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GLOBAL VIEWS

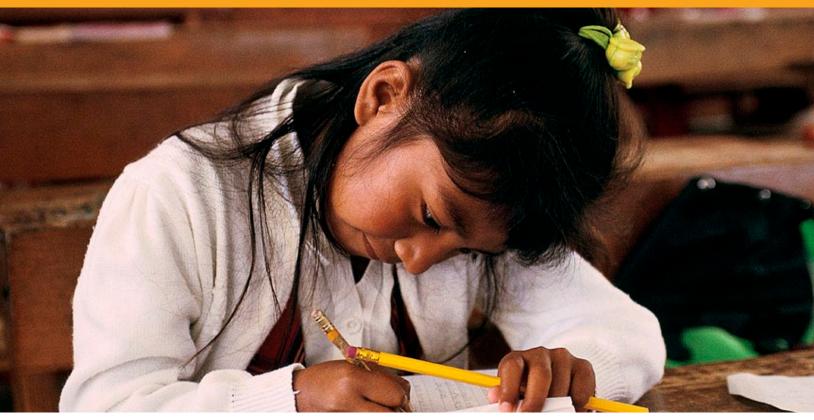


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RAISING THE GLOBAL AMBITION FOR GIRLS' EDUCATION

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THE GIRLS' EDUCATION IMPERATIVE

In 1948, the world's nations came together and agreed that "everyone has a right to education," boys and girls and rich and poor alike. This vision set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been reinforced over the decades and today the girls who still fight to be educated are not cases for charity but actively pursuing what is rightfully theirs. In recent years, girls' education has also received attention because, in the words of the United Nations, "education is not only a right but a passport to human development." Evidence has been mounting on the pivotal role that educating a girl or a woman plays in improving health, social, and economic outcomes, not only for herself but her children, family, and community. Educating girls helps improve health: one study published in The Lancet, the world's leading medical journal, found that increasing girls' education was responsible for more than half of the reduction in child mortality between 1970 and 2009. The economic benefits are clear: former chief economist at the World Bank and United States Secretary of the Treasury Lawrence Summers concluded that girls' education "may well be the highest-return investment available in the developing world" due to the benefits women, their families and societies reap. And because women make up a large share of the world's farmers, improvements in girls' education also lead to increased agricultural output and productivity.

PROGRESS IN GIRLS' EDUCATION

Given the importance of girls' education, for girls' own dignity and rights and for a broad sweep of development outcomes, it is no surprise that global agendas have focused heavily on it. For more than two decades, girls' education has been recognized as a global priority and incorporated into development targets, which has rallied governments, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), foundations and international organizations. From the 1990 Education for All (EFA) Goals to the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing and to the 2000 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), girls' education has been a priority, particularly in international development communities. Perhaps the most influential of these has been the MDGs, which reinforce parts of the EFA goals by focusing two of their eight goals on education, namely on achieving universal primary education and achieving gender parity in both primary and secondary school. 8

Progress in enrolling children, especially girls, into primary school is seen by many as a development success story. Indeed there is much to celebrate. Since 1990, the number of girls in low-income countries enrolling in primary school has increased two-and-a-half times, from 23.6 million to nearly 63 million in 2012. This has translated into a large increase in the girl-boy ratio in low-income countries, from 82 to 95 girls per 100 boys in primary school. For low- and lower-middle-income countries combined, the number of girls enrolled reached over 200 million girls in 2012, an almost 80 percent increase, and globally two-thirds of countries have near-equal numbers of boys and girls enrolled at the primary level. 11

This progress was largely made by the leadership of developing country governments that prioritized expansion of primary schooling opportunities and by the global community's support of governments focused on reaching the MDGs. Some of the biggest gains have been in regions struggling the most. In 1990, in South and West Asia, there were only 74 girls enrolled in primary school for every 100 boys, but by 2012 the region had achieved equal numbers of boys and girls in school. ¹² Similarly, sub-Saharan Africa, which had the lowest levels of girls

in school in 1990, has experienced marked improvement, with the girl-boy ratio increasing from 83 to 92 girls per 100 boys in primary school.¹³

The focus on getting girls into school has helped close gender gaps in relation to other factors too, such as wealth and location of residence. The fact that family income and urban or rural locality are now the most likely indicators of school enrollment is a big victory for girls' education. The World Inequality Database on Education (WIDE) shows that in India, for example, 38 percent of girls and 25 percent of boys of primary school age were not in school in 1992. By 2005, that gap had narrowed to 24 percent of girls and 22 percent of boys. However, today the gap between the richest and poorest children's attendance is much starker—37 percent of children from the poorest 20 percent of families versus just 11 percent of the richest 20 percent are out of school. And in many areas, girls actually outpace boys, especially at higher levels of education. In one third of countries, there are now more girls than boys enrolled in secondary school. Also, girls often do better once in school, with boys making up 75 percent of grade-repeaters in primary school.

