacity.
3. Program design is crucial and must be carefully thought through, because "design features (such as conditionality and gender specific objectives), size of transfer, and previous levels of attendance all appear to affect the size of changes among different ages and between girls and boys."¹³⁰
4. High expenditure does not necessarily equal positive outcomes. Appropriate program design and targeting is more important. As Bachelet argues, social protection programs "can be kept within a relatively modest percentage of national income, even in severely resource-constrained countries ... The cost of a well-designed social protection floor is small compared to the tax revenues often forgone by not effectively collecting revenue from the wealthy and by not tackling inefficiencies that exist in many expenditure programmes."¹³¹
5. Government plays a vital role in designing and regulating any social protection programs, even if implemented by non-governmental organisations, so capacity within government must be scaled up appropriately. An inter-agency approach, involving several key government agencies in the development of social protection programs, should be considered.
6. All factors preventing school access should be considered and addressed, especially health and child protection issues.

¹³⁰ Adato, Michelle & Hoddinott, John (2008) 'Social Protection: Opportunities for Africa', *IFPRI Policy Brief*, No. 5.

¹³¹ Bachelet, Michelle (2011) *Social Protection Floor: For a Fair and Inclusive Globalization*, Report of the Social Protection Floor Advisory Group Convened by the ILO with the Collaboration of the WHO, International Labour Organization, p xxv

7. Adequate resourcing from government, aid organisations and NGOs is required and a commitment from the highest levels of government is needed. Where governments lack resources, institutional partnerships between governments, NGOs (national and international), bilateral and multilateral aid agencies and research institutes can be developed, with each organisation contributing its strengths and building capacity in-country to ensure sustainability of programs.¹³²
8. To be effective, social protection programs cannot be piecemeal. They must be undertaken on a larger-scale to affect poverty, and they ought to take into consideration existing programs in place. Programs should complement and reinforce other social protection initiatives and social policies, not duplicate or undermine them. Successful aspects of pre-existing programs should be improved and scaled up rather than scrapped to make way for new programs.
9. The possible unintended consequences of social protection programs and how various programs work together ought to be considered. For example, junior secondary students in Indonesia are attracted to the national social protection employment creation programs, and drop out of school in order to support their families, which is directly at odds with other social protection initiatives designed to increase school attendance (see Annex 1).
10. Supply-side consequences of programs designed to increase demand must be carefully considered. For example, if education fees are abolished, the resulting increase in enrolments must be anticipated and schools must be equipped to deal with this. If schools are not resourced and teachers not properly trained, access to education can be increased but outcomes will not improve because of poor education quality. Before programs to increase access education are implemented, it must be ensured that the service provision is sufficient to serve the anticipated growth in student enrolments, and of a high standard.
11. A sector-wide approach should be taken and programs attempting to expand access to primary schooling should take into account the quality and quantity of secondary education available.
12. Non-education specific social protection schemes do have an impact on access to education by protecting against income shocks, and should be considered in conjunction with more direct education interventions. For example:

¹³² Barrientos, Armando & Hulme, David (2009) 'Social Protection for the Poor and Poorest in Developing Countries: Reflections on a Quiet Revolution', *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4., p 451

- a. Risk mitigation, including micro-insurance strategies provide income protection in the case of natural disasters, climate change, economic crises and household shocks.
 - b. Labour market intervention is needed to ensure that there is demand for skilled jobs that require education – this in turn increases demand for quality education and encourages children to stay in school because of increased opportunities. Additionally, measures designed to eliminate child labour while compensating families for associated loss of income, can positively impact school attendance and retention.
13. Ensuring sustainability of programs is vital – both in terms of finances and the country’s capacity to continue the program once donor funding has finished.¹³³ Any long-term social protection strategy should plan for the continuation of programs by the government after donor funding has completed, taking into account national budgetary constraints.
14. Social protection programs aimed at increasing education access should begin at pre-primary level, to ensure poor children are well prepared for primary school and able to achieve as well as their wealthier peers. Paxson and Schady discuss evidence that shows that “early cognitive and socio-emotional development is a strong predictor of school attainment in Guatemala, South Africa, the Philippines, Jamaica and Brazil.”¹³⁴
15. Consequences of placing responsibility on female household heads to ensure child school attendance should be considered and adequate support provided.

