INCLUSIVE EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN FROM VULNERABLE FAMILIES

Dominic Richardson, UNICEF Office of Research Innocenti[1]

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Introduction

This paper looks at inclusive education for children from vulnerable families, and in doing so draws from a range of studies from low and high income countries settings. It touches on issues related to risk to educational outcomes for children from poor and vulnerable households, with disabilities, or from indigenous populations, refuges populations, and children who suffer from maltreatment. It also reviews recent studies describing and evaluating policies to support school outcomes for poor children before introducing the results of a new review of recent literature on polices to support the inclusion of vulnerable children in school. The paper also introduces the issues of the absence of vulnerable children and families from data and research, and recent global initiatives to map inclusive education policies.

This paper is organised into 3 sections: following a brief rationale for this paper, Section 1 looks at some data on school access for vulnerable children, and discusses invisibility of these children in survey data and studies, before looking at different types of vulnerability and compares their effects on school outcomes. Section 2 reviews the findings of two recent studies looking at policies to support school access and outcomes for various vulnerable groups. Section 3 introduces briefly findings from a review of the most recent literature on policies and programs to support school outcomes for children form the most vulnerable families.

Rationale

Education is a public good, and it is in the interests of communities and societies that all children receive a quality and safe education. The cost of failing children in this regard is not only an issue for children's rights, and a personal loss for the child's own development and later opportunities, but it is also a loss for societies that then suffer from lower productivity, higher welfare dependency of an individual, greater social inequality, and intergenerational transmission of vulnerability.

Inclusive education is therefore a prerequisite for inclusive societies, and inclusive societies and non-discrimination are also at the core of the Sustainable Development Agenda. Meeting SDG 4, and goals related to equitable access and achievement, are therefore not only critical to broader social progress, but should be prioritised as part of this global consensus.

Section 1: Evidence on the vulnerability and school outcomes

Disability and school attendance

A recent study by Mizunoya et al (2016) reviewed over 2500 household surveys form across the world for information to assess the influence of disability on school attendance. The first and most notable finding was

[1] This paper does not reflect the views of UNICEF or affiliated country offices or committees, and is the responsibility of the author. It draws heavily from published and forthcoming work of the author and colleagues, please use footnote references in the text for original citations. Further details and clarifications can be requested from drichardson@unicef.org.

that only 15 countries had sufficient data to be included in the study in either primary or secondary school (less than 2% of surveys had data to mirror the Washington City Group standard for disability measurement).

Across the 15 countries, the authors found that disability explained a larger proportion of the gap in school attendance than other individual or household factors (socio-demographics factors, sex, or residence). Moreover, the study showed (from available data) that 'more than 85% of disabled primary-age children have never attended school' and suggested that initial enrolment of disabled children might represent a substantive barrier to inclusion of disabled children. High enrolment rates in primary school were not a good predictor of inclusivity either, suggesting new policies to improve overall attendance are not sensitive to the needs of disabled children (examples form the authors include countries such as: Indonesia, Maldives, Saint Lucia, South Africa, West Bank and Gaza). A clear finding was the need to improve data collection on issues related to children's disability (see box 1 for a brief review of statistical invisibility of vulnerable groups).

Box 1: The invisibility of vulnerable children in data and studies

Some children are systematically excluded from the data and surveys, and therefore studies – leading to their invisibility in monitoring and evaluation, and importantly from evidence that informs policy reforms in education. The work by Mizunoya et al (2016) on disabled children is an extreme example of this in household surveys, but as shown in Richardson and Ali (2014), children who are unwell, institutionalised, have special educational needs, indigenous children or those from pastoral or nomadic communities, or for any other reason not in mainstream schooling at the time of a school survey, are also systematically excluded from data.

This exclusion from school surveys, and household surveys, is a particular concern for adolescents in lower income countries, where enrolment rates fall much faster later in the educational life course than in other countries. This is likely to be based on demands on adolescents to work in support of their families. Work done by Richardson et al (2017) to assess the bias in school drop out on the Mexican sample of PISA, showed that, according to Mexican statistics, significantly higher rates of low income children – aged 15 – were out of school at the time of the PISA study in 2015.