TODAY'S GIRLS' EDUCATION HOTSPOTS

Despite the progress in enrolling girls in school, the job is not done. Instead of all girls facing these challenges, it is now the poorest girls living in rural areas who are, across the board, still the most in need of education. Moreover, experts need to move beyond talking only about primary school and expand their focus to secondary education and girls' ability to then transition to the workforce and take on leadership roles. And instead of only talking about how many years girls spend in school, we need to talk about what girls and boys are learning, including what they are learning about gender equality.

The conversation may no longer need to include all countries, but it still urgently needs to focus on particular regions and countries where girls are fighting to get educated. Ultimately, what becomes clear in looking at current data on girls' education is the band of countries across Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, discussed in detail below, that are girls' education hotspots. These are places where many girls, among other things, are married before they are 18, struggling to enroll in secondary school in the same number as boys, and in at least 15 countries facing attacks on their lives for participating in education.

SECOND GENERATION GIRLS' EDUCATION PRIORITIES

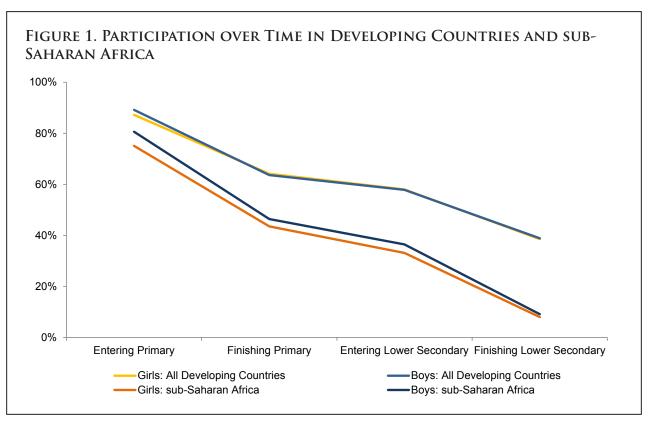
Now is the time to lift up the global ambition for girls. Building on the progress to date, the global community should move its collective focus up from enrolling girls and boys in school in equal numbers to ensuring that girls complete secondary education with the skills they need for their lives and livelihoods. We argue that a focus on five "second generation" girls' education priorities can help do just that. Based on a review of the data and a series of dialogues with partners, these second generation priorities include: access, safety, quality learning, transitions, and local leadership. Girls' education advocates and practitioners have long worked on one or more of these priorities in different parts of the world, but together as a global agenda they raise our ambition from gender parity to a vision of success that better reflects what girls' aspire to and deserve in their lives.

What follows is a detailed discussion of these five second generation girls' education priorities.

ACCESS: ENSURING THAT GIRLS ENTER AND STAY IN SCHOOL THROUGH SECONDARY EDUCATION

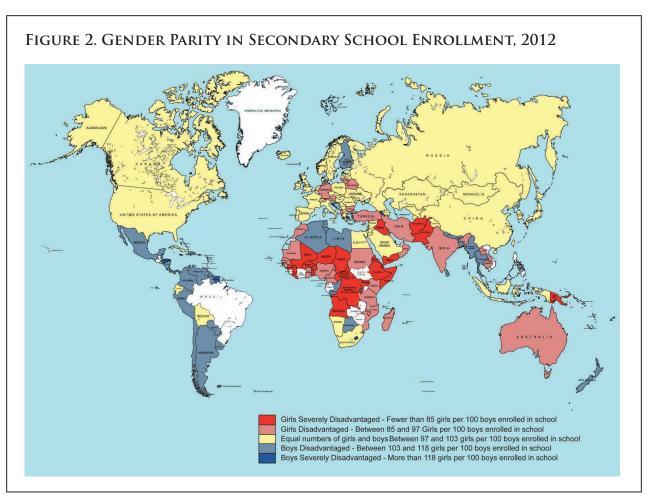
Progress in enrollment in primary school for girls is certainly an achievement to celebrate, but access to complete education also means being able to stay in school until graduation, and if it is universal it must reach even the most marginalized girls. Even with improved numbers of girls enrolling in school, there are still over 30 million girls of primary school age who are not in school, and another 34 million missing from lower-secondary school, many of them extremely disadvantaged. ¹⁷ Unfortunately, as the data here show, there is still work to be done to achieve full access, for all girls to get in school systems and remain until the end of secondary school.

