

Chronic Poverty Advisory Network

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**Anti-discrimination policies and programmes in low-and middle-
income countries:**

Experiences in political participation, education and labour markets

Report

Rachel Marcus, Anna Mdee and Ella Page

May 2016

CPAN is hosted at the Overseas Development Institute, London



Acknowledgements

This review was written by Rachel Marcus, Anna Mdee and Ella Page; it was copy-edited by Roo Griffiths.

Many thanks to Andrew Shepherd, Eva Mineur, Julia Schalk, Colin Kirk, Prof. Vusi Gumede, Prof. Sukhadeo Thorat, Anne Moulin, Amanda Lenhardt, Valeria Carou-Jones and Bob Baulch for comments on previous versions and suggestions of literature.

Thanks also go to the team of research assistants who carried out the literature search for the review: Alex Cunningham, Jack Morris, Nandini Gupta-Archer and Nehaal Bajwa, and to Sean Willmott for creating Figures 1, 4 and 6.

The review is part of the project 'Evaluating anti-discrimination measures', supported by Save the Children, the UN Children's Fund, the UN Population Fund, the Swedish Expert Group for Aid Studies and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation.

Table of contents

Acknowledgements.....	2
Table of contents	3
Acronyms and abbreviations	5
Summary	6
1. Introduction	13
1.1 Theory of Change	15
1.2 Structure of the Report	16
2. Methodology.....	18
2.1 Introduction.....	18
2.2 Literature search	18
2.3 Study appraisal and exclusion	19
2.4 Analysis.....	21
2.5 Limitations	22
2.6 Overview of studies found	22
3. Political participation	26
3.1 Quotas for women: A global overview.....	28
3.2 Reservations/quotas for groups defined by ethnicity, race or caste.....	40
3.3 Political reservations for people with disabilities	45
3.4 Social movements: Mobilising around legislation	46
3.5. Conclusions and gaps	47
4. Education	48
4.1 Introduction.....	48
4.2 Action in primary and secondary schooling.....	51
4.3 Affirmative action in higher education	64
4.4 Conclusions and gaps	72
5. Labour markets	74
5.1 Introduction.....	74
5.2 Affirmative action policy for people with disabilities	76
5.3 Affirmative action for discriminated racial and ethnic groups	79
5.4 Affirmative action and other legal measures for women	87
5.5 Active labour market policies.....	89
5.6 Public works and employment guarantee schemes	97
5.7 Conclusion and gaps.....	99

6. Conclusions	101
6.1 Overall conclusions and reflections	101
6.2 Experience of affirmative action in specific sectors.....	104
6.3 Evidence gaps.....	106
6.4 Methodological reflections and gaps.....	109
6.5 Geographical gaps	109
References	111
Annex 1: Initial review questions.....	131
Annex 2: Methodology	132

Acronyms and abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BEE	Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEE	Commission for Employment Equity
CMS	Centre for Media Studies
DFID	Department for International Development
EEA	Employment Equality Act
EEP	Employment Equity Plan
EFA	Education for All
EIB	Intercultural Bilingual
HE	Higher Education
HEART	Health and Education Advice and Resource Team
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDEA	Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
ILO	International Labour Organization
JE	Juventud y Empleo
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Queer
LMICs	Low- and Middle-Income Countries
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MGNREGS	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
MP	Member of Parliament
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NSS	National Sample Survey
OBC	Other Backward Caste
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PICOS	Population, Intervention, Comparator and Outcomes and Study
PSNP	Productive Safety Net Programme
RCT	Randomised Control Trial
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SAT	Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial (Honduras)
SC	Scheduled Caste
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
ST	Scheduled Tribe
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
STEPS	Supporting Talent, Entrepreneurial Potential and Success
TAC	Treatment and Action Campaign
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	UN Development Programme
UNESCO	UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	UN Children's Fund
US	United States
WHO	World Health Organization

Summary

This report presents the findings of a rigorous review of evidence on anti-discrimination and affirmative action policies and legislation in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs). It focuses on three areas: political participation, education and labour markets.

The starting point is a theory of change that suggests reductions in marginalisation and therefore greater inclusion will come from reshaping institutions to reduce structural exclusion, changing discriminatory social norms and building the capacities of marginalised groups. This will, it is expected, lead to reduced discrimination and increase marginalised groups' political representation, and improve their educational and labour market opportunities. Change is not necessarily linear and is likely to be iterative and incremental.

Evidence was gathered through an extensive literature search using search terms to reflect the focus of the study. The evidence was then reviewed according to defined quality criteria relating to the robustness of the methodology and the full explanation of findings. One important inclusion criterion was that the study should focus on the implementation of policies or programmes operating at scale. This resulted in the exclusion of research on many small initiatives undertaken by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) at programme or project level. The evidence in this study is highly methodologically diverse and our conclusions involve both some observations on the dataset and some on the substance of the evidence.

Overall conclusions

The making and shaping of categories is political

One of the more problematic issues in the design of affirmative action to target marginalised groups is the naming and embedding of categories of person. The evidence base suggests the use of some categories as the basis for affirmative action can create competition between groups, reinforce and embed difference in society (as with caste in India or race in South Africa) or create a false impression of unity (women). We should be aware that categories often change and evolve in time, but also that they create new dimensions of inclusion and exclusion; policy design may need to change in response to these changing patterns of exclusion and discrimination.

There is limited evidence on the link between anti-discrimination policies and improved outcomes (reduced poverty/increased well-being)

The majority of studies simply examine whether anti-discrimination policies have been effective in terms of their immediate objectives (such as to increase representation of a specific group among elected representatives or in particular educational institutions). There is some evidence in each of the sections that relates to the link between particular aspects of anti-discrimination policy and improved outcomes for targeted groups. The strongest evidence emerges from analysis of labour market policies. The time lag between individuals' experience of policies in primary and secondary education and adult economic outcomes limits the availability of evidence on the long-term impacts of measures in education, though quantitative evidence from India is cautiously positive. There is stronger positive evidence (also from India) concerning the impact of reservation policies in higher education on marginalised groups' subsequent economic well-being.

The evidence related to political reservations is not highly conclusive on the link between these policies and changing fortunes for particular groups. Such evidence would be very difficult to gather, and change is linked to a wide range of factors. Longitudinal, multi-method studies incorporating political economy and historical analysis would be able to tease apart causality linkages and enable a much more robust analysis of the ways in which affirmative action policies do – or do not – contribute to poverty reduction.

In addition, more analysis of how wealth (class) intersects with categories of marginalisation is required. Not all members of marginalised groups experience discrimination in the same ways, and anti-discrimination policies can also create new elites (see further discussion on the ‘creamy layer’ problem in India and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) in South Africa).

Attention to different social groups across different sectors and contexts is varied

Our review found the greatest number of examples of gender-based affirmative action – which has been common in the political arena and in both school and higher education but appears much less so in labour markets. In both the political arena and education, affirmative action measures have had some success in enhancing the numerical representation of women and girls. In education, in some regions (East Asia, Latin America), gender disparities in attendance and achievement have been significantly reduced or even reversed. It is less clear that political representation is necessarily associated with policy change that benefits women and girls.

In India, there has been a substantial focus on affirmative action for marginalised castes and tribes in education, labour markets and the political arena. While there is some divergence among the conclusions of this large body of literature, the majority of studies find affirmative action measures have contributed to improving the position of these groups.

We found rather fewer studies of race-based affirmative action than we expected. Apart from Brazil, where affirmative action measures are directed to a large, excluded minority (Afro-Brazilians) and Vietnam, towards small, isolated and poor ethnic minorities, the strongest evidence concerning race-based affirmative action in education and labour markets comes from Malaysia and to a lesser extent South Africa – both contexts where a racial majority has historically been marginalised, economically (Malaysia) and economically and politically (South Africa). A wider-ranging set of studies, which draw on experience in Latin America, Cambodia and India, explore the value of mother language or bilingual education in the early grades of primary school and find strong positive effects.

Apart from inclusive education policies that focus on disabled children (but for which commitment to and quality of implementation vary considerably), and a few examples of anti-discrimination measures in employment law, we found very limited evidence of other affirmative action policies to reduce discrimination against disabled people. This lack of evidence is likely to reflect a lack of action in this area.

Impacts on children and youth

The vast majority of evidence on children and youth relates to the impacts of affirmative action and inclusion policies on school education, higher education and youth training. These

studies primarily show positive effects. Gains in school education reflect a combination of investment in enhancing quality and accessibility for all and targeted measures to enhance the participation and/or learning of specific groups, such as cash transfers, reforms to language of instruction and efforts to promote the inclusion of disabled children. Gains in higher education and training are typically much more closely targeted at specific groups perceived as disadvantaged.

We did not find any studies that related gains in the labour market position of a marginalised group or in its political representation with well-being gains for the children and young people of that group. Linkages are plausible but seem not to have been a focus of the literature.