Indigenous children and education[2]

Recent available data on indigenous populations shows that 370 million indigenous people living in 99 countries worldwide (DESA, 2015). The exact number of indigenous children is hard to estimate but the indigenous population is typically young (Ibid). Indigenous children are likely to be the most vulnerable due to social dislocation resulting from colonization and persistent poverty greater dependency on family livelihood, poor access to educational and health opportunities and discriminatory attitudes they often face in their society (UNICEF, 2012).

Indeed, these vulnerabilities have led to gaps in educational outcomes, and closing the gap in education between indigenous and non-indigenous children remains a challenge. According to a recent government report, Aboriginal and Torres Children of Australia continued to lag behind in reading (in year 9) and numeracy (in years 3 and 7) compared to their non-indigenous peers in 2015 based on the National Minimum Standards (NMS) assessed by the National Assessment Program Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN: Australian Government, 2016). The national studies show that low attendance is one of the critical factors behind achievement gaps with only 83.7% of indigenous children nationally attending school compared to 93.1 % of non-indigenous students (Richardson et al 2017).

[2] This section is taken from Richardson et al (2017).

In terms of curricula, education should safeguard indigenous children's identity and cultural roots including the native language - a key factor in low attendance. Early education and pre-school programmes have an important role to play in supporting indigenous language during the formative years of early childhood. For instance, in 2015 there were 23 Sami kindergartens in Norway, attended by 523 children. This is about half of all 1000 Sami children enrolled in kindergarten nationwide (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2016), yet the extent to which Sami children master the Sami language is not recorded in official statistics for kindergarten children.

Evidence from longitudinal studies on vulnerability and educational outcomes[3]

Recent work by Richardson and Karamperidou (forthcoming) reports evidence from longitudinal literature in the United Kingdom and the United States, that links early child well-being factors to later education outcomes. From this study, there is evidence to suggest that poor households, and household with low levels of parental employment, can drive later-life educational outcomes.

Evidence from the United Kingdom's birth cohort studies shows that parental employment and earnings (Machin, 1998), poverty (Blanden and Gregg, 2004), parental economic status (after controlling for cognitive ability, Bukodi, et al., 2014) are all linked to educational outcomes in later life – in expected directions. In the United States, similar parental resources are shown to be predictors of later outcomes also (Faas, et al 2012). Beyond parental resources as indicators of vulnerability, conditions, behaviours and relationships – when markers of vulnerability or affluence, can also influence outcomes. Indeed in either one of the countries, leisure and physical activity (Dregan and Gulliford, 2013), and bullying (Brown and Taylor, 2008) – both UK, and parent incarceration (Miller et al., 2105) – in the US, can also be independently linked to later educational attainment (as well as, in some cases, mental health outcomes and welfare dependency).