Measuring progress in girls' enrollment in primary school only tells part of the story of girls' access to education. Figure 1 shows the rates of progression throughout primary and lower secondary school, making it clear that simply getting girls into primary school does not ensure that they complete their schooling. In developing countries, 87 percent of girls enroll in primary school, but only 39 percent finish lower secondary. In sub-Saharan Africa, the drop-off is even starker, with 75 percent of girls starting school but only 8 percent finishing. Measuring this progression is an important indicator for girls' access to school, as the goal is not just that girls enroll in school, but that they finish the full cycle. Additionally, as boys are just as likely to drop out as girls, simply measuring access by the girl-to-boy ratio in primary school is not sufficient. If equal but small numbers of boys and girls are completing school, there are problems with access and completion for both genders.



Note: Entering primary is measured by net enrollment rates, completing primary by survival to final year of primary, entering secondary by the transition to general secondary school rate, and finishing lower-secondary by the gross intake to final grade ratio. Source: UNESCO Institute of Statistics, accessed on November 21, 2014 from data.uis.unesco.org

Additionally, breaking down the averages of enrollment and gender parity shows that many of these girls live in "hotspots," areas where there are still many more girls than boys out of school. In many countries in sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia, girls are still significantly less likely than boys to enroll in school; many of them are the poorest girls living in rural areas.



Note: Countries where 2012 data was not available, the latest data since 2006 was used. Source: Millennium Development Goals Indicators Database.

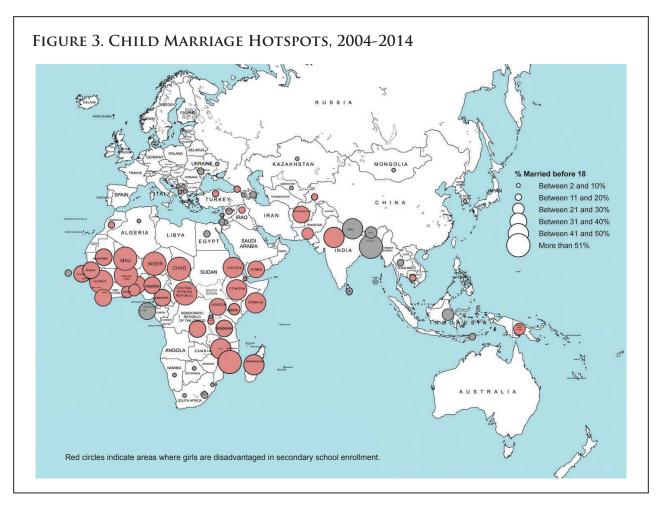
As Figure 2 shows, while on average gender parity has improved in sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia, the average masks significant variation among countries. ¹⁹ The 23 dark red countries are areas where fewer than 85 girls are enrolled in secondary school for every 100 boys. In Chad and Somalia, there are just 46 girls for every 100 boys enrolled in school, and in Central African Republic, Afghanistan, The Democratic Republic of Congo and Niger, this figure is below 70 girls per 100 boys. Girls living in these hotspots still struggle to enroll in school, and must not be forgotten due to progress elsewhere.

It is important to note that there are 51 countries shaded blue, meaning boys are disadvantaged in terms of secondary school enrollment, and in a small number of countries girls are outpacing boys by far. This is certainly cause for concern. In some of these countries, particularly in Latin America, experts attribute the low level of boys' schooling to the prominence of gangs and violence, something which frequently hits male youth the hardest and results in higher dropout rates for boys than girls. ²⁰ These areas clearly need programs and policies targeted toward keeping boys in school, but this fact does not negate the need for special attention to girls in many other countries. Particularly telling is the fact that there are nearly five times as many countries where girls are severely disadvantaged than where boys are severely disadvantaged.