Main insights: Political participation

The evidence on affirmative action on political participation is dominated by quantitative studies on political quotas at the local government level in India. The political reservations are targeted at women and Scheduled Castes and Tribes (SCs/STs). A number of these studies do suggest positive outcomes, in that the presence of a previously underrepresented group improves the outcomes or access to services for that group. Examples of this include much-quoted studies on the political inclusion of women leading to better access to water services. The limitation of these studies as a body of evidence is that they all explore different sets of variables using different assumptions. Explanations of causality tend to be underdeveloped and insufficiently contextualised. Outcomes on poverty reduction for SCs/STs resulting from political inclusion are asserted in some analyses, but the conclusions drawn in different studies are often contradictory

More qualitative and contextualised studies present a much more problematic and complex picture of the impact of these reservations. They also capture tensions in the labelling of groups as marginalised through the allocation of reservations.

The evidence base shows the substantial gains made in increasing the numbers of women in national legislatures. However, a significant number of studies contest the degree to which this has served all women well in terms of outcome. For example, elite and wealthier women may find new political opportunities, but little changes for poorer women. It is clear that, while mobilising around a specific category can be a useful tool to argue for greater representation, once representation is obtained divisions between women become more visible. This tension over the labelling and representation of marginalised groups is a critical conclusion from this study.

The same tensions are evident around the affirmative action of ethnic minority groups. Divisions over the boundaries of inclusion and representation are critical and contested. The strongest conclusion from the study is that the political context matters in terms of outcomes that create more inclusive societies.

Main insights: Education

At primary and secondary school level, there is evidence that affirmative action policies have been successful in increasing participation and learning among targeted groups. The evidence base is strongest for girls, partial for speakers of non-dominant/non-national languages and most limited for disabled children. There is a notable gap in large-scale evidence for refugee and displaced children, children affected by HIV/AIDS and other, smaller, discriminated

against social groups. There is also some evidence from India that, in combination with measures to promote scheduled castes' and tribes' political representation and access to labour markets, a package of measures to promote marginalised children's access to education has had positive impacts. Qualitative evidence does, however, suggest gains in access have not necessarily been matched with a shift to less discriminatory school experience and this continues to be off-putting for many children.

It is also clear that effective affirmative action approaches vary considerably by social group. On the one hand, broad measures to enhance access to and quality of education have an important part to play in increased marginalised groups' educational opportunities. On the other hand, the measures that specifically enhance each group's opportunities differ based on the specific factors that undermine their educational opportunities. For example, inclusive education for speakers of non-dominant languages demands curriculum change; effective inclusion for disabled children requires a combination of additional resourcing, changing pedagogical approach and, in some cases, assistive devices. For all groups, it is likely that training in inclusive attitudes and practices, as well as more specific tailored training, will be necessary, though our review found few evaluations examining the impact of such approaches.

In higher education, the evidence reviewed suggests quotas and preferential entry mechanisms can increase marginalised groups' enrolment, but there are risks related to perceptions that beneficiary groups or individual beneficiaries are not competent and are there only because of preferential treatment. Catch-up courses, such as the science courses for women implemented in various African universities, are potentially positive ways to combat this, though more evidence on their impact is needed. The qualitative evidence reviewed also suggests concerted work to change discriminatory attitudes and practices may be necessary, but we found no studies of examples of this taking place, so cannot recommend this on the basis of evaluated evidence. Finally, a theme persistently emerging from many of the higher education studies was a concern that affirmative action was helping redress group-based inequalities but that economic inequalities continue to limit poorer students' access. The importance of more extensive economic support for disadvantaged students emerges in many of the studies.

Studies on the limitations of affirmative action in higher education also point to the importance of more extensive and sustained action to equalise educational opportunities during children's school years, as patterns of educational achievement that reflect multiple forms of discrimination over a child's lifetime cannot be fixed even by relatively large quotas (as in the case of scheduled castes in India) and in most countries reserved places or quotas are much smaller. Achieving this is likely to require continued sustained investment in the quality and physical and financial accessibility of education as well as measures that enhance the learning opportunities of specific marginalised groups.

Main insights: Labour markets

Affirmative action policies designed to address longstanding disadvantage have been successful in India and South Africa at increasing the representation of excluded groups in the workplace but evidence of their broader impacts on incomes and well-being is more mixed. In both contexts, there is concern about the creation of a small elite middle class who benefit disproportionately from these policies and leave the most disadvantaged behind. Public

support for the existence of affirmative action measures seems to be strong in both contexts, although some qualitative evidence from India shows strong resistance to the expansion of reservations into the private sector. In South Africa there is broad support for further expansion of BEE measures in order to further tackle economic inequalities, and the government has been willing to adjust and expand the legislation.

Labour market outcomes are also dependent on outcomes in other areas of national policy such as in education, welfare, health, housing and transportation. This relationship is evident in both affirmative action and training policies. In both India and South Africa, the quality of education available to disadvantaged groups is seen as limiting the quality and level of subsequent employment. The evidence shows that, for vocational skills training to lead to successful labour market outcomes, close relationships with employers, skills carefully matched to the labour market and additional 'soft' skills training are all effective. Adjustments to how training is delivered, through the provision of a crèche, adjusted timings or additional mentoring and support, can act to encourage participation and so contribute to positive outcomes.

Participation in the labour market through public works programmes does appear to slightly advantage women in accessing employment, and to enable them to build social networks, although the evidence here is not very strong in studies of labour guarantee programmes in India. Conversely, a lack of social networks and connections can limit the employment prospects of students who have benefited from reservations in the education system.

Key evidence gaps

The politics of implementation and resistance to anti-discrimination policies

Although anti-discrimination laws, policies and programmes are profoundly political, we found limited analysis of the political economy surrounding decisions to accede to conventions or to pass anti-discriminatory legislation. We also found limited analysis concerning actual experiences of implementation and the ways in which well-intentioned policies are deliberately subverted or fail in implementation. One exception to this is some of the emerging studies related to actual implementation or non-implementation of inclusive education for disabled children, and policies allowing girls who have given birth to return to school. More detailed empirical analysis of the politics of implementation and non-implementation of and active resistance (rather than simply discontent) to affirmative action policies would be insightful. This could include empirical investigation of corruption and 'gaming the system' in relation to membership of social groups eligible to benefit from affirmative action, for which we have found only journalistic evidence.

Although our theory of change suggests civil society mobilisation is likely to be an important driver of anti-discrimination policies and programmes, we found rather limited evidence on this issue. Such evidence as we found suggests women's movements have played an important role in driving the adoption of some laws and policies to promote women and girls' rights, and that broad, leftist social and political mobilisation has driven some policies aimed at reducing inequalities between different social groups, particularly in Latin America, India and South Africa. We were surprised to find no studies concerning the role of trade unions in challenging labour market discrimination, nor more substantial evidence concerning the role

of civil society mobilisation in driving change in educational opportunities for discriminated groups.

Similarly, we found little evidence on where changes in law (aimed at reducing or addressing discrimination) or policy have been used as test cases to drive change in institutional practices or resource allocations. This is clearly a significant gap in the evidence base. Such cases may exist but are not being incorporated into the research base. Again, we were surprised at the lack of evidence from South Africa with regard to this issue.

Political participation

There are clear evidence gaps on affirmative action and political inclusion for people with disabilities. Policies exist in a number of countries but the evidence base on implementation is almost non-existent.

There are few mixed-methods studies in the data. This does appear to be a significant gap given the observation in relation to India that quantitative and qualitative approaches tend to produce quite different conclusions.

Another surprising gap is the lack of evidence on the relationship between civil society advocacy, political or legislative change and improved outcomes for marginalised groups. Given the amount of attention major development programmes give this, the lack of evidence is a significant gap.

Education

For each of the areas we looked at we found only a limited number of studies. This mirrors the findings of Glewwe and Muralidharan's (2015) recent analysis of 'what works' to enhance school-based learning – there are studies of many policy options but only a few studies for each, meaning a substantial and deep body of evidence is not available. The only policy with a significant number of studies was caste-based reservations in higher education in India, some lessons from which are transferable but some of which are specific to the Indian context.

The evidence reviewed suggests little on the long-term effects of increased access to school education on the economic well-being of members of marginalised groups. In part, this is because affirmative action policies have often not been in place long enough for a cohort of children to have reached adulthood. This said, the well-established studies of returns to secondary and tertiary education would suggest that, overall, enhancing discriminated groups' access to education and learning opportunities is likely to have positive effects on their future economic well-being, so long as labour market barriers are dismantled simultaneously.

This set of studies provides few insights into the relative effectiveness for marginalised groups of broader educational development policies – that expand accessibility and improve quality – as compared with targeted measures, and the contexts in which these two different approaches can make the greatest contribution. Relatedly, there is surprisingly little evidence concerning the impact of complementary or alternative basic education programmes on discriminated groups, other than girls. It is unclear whether this reflects the search strategies employed, or whether evaluations are not generating findings of relevance to this review.

Some further probing of the impact of such programmes on marginalised groups would be useful.

Labour markets

Each policy area within the broader 'labour markets sector' has its own problems with the available evidence. On disability, little is available that can be used to make causal links; evaluation of youth training lacks long-term follow-up on impacts; studies of public works lack disaggregation between different social groups; and little evidence is available that considers either the informal sector or self-employment (work in which may be a response to discrimination and exclusion in other sectors).

The areas of labour market policy that can be used to tackle discrimination and exclusion are vast. For this review, we located a literature that is both geographically and thematically fragmented. In terms of improving access to labour markets, the impacts of affirmative action policy that legislates for employment or ownership quotas is rarely discussed outside the contexts of South Africa and India in the literature on LMICs. We did not find any evidence that looked at the impacts of policies such as wage subsidies and job search facilities to help discriminated groups of people access employment.