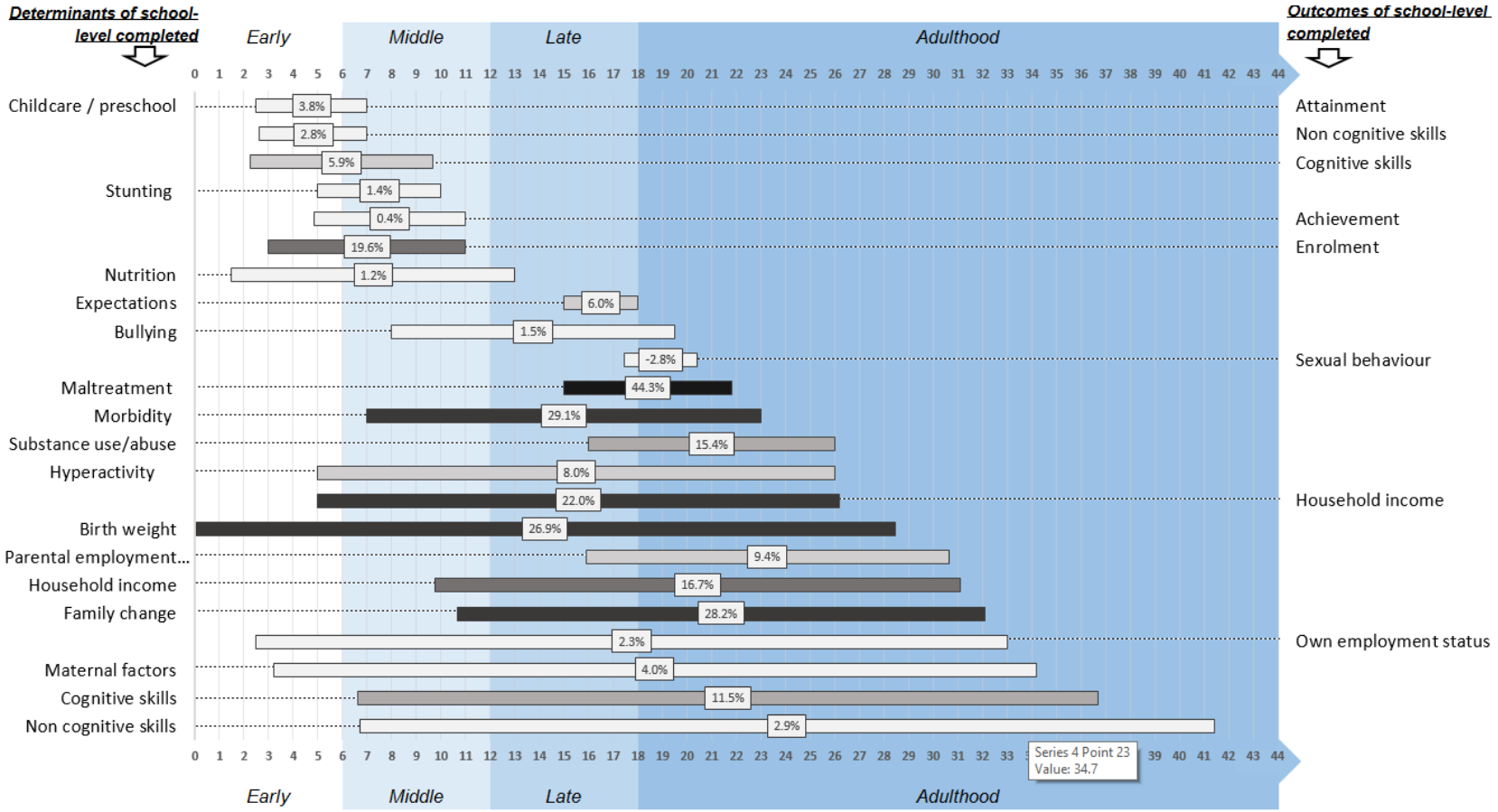
Figure 1 below is also taken from Richardson and Karamperidou (forthcoming) covering longitudinal studies from 26 countries across the world. The figure maps and compares life experiences of children that are determinants of educational attainment (on the left of the chart) to outcomes measures of preschool or educational attainment of the same children (on the right hand side of the chart). Results are ordered from the earliest outcome measured, with the length of the horizontal bars mapping the time period between time 1 and time 2, and the percentage reported in each bar showing the level of variance explained by a unit change in the time 1 determinant on the change the outcome variable measured at time 2 (these are also colour-coded to show strong effects in darker colours).

The most striking finding in terms of educational attainment is the risk to attainment for children who have suffered maltreatment in late childhood (physical and sexual abuse). The experience of maltreatment can result in personal trauma, and a change in life circumstances, both of which understandably can result in children disengaging with their schooling process.

To add to the strong effects of maltreatment in late childhood, morbidity, birthweight and family changes are all strong contributors to children's attainment in school and higher education: with the family change literature producing the most consistent results (divorce, remarriage etc.). In each case these strong effects are measured in adulthood – so access to higher education – and in the case of birth weights, effects are seen almost 30 years later. Seven other measures in childhood are linked to educational attainment in adulthood. In order of magnitude of effects, household income, substance abuse, cognitive skills, parental employment, hyperactivity, maternal factors and non-cognitive skills are all significant contributors, but on average effect sizes are around a third of that seen for experiences of maltreatment.