Additionally, being a girl exacerbates the extreme disadvantages of living in rural poverty. In sub-Saharan Africa, at current enrollment rates, it will take until the year 2086 for all of the poorest girls to attend primary school, a full 65 years behind the richest boys. Poor girls will not achieve universal lower-secondary schooling until 2111—compared to 2042 for the richest boys. And while income levels affects boys' enrollment as well, poor boys in Africa are still expected to reach universal lower-secondary education more than 20 years ahead of poor girls.²¹

The World Inequality Database on Education (WIDE) from UNESCO calculates the inequality in education across countries and between different groups, such as gender, urban versus rural, and wealth groups. The data show that in many countries girls in higher income groups are equal to boys, but for the poorest children in rural areas, gender sets them apart. For example, in Nigeria the percentage of boys and girls who are out of school has a six-point gap—26 percent for boys and 32 percent for girls. However, there is very little difference in rates of out-of-school children for those boys and girls in the richest group, regardless of whether they live in an urban or rural environment. However, there is a large gender gap for those at the bottom, and poor, rural girls are more likely to be out of school than their male counterparts, by 8 percent. This illustrates a triple disadvantage that girls face—being poor, living in a rural area, and being a girl. These are the most marginalized populations that have not gained access to schooling yet.

An important factor explaining the persistence of education gaps for girls is early marriage. In Niger, 75 percent of girls marry before the age of 18.²³ It is no surprise then that only 12 percent of girls of lower-secondary school age, and 57 percent of primary-age, are enrolled in school.²⁴ Poverty is also a factor and globally, poor girls marry before 18 at rates almost twice those found in higher income households.²⁵ Figure 3 shows a map of the most prominent countries for child marriage, using the United Nations Gender Statistics database on child marriage.²⁶The bubbles signify the percentage of girls who are married before 18—the largest size representing places where more than half of young women between 20 and 24 years old reported being married before they turned 18. Guinea, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Mali, Chad, Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Uganda and Somalia show similar figures, running in a band of large circles across the continent.



Source: United Nations Gender Statistics database

The countries where girls are also disadvantaged in secondary school enrollment are shaded to show that for many of these countries, the issues of child marriage and low access to schooling are overlapping. Again, this paints a picture of hotspots, concentrated in sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia, where girls face multiple barriers to gaining an education.

A critical question is whether pressure to marry early pulls girls out of the education system, or if a lack of educational opportunities and low quality push girls into marriage. While typically early marriage is seen as a barrier to getting girls into school, recent research has called this assumption into question and shown that in fact girls may leave school because the quality is low, and then marry because they do not have any other options. Studies from Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand have shown a correlation between increases in girls' education and lower incidence of early marriage. But the mechanism as to what causes girls to drop out and get married remains a question for further research.

SAFETY: ENSURING THAT SCHOOLS ARE SAFE AND FACILITIES ARE GIRL-**FRIENDLY**

Even girls able to access school may face serious threats to their safety on their way and once inside. The 2012 shooting of Malala Yousafzai in Pakistan and the 2014 kidnapping of over 200 schoolgirls in Chibok, Nigeria highlight the peril that confronts many girls whose education is under attack. Elsewhere girls and young women regularly encounter sexual harassment and violence that make their schooling environments unsafe.

The Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack (GCPEA) reports that since 2009, schools in 30 countries have come under direct attack or been used for military purposes in armed conflict. It cites attacks specific to girls in 14 countries. ²⁹ Figure 4 maps these countries, with the addition of Nigeria, where incidents vary from those specifically orchestrated to disrupt schooling and damage school infrastructure to those targeting individuals through abduction, rape or harassment. In Afghanistan and Pakistan, recent attacks have included threats to girls, parents and teachers with gas and acid. In Pakistan, the outright ban on female education by the Taliban forced 900 schools in the Swat Valley to close or stop enrolling female students. Although the Pakistani military regained control and re-opened the schools, a year later many girls were still too afraid to return to school.³⁰