There is a clear lack of literature around the inclusion of people with disabilities in labour markets and a small number of large-scale programmes. We did not locate any studies that dealt with workplace adjustment or behaviour and attitude change among employers, and qualitative evidence shows that professionally trained people experience stigma and discrimination. We did not include community-based rehabilitation programmes in our review, and there are potentially some outcomes around changed attitudes towards the abilities of disabled people in this literature. We also did not include rehabilitation and retraining of people who had experienced workplace accidents.

Similarly, there is little evidence around formal employment conditions and the use of litigation to enforce anti-discrimination legislation. This is particularly notable in the case of women's employment rights and the enforcement of policies around maternity leave, flexible working and early childhood care, but also in cases of discrimination in employer's procedures for promotion. There was also little literature around affirmative action policies for women's employment. The only discussion of quotas for women's employment was from South Africa.

1. Introduction

Discrimination against ethnic, religious, caste and other minority groups, women and girls, refugees, migrants and people without citizenship rights, people with disabilities or stigmatised health conditions, youth and older people and sexual minorities is a major factor keeping sections of these groups in extreme, multidimensional and intergenerational poverty (Arauco et al., 2015). This discrimination intersects with and is compounded by class-based prejudices and discrimination against poor members of society by all social groups.¹

Globally, anti-discrimination measures have a long but patchy history. In some countries, colonial policies aimed to promote the education, political cooperation and well-being of particular social groups that were perceived to be disadvantaged (Lee, 2012; Shah and Shneiderman, 2013) or that colonial governments saw as strategically useful to cultivate. These typically involved preferential access to education, civil service or military employment, and in some cases discrete programmes targeting particular groups, such as women, girls or groups perceived to be 'backward', such as some ethnic or livelihood groups (e.g. pastoralists and hunter-gatherers).

Some post-colonial nation-building programmes and programmes of (usually) left-leaning governments with a mandate to redress historical and existing group-based injustices have prioritised reducing discrimination (Walsh, 2015). The demands of social movements, donor pressure and the desire of governments to appear progressive (Htun and Weldon, 2012; Mwansa, 2011; Walsh, 2015) have been factors in governments acceding to international conventions, making constitutional changes, passing laws and announcing policies designed to prevent discrimination and promote the well-being of disadvantaged groups. Policies and programmes variously include:

- increasing accessibility to and the quality of services primarily used by discriminated-against groups
- targeted measures such as quotas and reservations, or group-specific services to increase marginalised groups' access to education, employment or political representation
- curriculum and pedagogical changes, or financial support to make education more accessible, attractive and relevant to marginalised groups and
- sensitisation and training in anti-discriminatory attitudes and practices

Implementation of these policies and programmes has been variable, reflecting both the degree of commitment within a polity and civil society to the well-being of and social justice for particular groups and political exigencies, which have sometimes undermined progressive intentions (Walsh, 2015).

¹ Examples include well-documented discrimination in labour markets against people – particularly young men – from poor areas that are perceived as hotbeds of criminality (Das, 2013; Wilson, 1987) and against domestic workers – usually poor women or girls, often from marginalised ethnic, caste or religious communities – who often face abusive and exploitative working conditions (Blofield, 2009).

Other than gender inequalities, which had an explicit focus in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), issues of social exclusion and group-based discrimination have received very little attention (Grimes et al., 2015). By contrast, and reflecting both civil society activism and growing policy concern with inequality, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) contain a much stronger emphasis on reducing inequality and discrimination.

For example, SDG 10, on reducing inequality, has the following targets: '10.2 By 2030, empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status' and '10.3 Ensure equal opportunity and reduce inequalities of outcome, including by eliminating discriminatory laws, policies and practices and promoting appropriate legislation, policies and action in this regard'. Among the relevant education targets is '4.5 By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations'. Target 8.5, on decent work and economic growth, states, 'By 2030, achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value'.²

Although it remains to be seen how far the SDGs will inspire policy change, these explicit commitments to end discrimination may mean there is an opportunity for further-reaching and more concerted efforts to tackle ingrained attitudes and practices, and to resource programmes that can redress embedded inequalities.

Despite this growing and varied body of legislation, policy and practice, limited analysis exists of the effectiveness of these measures, reasons for their success or failure and their impact on poverty and inequality. This rigorous review of 470 documents brings together evidence on the effectiveness of anti-discrimination policies and large-scale programmes in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) to answer the following key question:

How far and in what ways have anti-discrimination policies and programmes contributed to reduction of deprivation among the poorest people?

A number of other, more specific, questions were posed at the start of the study (see Annex 1) but it quickly became clear there was insufficient evidence to answer these. Although the intention of the review was to explore how far anti-discrimination policies and programmes contribute to reducing poverty and deprivation, most assessments focus on their immediate objectives, such as raising the political, educational or labour market representation of particular marginalised groups. Where studies draw connections to reduced poverty or other forms of deprivation we report these, but it must be noted that such studies are in the minority³.

² <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/index.php?menu=1300>, accessed 8 January 2016.

³ It was initially intended also to examine anti-discrimination measures in relation to social protection programmes and health services. We found very little evidence of policies and programmes in the health sector; we found some evidence of social protection policies functioning as a means of targeting financial support to specific marginalised groups. However, the literature on the effectiveness of different forms of social protection for some social groups (e.g. women, children) is huge and outside the scope of what was possible to review, given the size of team and the time available.

1.1 Theory of Change

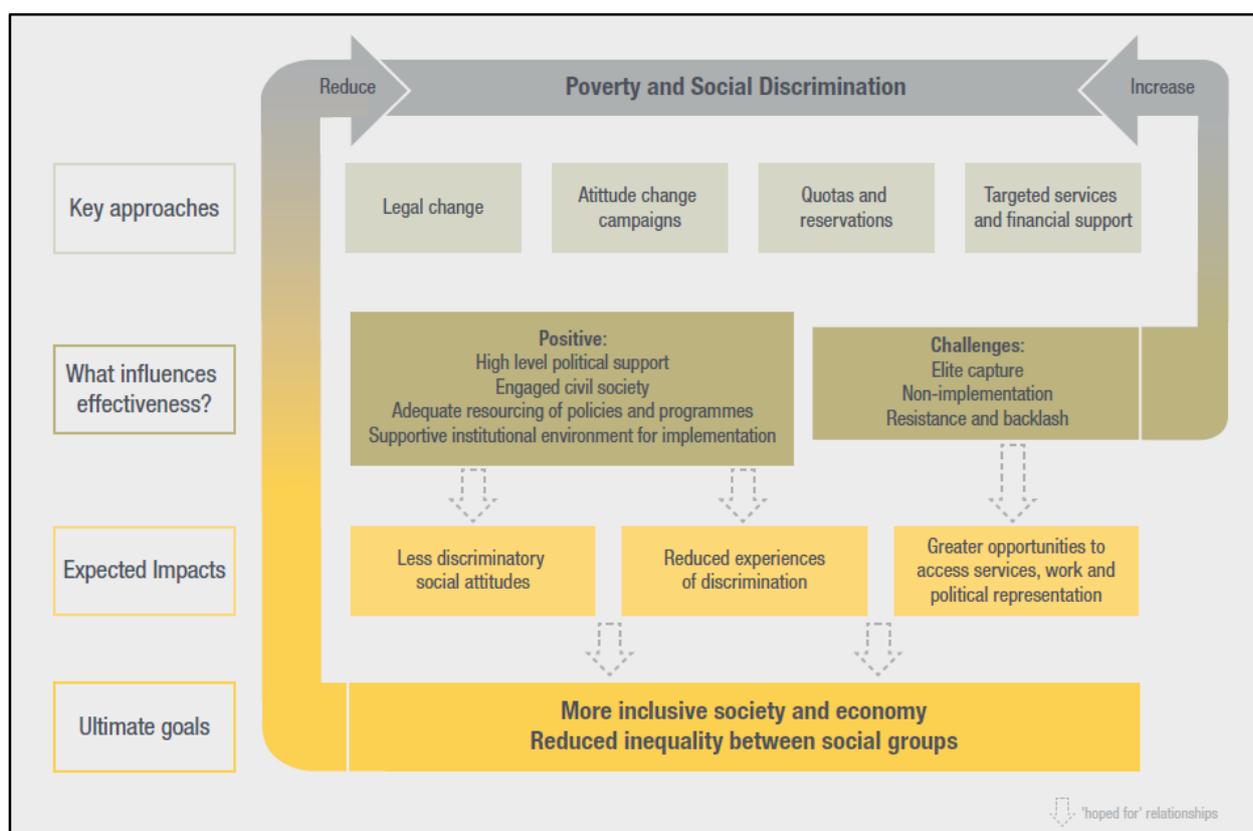
The overall theory of change for this review draws on both theory and expected relationships, and the evidence we found, and is summarised in Figure 1. Any theory of change necessarily simplifies a complex set of change processes to bring a focus onto the main mechanisms by means of which anti-discrimination laws, policies and programmes may help reduce different dimensions of marginalisation, inequality and poverty. The feedback arrows in the diagram indicate the feedback between successful implementation, reduced discrimination and reduced social inequality, and between lack of implementation or resistance to policies and increased discrimination which may exacerbate poverty.