[3] This section draws heavily form Richardson and Karamperidou (forthcoming [a]).

Figure 1: Child health and protection are important determinants of adult attainment



Note: Indicators on the left side of the chart report the well-being outcomes at time 1 (determinants of education). Indicators on the right side of chart report outcomes at time 2 determined by earlier education (in the case of Figure 3, attainment). Bars map the time period between time 1 and time 2, and the percentage reported in each bar shows the level of variance explained by a unit change in the time 1 determinant on the change in the outcome variable measured at time 2. Darker colours are used to highlight stronger average effects. Results are ordered from the earliest time 2 effect onwards. Variances are averages after weighting for sample size in the studies, studies with larger samples contribute more to the average in order to report average variance per person studied across the tests (to account for split [e.g. male and female] and sub samples). Specifically for Figure 3, only sexual behaviour is associated to attainment in the life course other 'outcomes of education' are associates to experiences of formal pre-schooling / childcare.

Source: Richardson & Karamperidou, forthcoming.

Box 2: Global data initiatives and vulnerable child programmes

This box introduces global data initiatives and research initiatives related to inclusive education, and the cross-national Educate a Child initiative.

Global data and research initiatives

As part of their work in operationalising the sustainable development goal targets, UIS have published a study on education and disability – and have analysed data on enrolment, completion and learning of disabled children and youth for 49 countries (UIS/UNESCO, 2018).

The Global Partnership for Education (2018) have also published a report to take stock of education sector plans, and GPE grants, that address issues related to disability and inclusive education (unlike UIS, covering 'commitments and plans' to meet the needs of disabled children, not estimates of rates). The purpose is to support commitments by the group to SDG 4 and 2, on inclusive education in terms of disabilities, gender, the poor, by ethnic groups, and refugees. Again, like UIS, this study the focus covers learning, and enrolment, but focusses also on equity and quality of teaching.

Educate a child

EAC is involved in almost 40 projects in east and south Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa. With the collaboration of national and global partners, social enterprises and UN agencies (already including various UNICEF country offices[1] and the US fund for UNICEF), the work of EAC focusses on the delivery of primary education (formal and non-formal) that is innovative in practice (e.g. active learning) and flexible to conditions (e.g. responsive crisis conditions, low-cost) to encourage enrolment and participation in schools for children presently out of school/without access to primary education. Many of the EAC projects focus on the marginalised children by setting, including: refugee children and children in post-conflict settings, children from rural settings, children living in slums, girls, and those on very low incomes. Their global goal was to provide 10 million OOSC with primary education by the end of the 2015/16 school year.

Section 2: Evidence from Recent Studies: Policies and their Evaluations

Policies to support vulnerable school children in high-income settings[4]

To address the risk of poor education outcomes associated to vulnerability, break the cycle of deprivation, and to achieve intergenerational earnings and educational mobility, it is critical for *all children* to succeed at school. Because success at school depends not only on attendance and what is available in the school (in terms of teachers' abilities or school equipment for instance), but on parental engagement with the learning process and what is available in the homes, policies that support families with school-aged children are likely to be key in reducing future poverty risks.

All OECD countries provide some sort of child allowance for poor families (as is covered in detail in parts of this document), what is less well known however, is that in some countries there are also specific benefits for families with school-aged children. The policies can be designed to encourage attendance at school

[4] This section is taken from Richardson and Bradshaw, 2012.

(overall or at critical stages) for low-income children, or may be designed to meet specific costs for school equipment, uniforms and meals that might otherwise be a burden on disposable incomes in poor families.