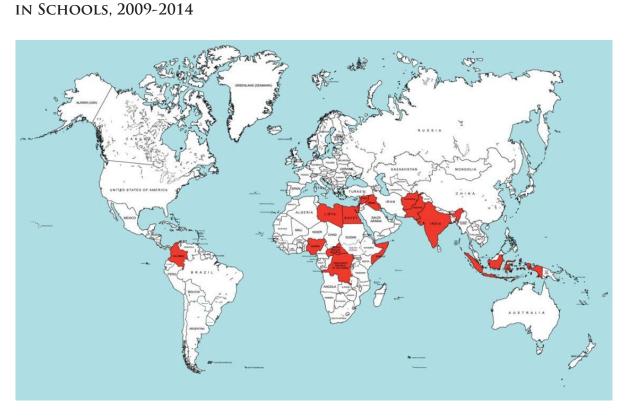


FIGURE 4. MAP OF COUNTRIES WITH REPORTED VIOLENCE AGAINST GIRLS

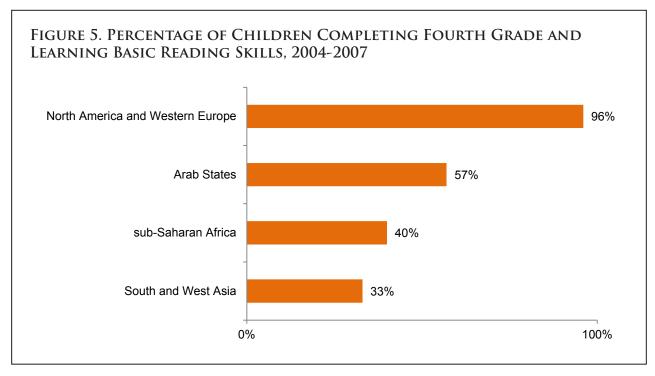
Source: Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack, Education Under Attack 2014; Author research

Further threats to girls include abductions in Somalia (similar to the Nigerian Chibok abductions) that have led to forced marriage to Al-Shabaab fighters or else murders on the spot. These instances invariably cause panic, as in Somalia where 12 girls were abducted and 150 more dropped out of school out of fear. GCPEA also reports that in conflict settings, schoolgirls routinely become victims of sexual violence, often from military officials and police. Recent incidents are cited from Colombia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, India and Libya. ³¹

Sexual harassment and assault in schools, which is often unrelated to larger outbreaks of violence, are also tragically common, including with teachers coercing students. ³² A study in Kenya found that 8 percent of secondary school girls reported pressure from school staff to engage in sex. In South Africa one-third of girls raped before age 15 reported a teacher as the perpetrator. ³³ Twenty percent of teachers in a Malawi survey said they were aware of sexual relationships between teachers and students. ³⁴The Mandela Foundation in South Africa reported that violence, harassment and abuse were serious issues for girls traveling to and from school, and once inside, with peers and teachers as perpetrators. ³⁵

QUALITY LEARNING: IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES FOR GIRLS

Quality of schooling and improved learning outcomes remain a critical challenge facing both boys and girls. We know that 250 million children, many of whom have been in school for four years, do not have basic reading and math skills. ³⁶ The EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR) reports that, even as enrollments increase, low levels of literacy and numeracy among children who have spent time in school signals great inefficiencies and is evidence of a "learning crisis" in developing countries. ³⁷



Source: Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2013/14

Again, the disparities between regions are huge. As Figure 5 shows, 96 percent of children in North America and Western Europe stay in school until grade four and learn basic reading skills, but only one-third of students in South and West Asia, and 40 percent in sub-Saharan Africa do so.³⁸ In a study of 74 countries, Mauritania demonstrated the lowest learning levels, with just 10 percent of students achieving basic reading skills, and only 4 percent meeting both basic standards and finishing four years of school.³⁹ Moreover, a lack of regular, comparable assessments makes it hard to gauge exactly how far behind these students are, and a critical shortage of technical expertise prevents low-income countries from measuring learning outcomes effectively.⁴⁰