Figure 1 highlights the key approaches outlines the four key approaches to combating discrimination: legal change, attitude change campaigns, reservations and quotas and targeted services and financial support. Legal change typically provides the mandate for policies and programmes and enables legal challenges to discriminatory practices. Though these are uncommon they can set a precedent that has strong ripple effects Attitude change campaigns seek to target beliefs that are often deeply held and underpin discriminatory practices – they may target officials (often through training initiatives) or the general public, and aim both to reduce discrimination in everyday interaction, to change views concerning the capabilities and rights of marginalised groups and to eliminate attitude-based barriers to these groups’ use of key public services, access to labour markets and political representation. Quotas and reservations and targeted programmes typically aim to increase marginalised groups’ representation in different social spheres: with increased political representation marginalised groups have greater potential to advance their interests; with greater access to education, they have greater opportunities to build capabilities for socially and economically rewarding lives; labour market reservations – like other reservations – are intended as a form of redress against past and current processes of discrimination and inequality. Targeted financial and other support (such as job training programmes) aim primarily to support marginalised groups to build capabilities.

Figure 1 highlights the importance of a supportive political, social and institutional context and some of the challenges that typically undermine effectiveness. Our analysis suggests that high-level political support, engaged civil society with sufficient political space to organise and to engage with government, adequate resourcing of policies and programmes and a supportive institutional environment for implementation (such as officials having incentives to implement rather than obstruct policies) all play an important role in underpinning effective action and that the absence of any of these can reduce policies’ effectiveness. There are many examples of governments passing anti-discrimination legislation but where implementation is very weak as there is insufficient institutional capacity to enforce or monitor it. Figure 1 also puts the spotlight on some of the challenges that undermine effectiveness, such as elite capture, and backlash against policies perceived as giving some groups ‘unfair’ advantages. In some cases this resistance can actually increase, rather than reduce, discrimination against marginalised groups.

The bottom half of Figure 1 highlights some of the expected impacts of effective anti-discrimination actions: less discriminatory social attitudes, reduced experiences of discrimination and greater opportunities for marginalised groups to access services, decent work and increased political representation of these groups. These in turn are expected to contribute to more inclusive societies and economies and reduced social inequalities.

Figure 1: Theory of change



1.2 Structure of the Report

Section 2 of this report outlines the methodology used to source and filter studies for this review and provides a brief overview of the evidence base. Annex 2 gives full details of the methodology.

Decisions to change the law to eliminate discriminatory provisions or promote positive action, and/or to implement anti-discrimination measures, are profoundly political, since they have the potential to alter the balance of power and the distribution of resources in a society. Section 3 on the political arena has a dual focus – on the effectiveness or otherwise of specific measures taken to enhance marginalised groups’ access to political decision-making and on the politics surrounding anti-discrimination policies and programmes. This includes some discussion of social group labels as political resources, and also raises questions as to how it might be possible to resist or subvert anti-discrimination policies and programmes. We return to these issues in the following sections on education and labour markets. Section 3 also discusses the role of the law as a broad tool for reducing discrimination and the limited evidence of successful legal challenges to discrimination in LMICs. It also considers how social movements have used relevant laws in campaigns for change regarding the political participation of access to resources for particular groups.

Education is widely perceived as a route to social mobility and out of poverty, and evidence of the returns to secondary and tertiary education confirms it is indeed a potent tool both for reducing income poverty and for many other social goals. For discriminated-against and marginalised social groups, education can build social confidence and networks and agency

to challenge unfair social structures (the evidence base on this is strongest for women, although detailed discussion of this is outside the scope of this review), can lead to improved labour market opportunities and is associated with greater political engagement and voice.⁴ Section 4 outlines evidence of approaches to increasing discriminated-against groups' access to school and higher education and the impacts on learning, focusing particularly on marginalised racial, ethnic and caste groups, women and girls and disabled people.

Section 5 reviews experiences of anti-discrimination laws, policies and programmes in labour markets. This includes detailed discussions of affirmative action policies in South Africa and Asia and consideration of impacts on the type and level of employment as well as the available literature on impacts on changing attitudes. We look at training and affirmative action policies for people with disabilities, training for disadvantaged youth and employment guarantee schemes.

Section 6 highlights the main conclusions from this review and key knowledge gaps.

⁴ Examples from the literature on girls and women's education include Malhotra et al. (2003), Murphy-Graham (2012) and World Bank (2012).

2. Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This rigorous review aimed to use systematic review principles to locate studies of large-scale anti-discrimination programmes and policies. The study included a comprehensive search followed by an assessment of evidence found and then the analysis. To conduct the analysis, the researchers used a combination of a realist and a narrative approach in order to allow a discussion of the contextual and policy literature, where available.

2.2 Literature search

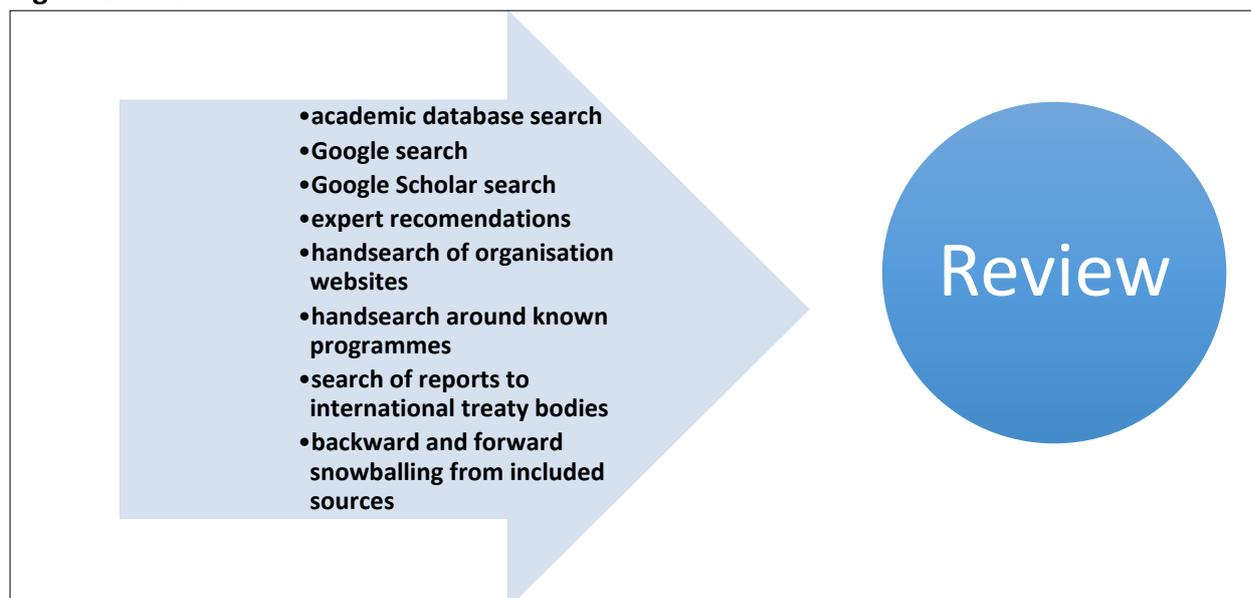
The search phase of the review took place in August and September 2015, with a short additional gap-filling search held in October 2015. The search strategy used multiple techniques to locate the most relevant studies from across disciplines and research designs in both the grey and the academic literature, drawing on a range of types of research. These included case studies, large-scale experimental research, longitudinal panel studies, natural experiments, policy analysis, conceptual analysis and participatory research. Search keywords were developed through an extensive process of testing and experimentation in order to make it possible to return the most relevant search results. Annex 2 shows these keywords.

During the first search stage, researchers flexibly applied the terms in these search grids to construct searches in Google and Google Scholar. As well locating literature for inclusion, this stage of the search was also used to identify key literature in each of the thematic areas, key organisations and key programmes and policies by country. Key word searches were also undertaken in academic databases. Annex 2 gives definitions of poverty and the study methodology to guide the search.

Searches were then conducted on organisations' websites and for specific programmes and reports to relevant international treaty bodies. Finally, a process of forward and backward snowballing⁵ was followed on the references and citations in the included literature. Overall, the researchers searched 100 organisations and for 245 specific programmes or pieces of legislation. A full list is available in Annex 2.

⁵ Snowballing refers to the checking of references and citations of studies located during the initial stages of the search process for further relevant studies.

Figure 2: Search locations



One research screened studies and hits returned during the search by title/abstract/full text, using the set of inclusion criteria given in Annex 2. Included studies were then uploaded into an EPPI Reviewer database. The inclusion criteria combine the widely used Population, Intervention, Comparator and Outcomes and Study (PICOS) design principles with relevance criteria, and were designed to be inclusive of different types of research. They did not include any boundaries on research design. Contextual literature and literature reviews and systematic reviews were also uploaded into the database.

Following the initial search, an initial assessment of the evidence revealed a number of areas where few studies had been located. To attempt to rectify this, a short gap-filling search took place, which included further Google searching; searches were also conducted for laws and policies located through country reports submitted to the monitoring bodies of international legislation.⁶ Some additional literature based on reviewer recommendations was included in February 2016. Our cut-off point was 1 March 2016: we did not include any further materials received after that point.