6.2.2 Processes and systems

16. Pilot testing of programs should be carried out in communities prior to large-scale program roll-out.¹³⁵
17. Carry out genuine consultations with communities according to human rights principles to establish needs, and to conduct regular, ongoing qualitative and quantitative evaluations of programs.
18. Accountability and transparency of programs should be ensured to give them legitimacy and ensure that wastage and misappropriation of funds is eliminated.

¹³³ Raynor, Janet & Wesson, Kate (2006) ‘The Girls’ Stipend Program in Bangladesh’, *Journal of Education for International Development*, Vol. 2, No. 2

¹³⁴ Paxson, Christina & Schady, Norbert (2007) ‘Does Money Matter? The Effects of Cash Transfers on Child Health and Development in Rural Ecuador’, *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper: Impact Evaluation Series*, No. 15.

¹³⁵ Barrientos, Armando & Hulme, David (2009) ‘Social Protection for the Poor and Poorest in Developing Countries: Reflections on a Quiet Revolution’, *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4.

19. Community groups and NGOs already providing informal and traditional social protection should be supported to continue this provision and/or be used to implement formal social protection schemes. This can reduce wastage and improve targeting. This requires strengthening formal and informal links between community, NGOs and Government.
20. Programs must be actively monitored and thoroughly evaluated. The impact evaluation must be designed during the initial phases of program development, to inform program design and to ensuring the program can be adapted if required. Such an evaluation might include assessment of: (i) administrative processes; (ii) the extent to which the program reached the target population; (iii) strength of any impacts/effects; (iv) unanticipated effects; and (v) perceptions of the program; and (vi) cost-benefit analysis.¹³⁶

6.3 Impact of social protection programs on education

There has been a shortage of rigorous reviews on the education outcomes resulting from social protection programs, and it is difficult to establish causal or even correlative links between social protection and improved education access and retention.

However, drawing on the case studies examined as part of this literature review (see Annex 1), there is some evidence that social protection programs can and do improve educational enrolments, attendance, and retention. In Mexico, Brazil, Bangladesh, South Africa and Indonesia, conditional cash transfers and grants have been used successfully to achieve significant gains in these areas. However, improvements in outcomes (achievement levels) are more difficult to ascertain, and in some cases, while access has improved, education quality has suffered (Kenya is an example of this).

It is clear that good program design, including appropriate targeting and consideration of structural inequalities, can result in positive outcomes on both relative and absolute poverty when part of a broader development strategy. This alleviation of poverty is then associated with improved education access. In conjunction with supply-side interventions to ensure education quality, and continuous monitoring and evaluation, governments, NGOs and donor organisations can work together to achieve positive results through a transformative social protection agenda.

¹³⁶ Rawlings, Laura B. & Rubio, Gloria M. (2003) 'Evaluating the Impact of Conditional Cash Transfer Programs: Lessons from Latin America', *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, No. 3119.

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ANNEX 1 Social Protection Program Case Studies

Mexico

Oportunidades Program (1992-present; before 2002 called PROGRESA) – Helps poor families in rural and urban areas invest in human capital (improving the health, education and nutrition of their children) as a means of improving economic outcomes over the longer term. Conditional cash transfers are also provided to households (linked to school attendance and health clinic visits) to alleviate poverty in the short term by providing basic needs.¹³⁷ The program is based on the premise that parents do understand the value of education, but cannot afford the costs of school attendance, or the “opportunity costs” of sending children to school instead of into the workforce. Therefore, the program aims to address intergenerational transmission of poverty by providing parents with income equivalent to what children earn in the workforce, so that children can attend school and families are not worse off.

This money is provided in the form of cash grants paid directly from the government to participating families for each child who is enrolled in school between the grade 3 primary and level 3 secondary (with grants increasing as the child progresses). This direct payment method is designed to avoid possibilities of corruption. Every two months, school teachers and directors submit confirmation of students’ enrolment to the program, which then pays eligible households. Over 4 million rural and urban families benefit from this program, and it receives significant resources from the government – almost half of Mexico’s annual anti-poverty budget. Starting in secondary school, grants are higher for girls, to combat a higher drop-out rate. The health component of the program supports education access by improving food consumption and combating malnutrition in children and pregnant women.

The program is targeted geographically and via means testing. Household surveys for all households in eligible communities are carried out, and families are chosen through the analysis of central government socio-economic data. Payments are given to the female heads of the family, as international literature shows that women make better use of financial resources. This also serves to empower women by giving them control of financial resources. However, the program has been criticised for placing additional stress on the female head of the household to be solely responsible for children’s school attendance. Additionally, this form of distribution may serve to entrench the gendered notion of child care as a woman’s role.