For education to be successful in breaking the cycle of poverty, first and foremost, it is important for children to go to school. Examples of polices designed to encourage timely attendance in OECD countries include an increase in the means-tested Family Tax Benefit in Australia between the ages of 13 and 15. This increment is designed to increase family income, and encourage children to stay in school, when leaving school to earn and supplement the family income is an option considered for the child. A broader-coverage policy designed to encourage enrolment in school in poorer families is Mexico's *Oportunidades*, which conditions its cash payment on children in the families attending school between the third grade of primary school until age 16 in some regions. Finally, in a number of OECD countries when children get older and may consider leaving school, families cash benefits or tax breaks are provided if children stay in further or higher education. Examples of countries applying these policies include: Austria, the Czech Republic Germany, and Switzerland (higher education); and the United Kingdom (further education).

For children to be successful in school, it is important for them to have the correct equipment not only for learning, but to avoid bullying and other negative consequences of not having the 'correct' equipment. Policies specifically designed to enable families to provide school equipment for children can take the form of regular or one-off cash payments, or income tax reductions for primary and secondary school children: an example of the former comes from France, which provides a periodic tax allowance for families with school-aged children, and examples of the latter include the school-clothing grant in Ireland, an annual child allowances for school-aged children for the purposes of buying school equipment in Israel, an educational care subsidy paid as part of the *Patriot's Pension* in Korea, and the Portuguese schooling compliment (paid as an element in the main Portuguese Family Allowance). Luxembourg also pays a one-off cash 'new year' school allowance per child, but it is unique in that the payment is sensitive to the age of the child: for a child aged 6-11 the payment is 105.07 EUR, for those over the age of 12 it is 150.13 EUR.

Finally school support can come in the form of services, and most often this means support with food costs. Breakfast clubs, free meals, and free milk all contribute to the nutritional needs of growing and learning children. Support for poor children in the form of food supports (milk or school meals) are found in Mexico, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

Evaluations of anti-poverty family cash benefits and education outcomes[5]

This section reviews studies from high-income settings and beyond, that have evaluated anti-poverty policies for effects on educational outcomes (attendance, retention, and learning). The first two evaluative studies of family cash benefits come from Colombia, and review the conditional cash transfer program *Familias en Acción* which provides conditional subsidies for investments into education, nutrition, and health, for poor households with children aged 7-17 in rural municipalities of Colombia. Ataanasio et.al. (2010) use a treatment / control group analysis (with non-random selection of municipalities) and difference-in-differences methodology with combined data sources to conclude that the program increased school enrollment rates of 14 to 17-year old children by between 5 and 7 percentage points, and further increased the high enrollment rate of 8–13-year-old children by between around 1 and 3 percentage points.

Baez & Camacho (2011), also evaluating *Familias en Acción*, again using data matching techniques with household surveys, and regression discontinuity design using a census of the poor and administrative records of the program, found that participant children are 4 to 8 percentage points more likely than nonparticipant children to finish high school, particularly girls and beneficiaries in rural areas. But, program recipients who graduate from high school performed at similar levels in test scores to equally-poor non-recipients of the

[5] This section draws heavily form Richardson and Karamperidou (forthcoming [b]).

benefit. This finding held even after correcting for possible selection bias when low-performing students in the treatment group entered school.

Three conditional cash transfers studies review the *Bono de Desarrollo Humano* (Oosterbeek, Ponce & Schady, 2008; Schady & Araujo, 2008; Ponce & Bedi, 2010), a CCT program in Ecuador with a health and an education component (requiring children aged 6-15 to enroll in school and attend 90% of days a month). Oosterbeek, Ponce & Schady (2008) use a randomized experiment for families around the first quintile of the poverty index, with a regression discontinuity design including families around the second quintile of this index, which is the program's eligibility threshold. They find that for people in the lowest income quintile, the impact on school enrolment is positive while it is equal to zero around the second quintile. Schady & Araujo (2008) also find significant increases in enrollment for program participants. In contrast, Ponce & Bedi, (2010) review the effects of the program on learning outcomes, and found no impact of the program on second grade cognitive achievement (measured as test scores), suggesting that for children to learn, additional and complementary school-based interventions around the Ecuadorian intervention, and designed to improve quality, are needed.