2.3 Study appraisal and exclusion

Following the search process, a decision was made to exclude literature that looked solely at social protection policies or health. We had found very little evidence of anti-discrimination policies or programmes in the health sector, and on social protection we had found limited anti-discrimination outcomes and a large literature around the impact on women and children, which is well rehearsed elsewhere (e.g. Baird et al., 2013; Kabeer et al., 2012; Saavedra and Garcia, 2012).

⁶ We searched state and committee reports for the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Universal Periodic Reviews submitted to the Human Rights Council, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and reporting around the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. This area of the search focused on a limited number of focus countries: Bolivia, Brazil, China, Colombia, Ecuador, Ethiopia, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Namibia, Nepal, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Uganda and Uruguay.

Assessment of quality in a review process aims to eliminate low-quality unreliable evidence. The study team initially aimed to assess the literature located during the search using an adapted version of the UK Department for International Development (DFID) principles of high-quality evidence, which include criteria around conceptual framing, transparency, validity and reliability (DFID, 2014). However, as the search process unfolded, it was clear that, for the kind of literature available, this assessment method would have been inappropriate and would have meant the exclusion of policy analysis and more descriptive literature – vital to build a picture of the working of the policies and programmes. Where possible, the researchers applied a slightly adapted version of the criteria developed in Miske (2013) (see Box 1), in order to assess the quality of research designs and write-up.

Box 1: Assessment Criteria

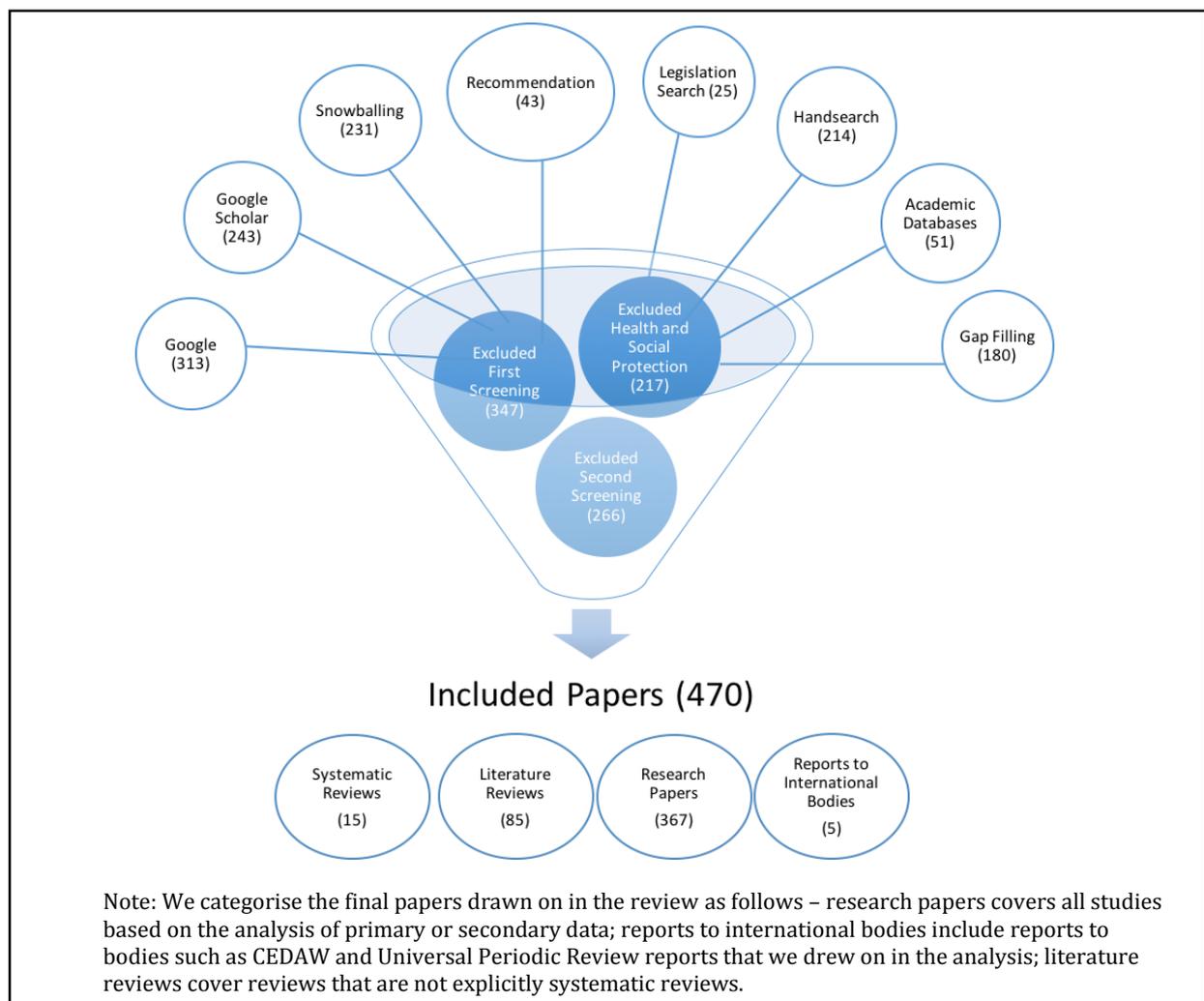
- The research methods are appropriate to answer the research questions at the level of precision implied in the questions.
- The research design, methods and analytical tools are clearly described.
- The selection criteria are explained and justified.
- The context (i.e. the setting, the time, the events and the social forces that affect, or even constitute, a given body of data) is adequately addressed.
- Alternative explanations and negative cases are considered.

Source: Adapted from Miske (2013).

Few papers were excluded on the basis of these criteria; sources were excluded primarily because of a lack of methodology. The researchers also excluded papers on the grounds of relevance throughout the analysis process.

Included papers were then divided into research papers (original analysis) and other papers (reviews and background studies) for the analysis. At this stage, detailed information about the studies was captured using EPPI Reviewer coding. This included information on programme design and components, programme target groups, research design, outcomes, funders and location. Figure 3 summarises the process, indicating the numbers of studies found and excluded at each stage.

Figure 3: Flowchart of the review process



2.4 Analysis

In keeping with the type of evidence we located during our search and the nature of large-scale programming, policies and legislation, our analysis combined a narrative synthesis approach (Snilstveit et al., 2012) with a realist approach (Pawson, 2005), which aimed to look at context and the mechanisms through which the programmes and policies examined function. Where possible, we tried to apply a political economic perspective to try and understand the research findings. The analysis does not reflect all the 470 included papers: we drew on the most relevant and, where studies covered similar material or data, we included the most applicable⁷.

In conducting the analysis, we divided studies by thematic area and examined them to locate the data relevant to answering the key research questions. Data and coding applied in EPPI Reviewer were initially checked for accuracy and completeness; researchers made

⁷ A full reference list is available; however, we include the studies we used in the analysis in the review bibliography.

amendments and additions as necessary to build up a picture of the emphases and biases of the literature.

2.5 Limitations

The researchers are aware there are several potential points of bias in the review search and inclusion process. One such issue was the large amount of hand-searching of institutional websites, which required adaptations of the search terms and techniques and relied on website navigation structures – and so may not have returned all available studies (Hagen-Zanker and Mallett, 2013). We attempted to overcome the limitations of organisational websites by using Google to search within them.

Our keyword searches focused on types of anti-discrimination policy and excluded groups, and used terms designed to locate data-based research. This strategy may have resulted in the return of a low amount of political economy analysis and legal studies papers. It may also account in part for the high number of studies we located that outlined a law or policy and then presented a situational analysis of the disadvantaged group rather than considering the processes of change and implementation. Much of the research we located was not ideally suited to a systematic or rigorous review, and we found very few discrete evaluations of programmes. We are also aware of potential publication bias, favouring the publication of studies and evaluations that show positive impact.

Researcher bias may have emerged during the search and screening process, as we relied on a single researcher to make initial decisions about inclusion. This may also mean we missed some studies. The literature search was challenging, as the terminology used in studies varied widely across our thematic areas, as did the initial availability of evidence. Particularly under the labour markets theme, it was difficult at the outset to locate research papers and we had to rely heavily on snowballing techniques to locate relevant evidence.