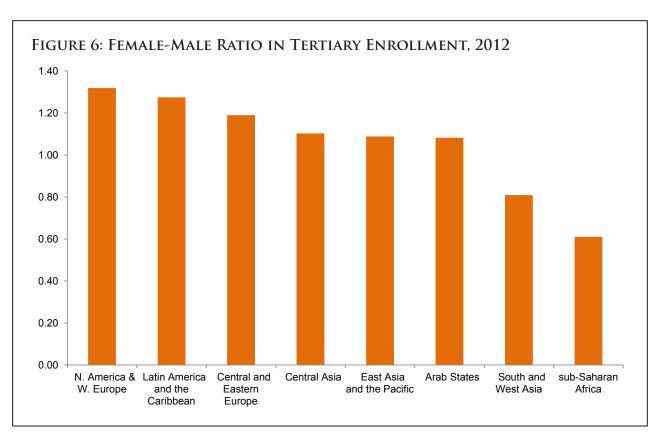
The GMR points out that marginalized groups suffer the most. Income level correlates directly with learning outcomes. For example, in El Salvador only 42 percent of poor children finish fourth grade and achieve basic skills, compared to 84 percent of rich children. Here again, gender exacerbates the challenges. In Benin, only 6 percent of poor girls achieve basic numeracy skills, compared to 60 percent of rich boys. ⁴¹ The triple disadvantage that is apparent for girls who are poor and live in rural areas in terms of access to schooling is also apparent in their disadvantage in learning as well.

Improving learning, especially for the most marginalized students, is a complex problem that does not have one "silver bullet" solution. In fact, in some countries girls outpace boys in learning, ⁴² illustrating how each country, district and school may have a unique set of problems to address. Finding localized solutions will be a critical piece of tackling the learning crisis.

TRANSITIONS: SUPPORTING GIRLS' TRANSITION FROM SECONDARY SCHOOL TO POST-SECONDARY SCHOOL AND THE WORKFORCE

Getting girls into and finishing school is just the beginning of a girls' life. In the end women and societies will benefit most if they translate their education into a productive life after secondary school. Women who are educated and work are more productive, gain greater control over family income and decision-making, and invest more in their families. One World Bank study estimates that women and girls who earn income reinvest 90 percent of it in their families, promoting better health and future productivity.⁴³

Figure 6 shows that in much of the world today, more women than men are enrolled in colleges and universities, though as a percentage of total population enrollment levels remain low. ⁴⁴ Major exceptions are sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia, which are also hotspots for low levels of girls in primary schools. Only 61 women for every 100 men seek higher education in sub-Saharan Africa, and 81 women for every 100 men in South and West Asia. ⁴⁵ Tertiary education correlates strongly with an enhanced sense of self and empowerment, increased economic and public participation, and lower levels of domestic violence. ⁴⁶ Thus, ensuring that young women have as much opportunity to attain a higher degree as young men do can enhance society and development as well as improve women's lives individually.

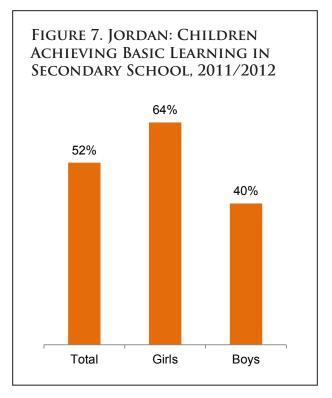


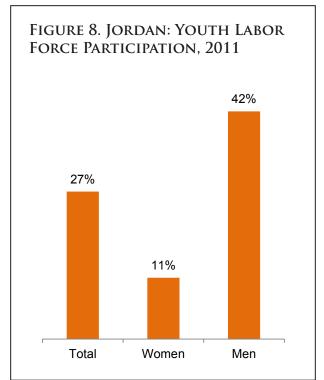
Source: UNESCO Institute of Statistics Data Center

While many of the benefits women gain from their education manifest themselves through a productive work life, women still struggle to gain steady employment. Globally, women are more likely than men to be employed in "vulnerable" jobs, often informal, unpaid and without benefits and security. In developing countries, 65 percent of employed women are employed in such jobs, according to a 2013 World Bank Study. ⁴⁷ Also, worldwide female labor participation remains low. In 2012, just over half of all women were employed or searching for a job, versus 77 percent of men. ⁴⁸

In many places, increased educational attainment for girls is still failing to translate into productive workforce participation. In Jordan, for example, girls attend school at the same rates as boys, and as Figure 7 shows, are also outperforming them while there.⁴⁹ However, a large gap between young men and women between 15 and 24 years old is apparent in labor force participation (Figure 8). For this group only 11 percent of women are working or looking for work, less than one-third of the rate for young men.⁵⁰

The reasons for disparities between women's educational achievement and employment are complex, and are also rooted in cultural expectations. Achieving gender parity is only a partial response and localized solutions addressing dynamics outside the education system are also important. Still, there is room for the educational system to address some of these issues, and thus it is important to ask how schools can better address gender stereotypes and help increase the number of women finding stable formal employment.