Another Latin American family cash transfer with a focus on education is assessed in a study by Behrman et.al. (2011). The Mexican conditional cash transfer program *PROGRESA/Oportunidades* was evaluated using both experimental and nonexperimental estimators based on groups with different program exposure (difference-in-difference estimates), the findings show positive impacts on schooling. The evidence suggests schooling effects are robust with time.

Maluccio, & Flores (2005) reviewed the effects of the *Red de Protección Social* (RPS), a conditional cash transfer program in Nicaragua that supplemented income to increase household expenditures on food, reduce primary school desertion, and improve the health care and nutritional status of children under age 5. Their study concluded that the program had positive effects on enrollment for primary school children that are larger for the extremely poor. *Red de Protección Social* (RPS) was evaluated again some years later by Gitter & Barham (2009) using a randomized-trial experimental design and difference-in-difference comparison of control and treatment communities. RPS again showed the largest positive impacts on school enrollment for children in poorer households, but also had an effect for two distinct groups: 1) those in coffee communities during higher price years, and 2) households with little or no land wealth experiencing droughts. These new findings were explained by the authors as RPS helping poor households to meet current consumption needs by providing payments that substitute for current child labour market earnings in the first instance, and droughts reducing the returns to child labour, and hence removing some of the opportunity costs of school attendance.

Another study in Nicaragua by Macours et.al., (2012) evaluated the *Atención a Crisis* benefit – a cash transfer program that made sizeable payments to poor households in rural areas in Nicaragua, a part of which contributed an additional education transfer for households with children between 7 and 15 years old who had not finished primary school conditional on the school enrollment and regular attendance of those children. The education conditionality was monitored in practice in communities in six municipalities in rural Nicaragua, and studied under RCT conditions. Results showed that in households randomly assigned to receive benefits, there were significantly higher levels in measured child development nine months after the program began. Notably, there were no observed fade-out of program effects two years after the program ended.

An evaluation has also been undertaken of Brazil's *Bolsa Escola* program (Glewwe & Kassouf, 2012) which began in 1995 and provided monthly cash payments to poor households if their children (between the ages of 6 and 15) are enrolled in school. Later incorporated into the *Bolsa Familia* program from 2003 benefits were extended to poor families with children 0 to 5 years old or with a pregnant or breastfeeding woman, and to all "very poor" families (even those without children). Using regression analysis Glewwe & Kassouf

(*Ibid*) studied cumulative effects of the program and determined that the Bolsa program had increased enrollment by about 5.5 percent in the earlier grades, and by just over 6 percent in grades 5-8. Moreover the authors found some evidence to attribute the Bolsa programs with lowering dropout rates by about 0.5 percentage points and raising grade promotion rates (also by modest degrees, less than 1 percentage point in each cohort).

Family cash transfer effects on education were also evaluated in Malawi, Morocco, Pakistan, and the Philippines.

Baird et.al. (2011) report the result of a family cash benefit experiment targeting adolescent girls in Malawi. The experiment featured two distinct interventions: unconditional transfers (UCT arm) and transfers conditional on school attendance (CCT arm). The results of the experiment were evaluated using an RCT. Although there was a modest decline in the dropout rate in the UCT arm in comparison with the control group, it was only 43% as large as the impact in the CCT arm at the end of the 2-year program. The CCT arm also outperformed the UCT arm in tests of English reading comprehension. An interesting additional finding was that teenage pregnancy and marriage rates were substantially lower in the UCT than the CCT arm, entirely due to the impact of UCTs on these outcomes among girls who dropped out of school.

Benhassine et.al. (2014) published an evaluation of the Moroccan "labeled cash transfer" (LCT) – a small cash transfer made to fathers of school-aged children in poor rural communities, not conditional on school attendance but explicitly labeled as an education support program. In an evaluative RCT study the LCT was shown to contribute large gains to school participation.