The program was designed by experienced public officials across different ministries (education, finance and social security) and with strong support from the President. There is

¹³⁷ World Bank (2004) ‘Mexico’s Oportunidades Program: Case Study Summary’, *Shanghai Poverty Conference: Scaling Up Poverty Reduction*, accessed at <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/reducingpoverty/case/119/summary/mexico-oportunidades%20summary.pdf>

an ongoing monitoring and evaluation process, including randomly assigned treatment and control groups, administered under contract by an independent organisation (the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)), which has bolstered the program's legitimacy and improved political and public support nationally and internationally. This international support has taken the form of a \$USD1 Billion loan from the Inter-American Development Bank.

According to the IFPRI program evaluation, the first phase of which was conducted in 2000 after three years of program operation, PROGRESA had the largest impact on children entering secondary school (which is traditionally a period of high drop-out rates in Mexico). A percentage increase in enrolment of over 20 percent for girls and 10 percent for boys was observed, mainly attributable to improved continuation rates, rather than getting children who had already dropped out to return.¹³⁸ The evaluation concludes that the program can be expected to cumulatively increase educational attainment of Mexican children by 10 percent.¹³⁹ There was a more pronounced effect on enrolment than on attendance rates.¹⁴⁰ The program also reduced the probability of working among aged 8 to 17 by 10 to 14% relative to the level observed prior to the program.¹⁴¹

Children aged 1-5 years were also shown to have a 12 per cent lower incidence of illness than children not in the program,¹⁴² and PROGRESA has had significant impacts on child growth and reducing stunting, increasing the mean growth rate by 16 percent per year for children aged 12-36 months.¹⁴³ The IFPRI evaluation estimates that the impact from the nutritional supplements alone and their effect on productivity into adulthood could account for a 2.9 percent increase in lifetime earnings.

The program evaluation found, however, that PROGRESA had no measurable impact on the achievement test scores of children in beneficiary localities or on their regular school attendance. The evaluation concludes that this fact implies that "if the program is to have a significant effect on the human capital of children, more attention needs to be directed to the quality of education provided in schools."¹⁴⁴

The evaluation has resulted in the program being extended to urban areas, and in grants being extended to secondary school. A new component of the program called Jovenes con

¹³⁸ Skoufias, Emmanuel (2005) *PROGRESA and Its Impacts on the Welfare of Rural Households in Mexico*, Research Report Number 139, International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, DC.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid,

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

Oportunidades ('Youth with Opportunities') has been announced, which comprises a savings program for high school students from grade 9 to graduation.¹⁴⁵

Brazil

From 1995, Brazilian families were assisted by the Bolsa Escola, which focused on cash transfers conditional on school attendance. In 2003, the Bolsa Escola was combined with other social protection programs, the Bolsa Alimentação (nutrition program), Cartão Alimentação (nutrition card) and Vale-gas (a transfer to compensate for the end of federal gas subsidies) to form the Bolsa Familia. This was seen to reduce administrative wastage. Like Oportunidades, Bolsa Familia aims to both reduce short-term and long-term poverty – the former through cash transfers to raise families out of absolute poverty in the form of a non-conditional basic benefit, the latter through increasing human capital by conditional cash transfers tied to education (school attendance) and health (including vaccination and nutrition).

The program is targeted using the Federal Government's Cadastro Unico (Registration Administrative Records), which identifies families earning below the income threshold. Registration is a precondition to participation in the Bolsa Familia. Pregnant or breastfeeding girls and women receive a larger amount, and transfers are allocated per child living in the household. 12 million Brazilian families benefit from this program, which uses 0.5% of the country's GDP. The female head of the household is the recipient of a Citizen Card, a debit card which can be used to withdraw money at a government owned savings bank, the Caixa Economica Federal. This method of distribution is designed to reduce administrative wastage, and to discourage corruption. Further adding to transparency, the names of all people enlisted in the program, and the amount given to them can be freely accessed online at the Portal da Transparência.¹⁴⁶