Source: PISA 2012 (Literacy) and TIMSS 2011 (Numeracy), compiled by Arab World Learning Barometer, the Center for Universal Education at the Brookings Institution

Source: World Bank World Development Indicators

LOCAL LEADERSHIP: SUPPORTING LEADERS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO HELP CATALYZE CHANGE IN GIRLS' EDUCATION

This next generation of girls' education issues calls for more localized solutions to catalyze change for girls and women everywhere. Currently, there are large-scale aid programs aimed at improving education in developing countries such as the Global Partnership for Education, which combines aid funding from high-income countries and also encourages developing countries to commit to increasing their domestic education finance in line with a shared education sector policy, and the 350 million pound U.K. Girls' Education Challenge, which aims to improve the lives of a million girls. And support such as this is essential to help build strong systems that advance the needs of girls and boys equally. But this systems-level work often provides less than adequate support for key allies in tackling these next generation girls' education issues—developing-country girls' education leaders. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of social entrepreneurs across sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and Southwest Asia—three regions in the world where girls struggle the most to get educated—that are creatively tackling these next generation issues in their particular context. Their work provides a powerful complement to systemic action in girls' education and should be supported and amplified.

Furthermore, there is an emerging evidence base that community empowerment programs are effective ways to influence the lives and livelihoods of marginalized women. One such program is Tostan, a non-profit organization based in Senegal that utilizes a model of community engagement, which helped reduce female genital cutting and early marriage through a combination of programs on basic education and empowering community leaders to take a stance against it. The program also showed gains in women's knowledge of their rights and the community's support of girls' education. Another program, the Adolescent Girls Leadership Initiative aims to improve education, health, and rights of girls and women in five countries specifically by building the capacity of local civil society leaders and providing technical assistance so they can better advocate for girl-friendly policies. Community mobilization programs, too, have been effective at improving school accountability by mobilizing parents.

In addition to these community engagement practices, individual leaders and entrepreneurs are working to tack-le many of these issues in their communities, but they often lack the funding and technical assistance required to be successful. A strong cadre of social entrepreneurs in developing countries could be an essential piece of lifting the global ambition for girls' education. This is true for several reasons. First, girls' education leaders or social entrepreneurs will continue to focus on helping girls get a quality education, regardless of whether government priorities change with new administrations, as they often do. Second, as important members of civil society, which they frequently are, these developing country leaders can help keep their governments accountable to girls. Third, the solution set for how to address the next generation issues remains profoundly local, and social entrepreneurs are needed to find the right ways to, for example, bring girls to school in rural Northern Nigeria versus in the urban slums of India.

Unfortunately, civil society support in low and even middle-income countries is widely acknowledged to be difficult. For example, a European Union report found that for most NGOs in its middle-income countries there is a "vicious cycle" of underfunding and insufficient capacity. ⁵⁴ And a global survey of civil society organizations found that engagement with large intergovernmental organizations is "monopolised by well-resourced and well versed [civil society organizations], whilst under-representing grassroots activists." That means many of the most innovative and important leaders in girls' education are missing out on the resources they need.

New mechanisms that support these developing-country girls' education leaders will be necessary in order to tackle the more complex challenges that remain in girls' education. A Girls' Education Leadership Fund that brings together donors and local leaders or entrepreneurs, and provides funding, technical assistance and networking opportunities could be an important contribution in supporting local solutions to the global second-generation priorities. Such an initiative is likely to be particularly attractive to philanthropists and private foundations, given the very tangible nature of supporting individuals to amplify their work.

CONCLUSION

Girls, like boys, everywhere deserve to be educated in safe and quality learning environments. Progress towards this vision has been strong over the past two decades but has stopped short of helping all girls achieve what they both need to be successful and deserve. While girls' enrollments in primary school have seen marked improvements, the global community should lift up its ambition for girls' education and, by building on success to date, focus on five second generation girls' education priorities: access, safety, quality learning, and local leadership. Girls' education yields some of the highest returns of all development investments in terms of better health, stronger economic growth and greater poverty alleviation. However, in the words of Urvashi Sahni, an Indian girls' education advocate, even if it didn't bring all these "development goodies," it is still what we should be doing because girls deserve it, we owe it to them, and it is their right.

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