Chaudhury & Parajuli (2010) evaluated a female school stipend programme under which each girl receives a payment conditional on her being enrolled in grade 6–8 in a government girl's school, in a target district and conditional on her maintaining average class attendance of at least 80%. Eligible female students in the Punjab region of Pakistan receives Rs200 per month when conditions were met. The study draws upon data from provincial school censuses and employs impact evaluation analysis, including difference-and-difference, triple differencing, and regression-discontinuity design, to show an average increase of six female students per school in terms of absolute change, and an increase of 9% in female enrolment in relative terms over three years (2003 to 2005).

The final study included in this review is the assessment of the *The Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino* Program, which provides cash transfers to poor households conditional on school enrollment and regular attendance of children aged 6-14 in the Philippines (Chaudhury & Okamura, 2012). This government program for poor households was evaluated using school enrollment before and after CCT program implementation from panel data from three regions of the country for difference-in-difference and regression discontinuity design studies. The analysis found an almost 9% increase in the enrollment among the younger cohort aged 9-12 (as of 2011) who were eligible for grants under the program throughout 2008 and 2011. The program was able to help address the education gap between beneficiary and non-beneficiary households in a short amount of time. However, no statistically significant impact was found for the older cohort of children aged 13-17 (as of 2011), most of whom were no longer eligible for grants due to the age limit (14 years) set by the program.

Analysis of cross-sectoral policies in support of education of refugee children[6]

An upcoming study by Karamperidou, Richardson, and Zapata (forthcoming [c]) reviews evidence of the inter-sectoral complementarity in education in emergencies by reviewing evaluation studies that linked school- and community-based interventions in WASH, nutrition, health (physical and mental), and shelter

[6] This section draw from Karamperidou, Richardson, and Zapata (forthcoming [c]).

with various educational outcomes. The purpose of the study was to assess how policies complementary to education could influence barriers to enrolment, participation, retention and learning for refuges children, living in camps, and in some cases suffering from post-traumatic stress. The study summarises the combined evidence from different types of emergency settings (conflict, protracted crisis, natural disaster, or Refugee or IDP settings), at different stages of the emergency continuum (emergency, the post emergency or reconstruction stage).

The key findings of this study were that school settings are an effective location for providing for children's health and hygiene needs, and the school systems in return can benefit across multiple education outcomes (including learning). The complementarity in health and education services and outcomes indicators the potential for virtuous cycles, as school-based health interventions lead to better attendance, which in turn means greater coverage and further, more equitable, education outcomes.

Moreover, services important to children and their families, like housing services in refugee and resettlement settings can determine issues of access, and participation in school. In post-emergencies and in the beginning of reconstruction and recovery, decisions regarding housing of families with children has been shown to influence levels of attendance.

Finally, with the exception of mental health interventions – where there are many studies on the mental health and emotional and behavioural outcomes of services for children, from across different settings – the evidence base remains partial, and further research is needed. Specifically, on the role of: interventions for children's physical health in emergency contexts. Not covered in the study were child protection and social protection interventions delivered in or for schooling – further review in this area which includes these fields is recommended.

Section 3: Literature Review – update of studies reviewing policies and interventions to promote school access and educational achievements for poor and vulnerable children

Search methodology

For the final section of the paper, a new literature review on policies and interventions to improve school access and educational achievements for poor and vulnerable children was conducted to complement findings from recent studies. The search was made using Google Scholar and the databases ERIC and ScienceDirect Elsevier.

Search criteria included academic articles adopting both a quantitative and or qualitative approach assessing the effectiveness of policies, evaluations, reviews or theoretical discussions targeting the improvement educational achievements and access to school for primary, and secondary education, for vulnerable children and which were published in English. Also grey literature was included during the search, such as working papers and quality study reports. The search was restricted from 2015 onwards. Search words were: "school policy interventions" or "school programs" or "school policies" and "poor children" or "vulnerable children"; "educational achievements" or "educational outcomes" and "poor children" or "vulnerable children". The criteria to include or exclude the papers were set on three basis: (i) the title of the paper contains at least a search word; (ii) Reading the contents of abstract, including those that matched with the purpose of our research; (iii) reading the papers.