Studies have found that the Bolsa program has increased enrolment in Brazil by about 5.5 percent in grades 1-4 and by about 6.5 percent in grades 5-8. It has also been estimated that the program has lowered dropout rates by about 0.5 percentage points and raised grade promotion rates by about 0.9 percentage points for children in grades 1-4, and has reduced dropout rates by about 0.4 percentage points and increased grade promotion rates by about 0.3 percentage points for children in grades 5-8. *Bolsa* is more effective at raising the enrolment of blacks, mulattos and indigenous children, relative to whites – while Bolsa raises white enrolment by about 2.6%, the increase for schools with all black students is about

¹⁴⁵ World Bank, 'Mexico's Oportunidades Program', Shanghai Poverty Conference: Case Study Summary, accessed at <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/reducingpoverty/case/119/summary/mexico-oportunidades%20summary.pdf>

¹⁴⁶ <http://www.transparencia.gov.br/>

13%.¹⁴⁷ However, it was found that the likely benefits in terms of increased wages may not exceed the costs of the program.

In addition, increased labour market opportunities and significant raises in the minimum wage, along with other social protection programs, such as the Continuous Cash Benefit Program (BPC) —a means tested individual unconditional cash transfer to poor elderly people and poor people with disabilities who are not capable of working – have worked in conjunction with the Bolsa Familia to produce a reduction in poverty.¹⁴⁸ However, because the BPC is an individual benefit, there is no protection for family caregivers, who tend to be women. As Medeiros et al note, caring “is an activity that may negatively affect participation in the labour market and social rights that depend on that participation, such as pensions and other forms of social security.”¹⁴⁹

While these programs are effective in meeting their aims, the long term effects are as yet not known. Some evaluations of the programs in Brazil, as well as the Oportunidades program in Mexico, suggest that too many demands are placed on already time-poor mothers to ensure children’s school attendance. Additionally, the reduction of children’s labour in the home may increase domestic duties for women.

Lessons learned from Oportunidades and Bolsa Familia include:

- The government must have a strong role in designing and implementing the program, which means that capacity must be developed in the public service as a first step.
- Targeting should be based on geographical and socio-economic factors. This means that there must be good quality and extensive data available to the administering body to ensure targeting is effective.
- Independent evaluation as a component of program design is important. Rigorous monitoring and evaluation processes must be in-built, thus allowing for a control group and ensuring that results of the program were available at an early stage, allowing for a scaling-up of productive aspects of the program, and modification of less successful parts.
- There must be a high level of accountability and transparency to avoid corruption and increase legitimacy.

¹⁴⁷ Glewwe, Paul & Kassouf, Ana Lucia (2010), ‘The Impact of the *Bolsa Escola/Familia* Conditional Cash Transfer Program on Enrollment, Drop Out Rates and Grade Promotion in Brazil’, accessed at <http://www.anpec.org.br/encontro2008/artigos/200807211140170-.pdf>

¹⁴⁸ Medeiros, Marcelo, Diniz, Debora & Squinca, Flavia (2006) ‘Cash Benefits to Disabled Persons in Brazil: An Analysis of the BPC – Continuous Cash Benefit Programme’, *UNDP International Poverty Centre Working Paper*, No. 16.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

- Conditional cash transfer programs can reduce current poverty and create a better future for children, both girls and boys, through improved health and education outcomes.
- Large-scale conditional cash transfer programs can be carried out in isolated rural areas in a developing country with limited social welfare infrastructure.
- Health and education must be addressed simultaneously to prevent child malnutrition which reduces access to and achievement levels in education
- The special concerns and issues faced by the elderly, people with disabilities and their carers, girls, women, and other marginalised groups, must be factored into any social protection program.
- Existing social protection programs can be scaled up to ensure any new initiative builds on existing successes and prevents wastage.
- Support for female household heads must be provided to ensure they are not additionally stressed by the responsibility of ensuring child school attendance. The possibility of involving other household members, including fathers, in ensuring school attending should be explored.

Bangladesh

Bangladesh has a number of social protection programs in place to improve education access for the poor, including free pre-primary schooling, the Primary Education Stipend Project and Secondary Female Stipend Program.

The importance of early childhood education is well established as necessary for improved education outcomes and retention as the child progresses through primary and into secondary schooling. Early childhood education is also linked with lower poverty levels, and in Bangladesh has previously only been accessible to the relatively wealthy.