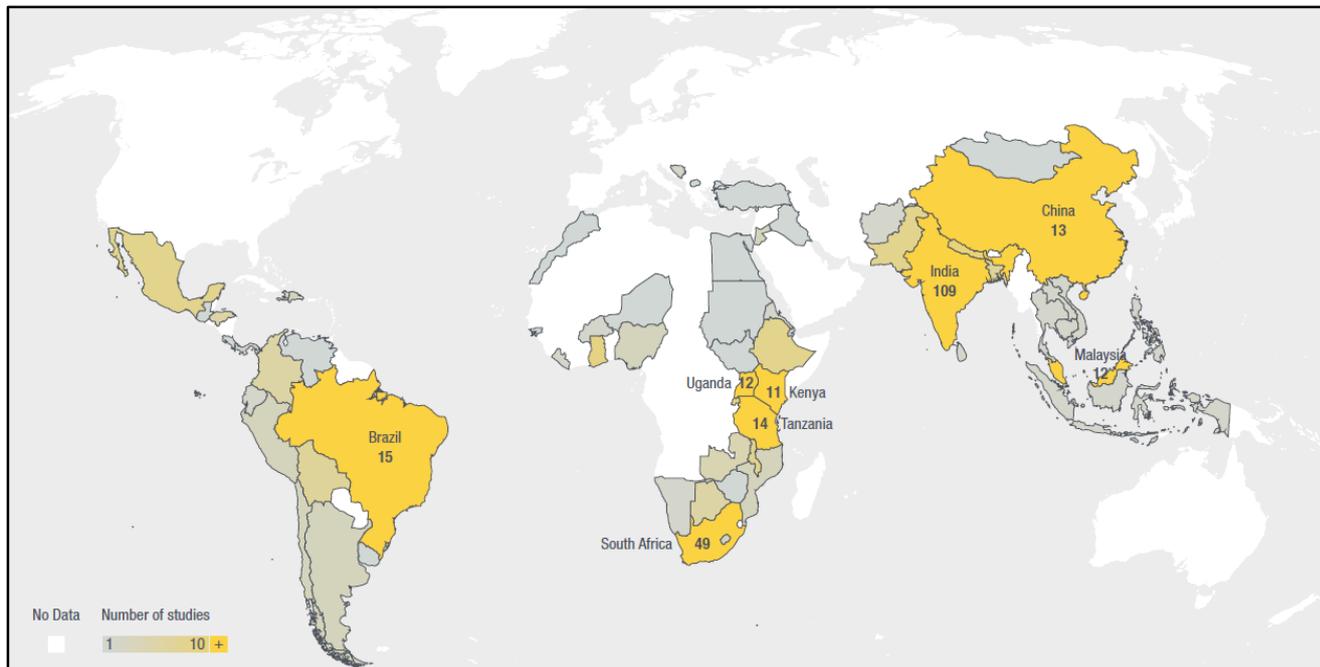
2.6 Overview of studies found

The final review database includes 1,296 studies, of which 470 were assessed as relevant and sufficiently rigorous to be included in the analysis. The section gives a brief overview of the distribution of the studies located.

2.6.1 Regional Breakdown

The studies we located concentrated on Africa and South and South-East Asia. We found very little from the Middle East and North Africa and from Europe and Central Asia. In the East Asia and Pacific region, all but one of the studies located were on China. Among the studies on Latin America and the Caribbean, the highest number came from Brazil. Fifteen countries are represented overall in this region, only one of them a Caribbean state (three studies on the Dominican Republic). Within this, South Africa and India are by some distance the countries with the largest number of studies, with India discussed in a quarter of studies and South Africa in just under 10% of studies (Figure 4).

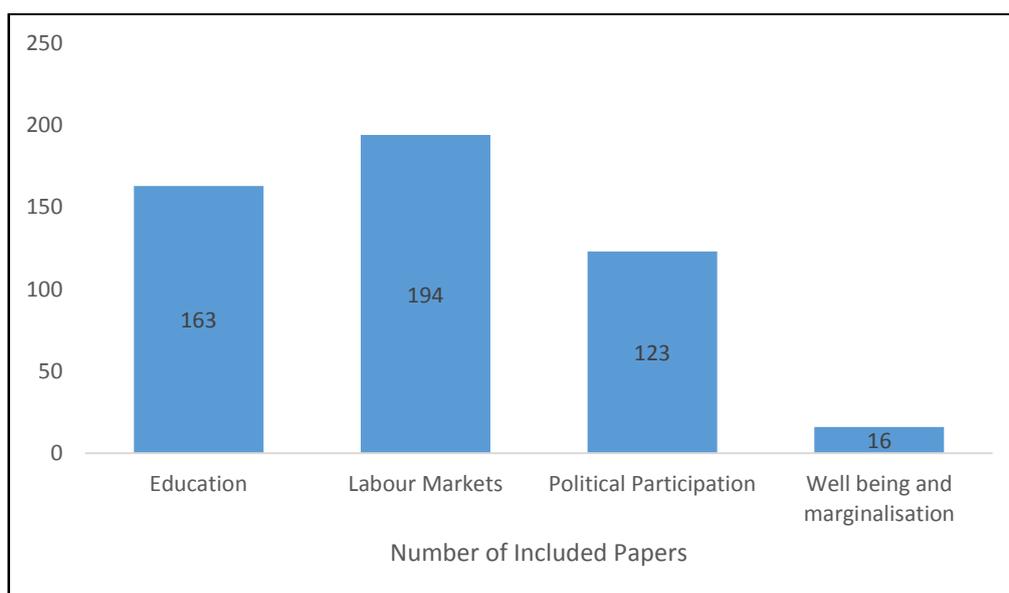
Figure 4: Regional distribution of studies



2.6.2 Thematic breakdown

Included papers were divided into thematic areas for analysis. The largest number examined issues related to affirmative action in labour markets and 16 cross-cutting studies coded as looking at well-being and marginalisation more generally (Figure 5).

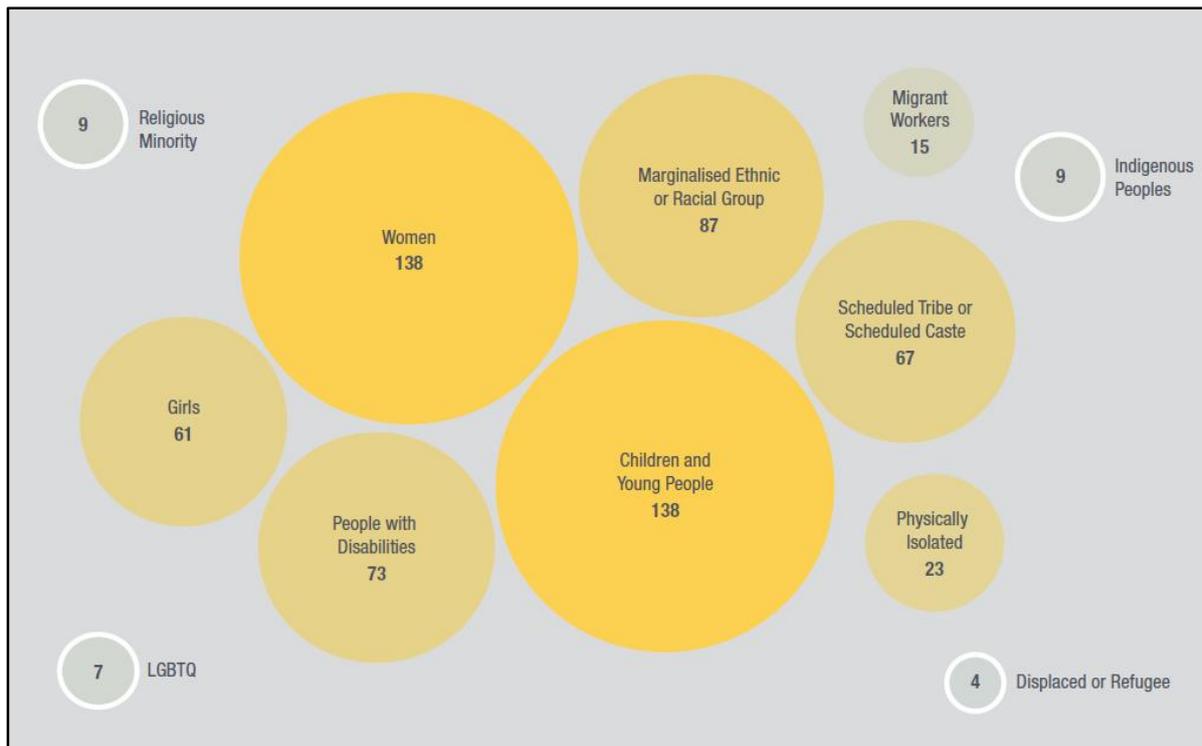
Figure 5: Thematic distribution of studies



2.6.3 Breakdown by social group

The largest groups represented in the included studies were children and young people and women. A large body of literature dealt with discrimination on grounds of race or ethnicity. Little literature was located that considered the experience of migrant groups, displaced or refugee groups, religious minority groups or indigenous peoples. Almost none related to discrimination on the grounds of sexuality (Figure 6).