Results

Evidence from the review shows that although great progress has been achieved in enrolling children in school around the world, but poor and vulnerable children still suffer exclusion, segregation, and low quality education (Siddiqui 2017). Many children living in slums are excluded altogether from education, while others have been included into the system but on unfavourable terms (Cameron 2017).

Moreover, enrolling children in school is just the first step, there is also a need to ensure that they learn to read, count, and acquire the necessary life skills. A special focus has to be given to the most vulnerable and marginalized groups (including children living in fragile countries, children with disabilities, girls, ethnic minorities) who are most likely to be affected because of a lack of high skilled teachers, inadequate learning materials, and unsuitable education infrastructure. Education policies should be improved not only in low income countries but also across OECD countries, where increased migration poses new challenges for social cohesion and inclusive education for migrants and minorities.

In recent years, a lot of research has reverted to studying specific inputs or pilot projects in aid interventions through randomized controlled trials (RCTs), rather than education policies and systems (Riddel et al. 2016). Nonetheless, key messages are as follows:

Glewwe and Muralidharan (2015), UNICEF (2015); Masino and Nino Zarazua (2016), identify the following policies as being 'most popular' in the last 10 years in developing countries:

- Building new schools near villages, which reduces long distances, especially in remote rural settings;
- Removing barriers to enrolment - free education for primary and secondary schools (secondary schools are still private in many developing and emerging countries).
- Pro poor economic incentives policies:
    - Conditional and unconditional cash transfers (CCTs and UCTs).

      Despite the proven effectiveness of both programs there is more evidence supporting CCTs programs for enrolment (Dawala 2015; UNICEF 2015);
    - Voucher based programs, merit-based scholarships and grants to induce behavioural change to increase utilisation of education services and have a stronger impact on enrolments and educational achievements (e.g. merit based scholarships);
- Pedagogical interventions - Increase hours of learning after school — (e.g. provisions of computers, extra time learning after school, providing foundational literacy and numeracy skills; supplemental instruction to children lagging behind grade level competencies (Glewwe and Muralidharan (2015); Piper et al. 2015).

Other policies programmes for which more research on evidence of effectiveness is still needed are:

- **Interventions regarding teachers**
    - Increased numbers of teachers per pupil. The amount of evidence in support of this is small but reducing the pupil teacher ratio improves students' time in school and their educational attainments (Duflo, Dupas and Kremer 2012, 2015)
    - Teacher absenteeism: Muralidharan et al. (2015) show that reducing teacher absence by investing in better school monitoring could be over ten times more cost effective at reducing the effective student-teacher ratio in schools (net of teacher absence) than the default policy of hiring more teachers.
    - Increasing incentives of teachers (Behrman, et al. 2015)
- **Family-focused programs** - Holistic family support interventions are a strategy to ensure that children enrol in and attend school. For example, providing training and materials for families to improve agricultural practices and marketing of their products, offering home visits for psychosocial support, connecting vulnerable families to social services as needed (Zuilkowski et al. 2015).
- **School feeding programmes for children** also can be an incentive for poor children to access and attend school - many developing countries have implemented programs that provide meals to

students, and in some cases to their families as well. School meal programs can, at least in some settings, increase student learning (Glewwe and Muralidharan 2015; Kristjansson et al. 2016)

- **Inclusive education interventions**: Extra resources also need to be channelled through schools to help vulnerable children, such as children with special needs, children with disabilities or with learning disabilities, migrant children, particular ethnic groups (Velten and Mokhtari 2016). Also gender equality in school is still a challenge for the poorest and vulnerable children in low income countries (Gee, 2015). Notably, Mizunoya et al. (2018) show that social policies for poor families are not useful to help children with disabilities in enrolment and educational achievement in school. Special policies to include children with disabilities in school need still to be reinforced, both in high income and low income countries as stigma is still a strong deterrent. Special education programmes need to be built and reinterpreted in the social discourse (Kirby 2016; Moira 2017).

A final point is that true inclusion should be granted in a way to avoid stigma for the most vulnerable children.

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