In 2010, the Government of Bangladesh set up fee-free pre-primary schools in all government and registered non-government schools. Government primary schools serve 58.4% of total primary school children, and Registered Non-Government Primary Schools (RNGPS) serve 22%.¹⁵⁰ RNGPS were set up by communities and teachers in areas where there was no government school or there was a need for an additional school to provide for large student numbers – therefore, they tend to serve children from remote areas with comparatively poorer backgrounds. Only 8.4% of children in RNGPS catchment areas are enrolled in pre-primary schools, as compared to 19% in GPS catchment areas. Previously, only NGOs had been providing non-formal preschool facilities to poor families. The results of this program will be shown over time, but as Hossain and Zeitlyn argue, “a well-targeted

¹⁵⁰ Hossain, Altaf & Zeitlyn, Benjamin (2010) ‘Poverty, Equity and Access to Education in Bangladesh’, *CREATE (Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity) Pathways to Access Research Monograph* No. 51.

pre-primary school system accessible to the poorest and most marginalised would help those children get a good start to their education and enter primary school on time.”¹⁵¹

The Primary Education Stipend Project (PESP) started life in 1993 as the Food for Education program, designed to increase educational participation of children from landless and very poor families, and was renamed PESP in 2002. The project aims to increase enrolment, attendance, progression and performance of primary school-aged children from poor families through the provision of cash transfers to targeted households. Indicators of poverty used to target the stipends, conditional on regular primary school attendance include: “Children from distressed female-headed households (i.e. destitute widows and divorcees); children of day labourers; children of insolvent artisans/mechanics (i.e. potters, fishermen, blacksmiths, weavers, carpenters, cobblers, etc.); children from landless families (i.e. owning less than 0.5 acres of land) and children of sharecroppers.”

Only 23.4% of enrolled children are receiving the stipend, although the target was 40%. Around 40% of the population of Bangladesh live below the poverty line. Problems with the program include:

- Complex and expensive administrative structures of the scheme, and “problems with corruption at several levels of the project.”¹⁵²
- The scheme does not apply to RNGPS, which are often attended by the poorest children, and did not target the most vulnerable children effectively.
- The relatively poor in each administrative area are the recipients of the stipend, not the poorest in absolute terms. Income and food insecurity may be better indicators to target the stipend appropriately.
- The conditions attached to the stipend also prevent access to it. As Hossain and Zeitlyn argue, “for many poor children, maintaining over 80% attendance amid demand for their time from their families (both for pecuniary and non-pecuniary activities) and securing 45% marks are nearly impossible. This is especially true when it is taken into account that they attend schools and take part in an examination system where teachers assume that much of the children’s learning should take place at home with the help of private tutors.”¹⁵³
- The costs of primary education exceed the stipend by up to three times, meaning that households eligible for the stipend may still be unable to afford to send their children to school.

The Female Secondary School Stipend Program was piloted in 1982 by a local NGO with assistance from USAID to increase enrolment and retention of girls. Because of its success,

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p 17

¹⁵² Ibid., p 18

¹⁵³ Ibid., p 18

the Bangladesh government launched a nation-wide Female Stipend Program in 1994 for girls in secondary school, with support from the World Bank, the ADB and the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation. The program aimed to address structural gender inequalities and reduce poverty levels, by delaying marriage (to reduce population growth), increasing girls' enrolment, and improving employment opportunities and social status for women.¹⁵⁴

There has more recently been a shift in emphasis by donors from universal stipends to targeted stipends, and better quality schooling rather than just a focus on access. Access in the absence of quality will not raise educational outcomes. There is also a concern about the sustainability of the program after the completion of donor funding.¹⁵⁵ Abadzi has noted that there are no provisions to assist girls stay in school once they have enrolled or to assist them to achieve highly.¹⁵⁶ One of the requirements of receipt of the stipends is girls' achievement levels in exams. However, girls who are less likely to achieve well are the very individuals who need the stipend most.¹⁵⁷

Female enrolments increased from 442 000 in 1994 to over one million in 2004. Moreover, girls supported by the program had higher pass rates than the female national average, and the drop-out rate fell from 15 to 3 per cent. Importantly, the program helped educate people about the benefits of educating girls (World Bank, 2011).