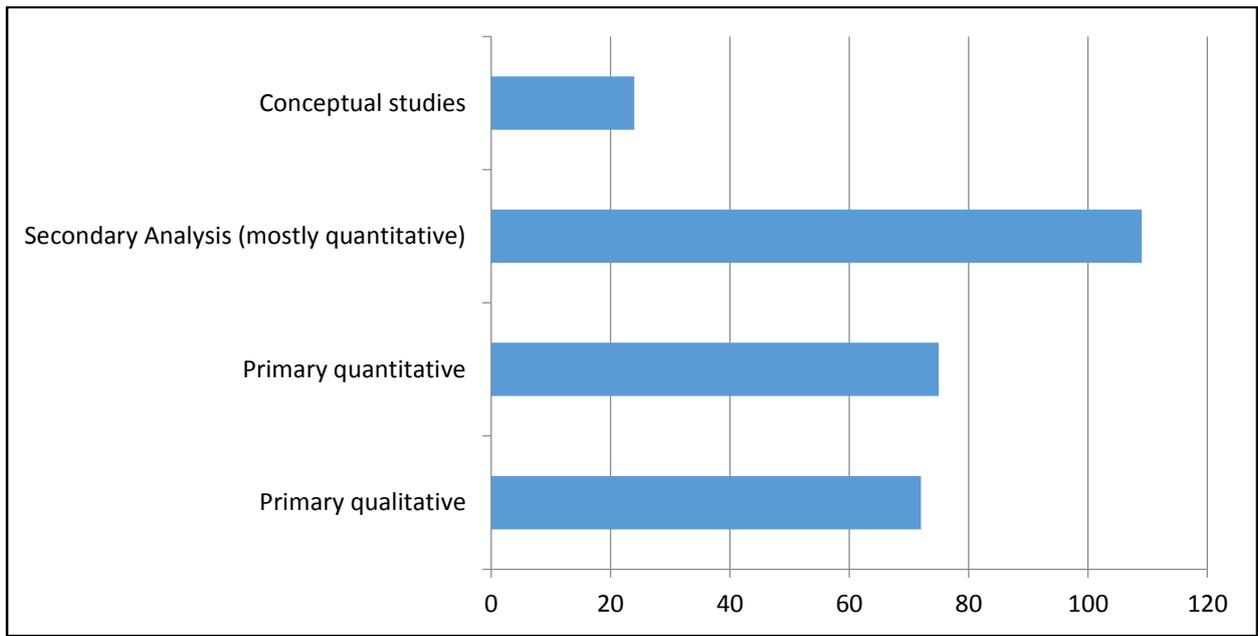
Figure 6: Distribution of studies by social group experiencing discrimination



2.6.4 Study research methods

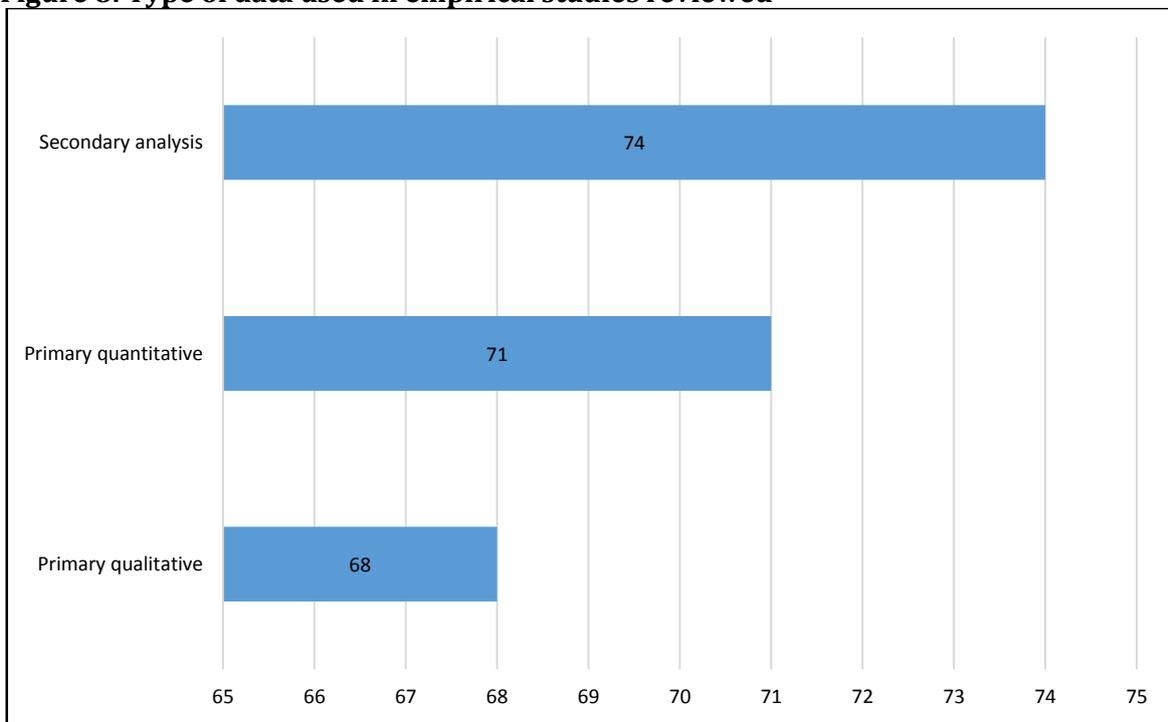
For the research papers included in the review, we recorded methodological data as appropriate. The predominant designs of the included studies vary across the study themes. For example, there is a large body of political economy literature in the political participation literature. Observational studies are more common than experimental studies, reflecting the nature of the topic. Secondary analysis of datasets was the most common methodological approach, reflecting the high number of papers that analysed national data.

Figure 7: Overall Study Designs: Empirical Studies



Among the papers that collected primary data, we found a fairly even split between qualitative and quantitative data (Figure 8). However, secondary analysis was the most common methodological approach and, in most cases, involved analysis of existing quantitative datasets.

Figure 8: Type of data used in empirical studies reviewed



3. Political participation

The question of who is represented in making decisions on how laws are made and enacted or on how resources are allocated in society is fundamentally political. The absence of certain groups or categories of person from political spaces is considered both a cause and an effect of structural exclusion and discrimination. Therefore, in addressing discrimination, we may assume that increasing political voice and inclusion for excluded groups is essential and inclusive institutions will be necessary (Carter, 2014).

In this section, we review the current research evidence on affirmative action and anti-discrimination in improving political participation for excluded groups. In doing so, we consider the use of quotas and reservations in government, the nature of other legal instruments and rights that seek to incorporate excluded groups in decision-making and the role of social movements in championing inclusion.

The evidence gives few clear answers. Whereas certain types of political quotas for women can certainly increase the number of women in government, there is no guarantee of their presence being transformative in terms of legislation produced or better outcomes for women in society in general. Therefore, the concepts of descriptive, symbolic and substantive representation are critical to organising and synthesising evidence. Box 2 gives definitions of these concepts.

Box 2:-Four types of representation

Pitkin (1967) provides a conceptual underpinning to much of the research on political quotas. She defines four types of representation. Most of the literature in this area focuses on the final three.

- **authorised representation** – the authority and accountability mechanisms through which representatives act
- **descriptive representation** – the extent to which those elected resemble those who elect them
- **symbolic representation** – the meaning the representative has for those being represented
- **substantive representation** – the extent to which the representative can or is willing to advance the interests of those represented

This body of evidence reviewed here does not give clear answers on all areas of representation. We report only on studies that show how specific affirmative or anti-discriminatory actions have resulted in changes to descriptive, symbolic or substantive representation. A much larger body of work shows how certain groups or categories are structurally excluded from political participation and where specific legal mechanisms exist that are supposed to address this, such as international conventions like the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) or national laws on rights for people with disabilities or children. We do not report here on the existence of such conventions or laws – only on where research evidence can link these to changes in political representation for the targeted group.

Table 1: Overview of laws, policies, programmes and studies on political participation

Type intervention	Policy/programme	Main studies
Electoral quotas for women	Global and regional comparisons of party quotas/reservations/voting systems	Dahlerup et al. (2013), Baldez (2004), Ballington and Matland (2004), Krook (2013), Tripp and Kang (2008), Tadros (2015), Weldon and Htun (2013)
	Reservations for women in India	Ban and Rao (2004), Beaman et al. (2011, 2012), Bhavani (2009), Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2004), Halim et al. (2015), Kumar and Prakash (2012), Pande (2003), Rai (2013), Randall (2006)
	Electoral reservations in Rwanda	Burnet (2011), Devlin and Elgie (2008), Kagaba (2015), Powley (2007),
	Electoral reservation in other Sub-Saharan African countries	Clayton (2014), Hassim (2014), Scribner and Lambert (2010), Wang (2013), Ward (2006), Yoon (2008, 2011)
	Electoral quotas in North Africa	Castillejo and Tilley (2015), Chambers and Cummings (2015)
	Electoral quotas in Latin America	Friedman (2009), Htun (2016), Htun and Piscopo (2010), Piscopo (2011), Sacchet (2008), Zetterberg (2009)
Electoral quotas for other minority groups	Global analysis of political representation policy for minority and/or disadvantaged groups	Alexander (2007), Bird (2014), Htun (2004a, 2004b)
	Reservations for Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes in India	Chaudry (2015), Chin and Prakash (2011), Dunning and Nilekani (2013), Kaletski and Prakash (2014), Karlsson (2013), Moodie (2013), Prakash (2007), Thorat et al (2016)
	Political inclusion for indigenous groups in Latin America	Htun and Ossa (2013), Schilling-Vacaflor (2009), Walsh (2015)
	Political reservations for people with disabilities (Uganda only)	Katsui and Kampuvuori (2008)
Social movements mobilising to promote anti-discriminatory legislation	Promotion of prevention of violence against women and girls	Weldon and Htun (2013)
	Promotion of rights of people living with HIV/AIDS	Heywood (2009), Jones (2005), Mdee et al. (2012), Vincent and Stackpool-Moore (2009)
	Rights of domestic workers in Latin America	Blofield (2012)

We also need to recognise that the naming and labelling of groups for affirmative action can in itself be a political action and can have unintended consequences. For example, Aitken (2007) explores evidence from Afghanistan, Bosnia and Iraq to remind us that ethnic identities are not fixed categories and are not necessarily political, but can be made political, particularly in periods of conflict.