The successes of this program have been because:

1. it was well-designed and appropriate to the local, cultural and economic context in which it was implemented;
2. the community was involved;
3. it was monitored, which reduced the falsification of attendance and enrolment data; and
4. the Government of Bangladesh allocated a significant amount of money to education

The Female Stipend Program is implemented by the Ministry of Education across four different sectoral projects, and relies upon and supports other interventions to improve

¹⁵⁴ Mahmud, Simeen (2003) *Female secondary school stipend programme in Bangladesh: A critical assessment*, Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, accessed at <http://portal.unesco.org/education>

¹⁵⁵ Raynor, Janet & Wesson, Kate (2006) 'The Girls' Stipend Program in Bangladesh', *Journal of Education for International Development*, Vol. 2, No. 2

¹⁵⁶ Helen Abadzi, cited in Raynor, Janet & Wesson, Kate (2006) 'The Girls' Stipend Program in Bangladesh', *Journal of Education for International Development*, Vol. 2, No. 2

¹⁵⁷ Chapman, Katie (2006) *Using Social Transfers to Scale Up Equitable Access to Education and Health Services: Background Paper*, Scaling up Services Team, DFID Policy Division, accessed at <http://www.educacionenvalores.org/IMG/pdf/social-transfers-back.pdf>, p 12

gender equality and education quality and access, including facilities development, improving teaching quality, and institutional development for monitoring and evaluation.¹⁵⁸

However, it has been found the program has been less successful at removing barriers to education for the poor, because the stipend is untargeted. Untargeted stipends effect the enrolment of girls from households with greater land wealth disproportionately. Girls from households with a food surplus are receiving the stipend in greater numbers than those in food deficit. Hossain and Zeitlyn conclude that, “These stipends, which have used a huge proportion of the education budget, have proved a relatively ineffective tool for tackling the lack of access to education for the poorest in rural Bangladesh.”

Lessons learned:

- Stipends should be targeted, to avoid the disproportionate diversion of funds to non-poor households
- Social protection programs aimed at increasing education access should begin at pre-primary level, to ensure poor children are well prepared for primary school and able to achieve as well as their wealthier peers.
- Girls face different barriers to education than boys, including lack of reproductive freedoms and equality within marriage, and social norms which prescribe gender roles.
- Programs must be sustainable by the government and local NGOs after the end of donor funding.
- Quality, as well as access, should be a prime consideration

Indonesia

To some extent, the Government of Indonesia (GoI) was forced into implementing social protection programs in 1998 when the country experienced severe social and economic crises).¹⁵⁹ The Government introduced a safety net program in 1998, Jaring Pengaman Sosial (JPS), with support from the World Bank, ADB, UN agencies including UNICEF, WFP and UNDP, and donors such as Australia, Japan and the United States, with the aim of protecting the poor from falling deeper into poverty and reducing the risk of vulnerable families becoming poor. It included measures to increase food security, create employment, improve health and empower communities. While some of these programs are still in existence (e.g., Raskin/Rice for the Poor), the GoI has not retained all of the programs it implemented (e.g., BBM/fuel subsidy program).

¹⁵⁸ Mahmud, Simeen (2003) *Female secondary school stipend programme in Bangladesh: A critical assessment*, Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, accessed at <http://portal.unesco.org/education>

¹⁵⁹ Sumarto, Sudamo & Bazzi, Samuel (2011) *Social protection in Indonesia: Past experiences and lessons for the future*. Paper presented at the 2011 Annual Bank Conference on Development Opportunities, 30 May – 1 June 2011, Paris, accessed at: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTABCDE/Resources/7455676-1292528456380/7626791-1303141641402/7878676-1306270833789/ABCDE-Submission-Sumarto_and_Bazzi.pdf

In terms of education-related programs, JPS also included a student scholarship and school grant program, which was targeted at the poorest provinces and at students who had a high risk of dropping out. Reducing drop-outs was seen as a way to keep schools open.¹⁶⁰ It has been found that the scholarship scheme reduces the drop-out rate in primary school, but not in junior secondary school. Junior secondary students are attracted to the JPS employment creation programs, and drop out of school in order to support their families.¹⁶¹ The employment creation program allows participation from the age of 15, which is the age of enrolment in junior secondary school. This unintended consequence demonstrates the importance of assessing holistically how different social protection policies may interact with each other.

Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH; Family Hope Program), a conditional cash transfer program, provides a fixed transfer of cash, as well as additional payments which vary with the age of children in the household. Additional payments are made to women who are pregnant and/or breastfeeding. Payments are made on the condition that a child's attendance at school is at least 85 percent.¹⁶² Further, the 'government budget basis school program' exempts students from poor families having to pay tuition fees to attend primary and junior secondary schools. However, there is no financial assistance to families for other fees imposed by schools, meaning that education remains too expensive for many families.¹⁶³

While Indonesia has had some success with their social protection programs (e.g., increased enrolments), they have suffered from mis-targeting and misappropriation of monies. Quotas are set by the central government, which are then sent to the provinces and districts. It is reportedly at this level that funding is not always provided to those families listed in the quota documentation.¹⁶⁴ Further, according to Widiyanto, bureaucracy is hindering the effectiveness of social protection programs in Indonesia – both in terms of absence of political will and lack of capacity at all levels of government to adequately implement and monitor programs.¹⁶⁵ It has been argued that the main issues with social protection programs in Indonesia are low coverage, fragmentation and exclusion of the informal employment sector (of which 70% of the labour force is constituted).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ Ha, Wei & Mendoza, Ronald (2010) 'The Intended and Unintended Consequences of Social Protection on School Dropout in Post-Crisis Indonesia' *Journal of International Development*, Vol. 22: 1115-1133.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Sumarto, Sudamo & Bazzi, Samuel (2011) *Social protection in Indonesia: Past experiences and lessons for the future*. Paper presented at the 2011 Annual Bank Conference on Development Opportunities, 30 May – 1 June 2011, Paris.

¹⁶³ Widjaya, Muliadi & Simanjuntak, Robert A. (2011) Social protection in Indonesia: How far have we reached? University of Indonesia, accessed at: http://www.eria.org/pdf/research/y2009/no9/CH-06_Indonesia_pp.157-181.pdf

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Widiyanto, Bambang (2011) 'The political economy of social protection reforms in Indonesia', Paper presented at the International Conference *Reforming Social Protection Systems in Developing Countries*, 20-21 October 2011, Institute of Development Research and Development Policy, RUHR-Universitat, Bochum, Germany, accessed at <http://social-protection-conference.com/dokumente/vortraege/Widiyanto.pdf>

¹⁶⁶ Widjaya, Muliadi & Simanjuntak, Robert A. (2011) Social protection in Indonesia: How far have we reached? University of Indonesia

In an attempt to tackle these issues, and to assist in meeting their Medium Term Development Plan for 2010-2014 to reduce poverty to 8 percent by 2014, the National Team for Accelerating Poverty Reduction (TNP2K) was established in 2010. TNP2K oversees Indonesia's three major poverty programs: household-based social assistance (e.g., Raskin); community empowerment; and economic opportunities. The impact of TNP2K is not yet known.

Africa

In the past, much of the formal social protection offered in Africa has been as emergency aid. However, over the past ten years interest in human capital development and social protection has gained momentum – likely as a result of high rates of poverty, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, soaring food prices, and the effects of weather and war.¹⁶⁷ Social protection programs have been implemented in Zambia, Kenya, Malawi, Uganda, Ghana and Nigeria, which target the poor.¹⁶⁸ South Africa, Namibia and Botswana have implemented programs to assist those vulnerable to becoming poor.¹⁶⁹

Some key points as follows:

- Existing social protection programs in **Nigeria** are undergoing numerous difficulties, most likely due to (i) not reaching the majority of the poor population and (ii) the programs not always having relevance to the population¹⁷⁰ Scholarships are an effective means of assisting the poor access services. However, many school scholarship programs are small scale and do not include proper impact evaluations. Additionally, “the lack of an overarching social protection policy or strategy at federal level is a key constraint to the implementation of social protection at state level.”¹⁷¹
- During 2002–2005, the gross enrolment rate in **Kenya** increased from 88% to 112% due to the abolition of school fees (World Bank and UNICEF 2009). However, the issue of quality of school education has not been addressed, leading to failure to improve outcomes.
- **South Africa's Child Support Grant** has been referred to as one of the country's major contributions to reducing child poverty. The monthly grant of R190 gives income

¹⁶⁷ Adato, Michelle & Hoddinott, John (2008) 'Social Protection: Opportunities for Africa', *IFPRI Policy Brief* No. 5.

¹⁶⁸ Also see Blank, Lorraine & Handa, Sudhanshu (2008) 'Social Protection in Eastern and Southern Africa: A Framework and Strategy for UNICEF', accessed at http://www.unicef.org/socialpolicy/files/Social_Protection_Strategy%281%29.pdf

¹⁶⁹ Barrientos, Armando & Hulme, David (2009) 'Social Protection for the Poor and Poorest in Developing Countries: Reflections on a Quiet Revolution', *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4: 439-456.

¹⁷⁰ Holmes, Rebecca & Akinrimisi, Banke with Morgan, Jenny & Buck, Rhiannon (2011) 'Social protection in Nigeria: An overview of programmes and their effectiveness', *ODI Project Briefing* No 59, accessed at: www.odi.org.au/resources/

¹⁷¹ Barrientos, Armando & Hulme, David (2009) 'Social Protection for the Poor and Poorest in Developing Countries: Reflections on a Quiet Revolution', *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 4: 439-456.

support for children between the ages of 0 and 14 years whose parents or caregivers earn below the minimum wage of R1 200 a month. There are currently 7.2 million children benefitting from the child support grant, but children between the ages of 15 and 17 years are not eligible for the grant, leaving them without a safety net.¹⁷² In relation to education, the grant has increased school attendance by 25 percent.¹⁷³ Further, pension payments to elderly South African women increase the weight-for-height and height-for-age of young girls in the household by 1.19 and 1.16 standard deviations, respectively.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² UNICEF (2011) 'South Africa: Get kids out of poverty', accessed at:

http://www.unicef.org/southafrica/support_3444.html

¹⁷³ Adato, Michelle & Hoddinott, John (2008) 'Social Protection: Opportunities for Africa', *IFPRI Policy Brief* No. 5.

¹⁷⁴ Duflo, Esther (2003) 'Grandmothers and Granddaughters: Old-Age Pensions and Intrahousehold Allocation in South Africa', *World Bank Economic Review*, Vol. 17, No. 1: 1-25.

ANNEX 2 Literature search scope

The literature search undertaken prior to the writing of this literature review commenced with searches of the following bibliographic databases: Australian Education Index (AEI), ERIC, Education Research Complete (ERC), British Education Index (BEI), Asia-Studies Full-Text Online and Scopus. The search was limited to documents published from 2005 onwards. The review was undertaken between the 16-18 November 2011.

Searches were conducted by a librarian from ACER's Cunningham Library, who used a staged approach to searching the databases. Wherever possible, subject descriptors from the relevant database thesaurus were used.

The search terms and strategy used for each database are shown below. Numbers of records retrieved are in brackets after the term and the total records from a Boolean search are given after the equals sign (=). The numbers of relevant records selected to forward to the researchers undertaking the review are noted in brackets next to database name.

AEI (4 records selected as relevant)

"social protection" (1) – this is not a subject term for AEI, so the term was searched across all fields
 access to education (412) AND primary education (4465) AND barriers (311) = 1 record
 access to education (412) AND primary education (4465) = 25 records

ERIC (36 records selected as relevant)

"social protection" (38) – this is not a subject term for ERIC
 access to education (3847) AND Barriers (3525) AND elementary education (38118) = 89 records
 access to education (3847) AND elementary education (38118) = 830 records

ERC (16 records selected as relevant)

"social protection" (38) – this is not a subject term for ERC
 (right to education OR educational equalization) (1663) AND (primary education OR elementary education) (8399) = 41 records
 (primary education OR elementary education) AND intervention social services (892) = 6 records

BEI (47 records selected as relevant)

social protection (3) – this is not a subject term for BEI
 access to education (1140) AND primary education (4104) = 79 records

Asia-Studies Full-Text Online (1 record selected as relevant)

[This database does not have a subject thesaurus. It also does not have the facility to limit by date]
 "access to education" (494) AND "social protection" (953) = 206 records

Scopus (3 records selected as relevant)

[This database does not have a subject thesaurus, so the search was limited to article title, abstract and keyword fields. It was also limited to the Social Sciences and Humanities subject area]
 "access to education" (279) AND "social protection" (585) = 3 records

Internet searching

Grey literature was searched via international organisations such as OECD, ADB, World Bank, UNICEF, UNESCO, ILO; national development organisations such as DFID, AusAID; and other development organisations such as ODI, Save the Children, IFPRI and also development resource web pages such as ELDIS. Google academic was also utilised to source a number of reports and articles.

General search terms used included but not limited to: (usually in combination with the word 'education'): social protection, social welfare, cash transfers, conditional transfers, relative poverty, access to education, impact of social protection programs, school feeding programs, girls education, education quality, impact of social protection, barriers to education, right to education, free education.