Similarly, we must take note of the nature of labels and categories of marginalisation. Alexander (2007), writing about South Africa, suggests that in this context affirmative action on the grounds of race cannot be wrong and is widely accepted, but the embedding of racial categories in law has unintended consequences in that it can reinforce racial dividing lines. Htun (2004a, 2004b, 2016; Htun and Ossa, 2013) considers the differential nature of group categories and the impact this has for their representation in Latin America, exploring evidence on gender, race and ethnicity. The argument is that the nature of categories is different. Gender as ascribed based on biological difference is not the same as a racial classification. Htun's concern is of a danger of hardening racial and ethnic categories through anti-discrimination legislation.

The presence and application of affirmative action have consequences in societies but not always in the ways predicted. Shah and Shneiderman (2013), in summing up a collection of anthropological research on affirmative action in South Asia, suggest the relationship between political and socioeconomic inequality is not direct and can be contradictory. Socioeconomic inequalities may continue or be reconstructed in new ways. Broader economic and political trajectories will also shape the outcomes of affirmative action.

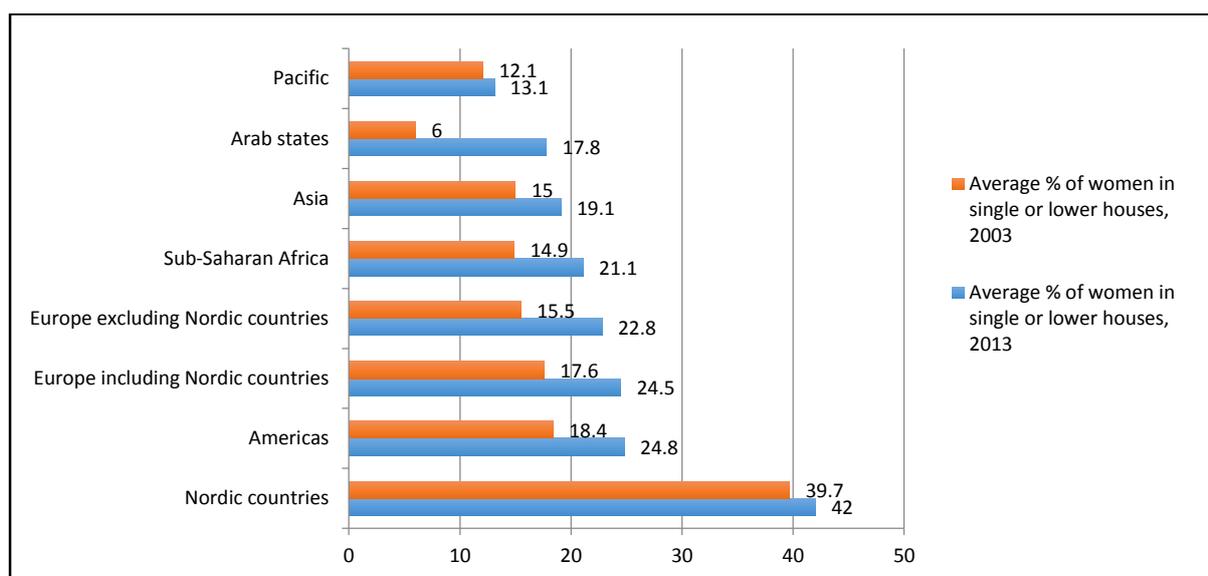
The following sections are ordered in relation to the volumes of evidence found on political participation and representation of different marginalised groups. These cover women, minority groups (in India Scheduled Castes (SCs)/Scheduled Tribes (STs)), race- or ethnicity-based identities and people with disabilities. For each, we discuss evidence by region, as this enables some consideration of the wider political context. There is also a short presentation of evidence on the relationships between social action and legislative change or representation.

The majority of the evidence on affirmative action in political participation relates to quotas and reservations for women. We explore first a number of global studies on the impact of quotas in increasing descriptive representation of women. We then explore literature by region, which reveals the need to understand the contextual applications of quotas.

3.1 Quotas for women: A global overview

There is strong evidence in the literature that quotas can increase the numbers of women in political and legislative bodies (descriptive representation). Figure 9 shows increases in the numbers of women in parliament in most regions between 2003 and 2013. These coincide with an increased and widespread use of quotas.

Figure 9: Number of women in parliaments, 2003 and 2013 regional averages



Source: Adapted from Inter-Parliamentary Union, in Dahlerup et al. (2013).

Quotas and reservations may take a diversity of forms, depending on what is politically feasible in each context. Dahlerup et al (2013), in an 'atlas' of quotas, describe the situation in 85 countries and divide quota mechanisms into three broad categories:

1. political party quotas for women as aspirants to contest for political office – **voluntary party quotas in single member voting systems**
2. political party candidate quotas for inclusion on candidate lists – **nationally legislated quotas in proportional representation and majority/plurality systems**
3. reserved seats legislated in national constitutions or electoral laws and enforced by national institutions

Earlier evidence confirms that some systems work better than others in terms of increasing the descriptive representation of women. Evidence from both South America and Sub-Saharan Africa suggests women are more likely to be elected in proportional representation systems with closed party lists than in majoritarian ones⁸ (Baldez, 2004; Ballington and Matland, 2004). Further, research by Ballington and Matland (2004) emphasises the role of political parties in shaping democracies. We return to the nature of political parties and their influence below.

Tripp and Kang (2008) present evidence on the pattern of women's participation in different countries and suggest a number of conclusions. First, that increasing the numbers of women in national legislatures is not dependent on democracy, and can be adopted for purposes that are not connected to projects to expand political and civil rights. Second, that there is some connection between numbers of women in national legislatures and levels of economic development at a global scale, but the presence of quotas matters far more than this – and reservations for women are the best way to increase numbers of women quickly.

The **influence of external actors** also needs to be taken into account when reviewing the pattern of adoption of quotas for women globally. In a review of quota patterns, Bush (2011) asks why countries where women have low status adopt gender quotas. Her analysis suggests a heavy influence of international actors, particularly in post-conflict situations and in countries with a heavy reliance on foreign aid. We therefore have to consider the motivations and political context in which quotas are adopted, and whether they are a form of window-dressing. Tadros (2015) also cautions that the presence of politically conservative women in legislatures can reinforce the marginalisation of women in society.

Additionally, a number of studies in this review consider the role **of women's movements** in driving change for women. One study examining this at the global level – Htun and Weldon (2012) – uses an original dataset of social movements and violence against women policies in 70 countries over four decades. The authors argue these data suggest feminist actions in civil society are a more important indicator of the presence of anti-violence against women policies than the presence of leftist political parties, numbers of women in government or levels of economic development.

⁸ Globally, greater numbers of women are elected under systems with political parties using closed lists under proportional representation, than in electoral systems which are decided by majority votes (Tripp and Kang, 2008).

What is clear from the large body of evidence on this topic is that, although quotas can increase the numbers of women in political decision-making bodies, this does not necessarily have a transformative impact in relation to the marginalisation of women in society.

Dahlerup and Freidenvall (2010) assess the nature of the evidence on quotas and suggest the debate has been too long stuck in whether to have quotas or not, when what is required is more longitudinal assessment of what happens when quotas are implemented. They argue that some empirical research is too simplistic to capture the complexity of what happens when quotas are used. Krook (2013) supports the need for a second generation of research that goes beyond numbers of women in public bodies as the indicator for the success of quotas, but suggests comparative research is difficult because there are so many types of quota. The major types of quotas include closed and open party lists and reservations. The use of each of these varies according to the type of voting system present

Hughes (2011) uses hierarchical linear modelling to look at how quotas influence the election of women from 300 racial, ethnic or religious groups across 81 countries. She finds these mechanisms rarely challenge majority male dominance of national legislatures. International IDEA (2013) presents a large set of case studies on quota adoption and suggests these show a very mixed picture on transformational change in terms of reductions in poverty and improved access to services for women as a whole, as a result of inclusion in political spaces.

Palmieri (2011), in a global survey of gender sensitivity in the operation of parliaments, notes that institutional barriers such as sitting hours and committee structures need to be challenged and changed for the effective inclusion of women. This issue appears several times in the regional literature. She concludes that understanding the cultural and institutional roadblocks to women's participation is critical in increasing the diversity of women who can enter the political arena.

In the following sections, we explore the empirical evidence on the nature of quotas and their implementation. This evidence is arranged by region as there are thematic and contextual factors in common. The nature of the evidence is heavily influenced by the methodology choice in the research. Given that we take an inclusive approach to research evidence in this review, we present a rather nuanced and complex picture. A narrow focus on quantitative evidence only would offer quite different conclusions.

3.1.1 Quotas for women in local government in India

The majority of the quantitative empirical research analysis included in this review is from India and focuses on reservations in local government there. In 1993, the 73rd Amendment to the Constitution of India stipulated that the states should release more funds to local village councils (gram panchayats) and enforce reservations for the leadership pradhan (chief executive) covering women and SC/ST groups. The randomised allocation of reservations in one third of seats provides the possibility of statistical comparisons. Using this situation as one of natural experiment, researchers have drawn a number of conclusions.

First, women leaders invest in services that are of more interest to women and improve outcomes for them. Beaman et al. (2011) is a good starting point for this group of studies. They argue that studies demonstrate that men and women differ in their political and policy preferences and that actually implemented policies are likely to reflect policy-makers' preferences (Pande, 2003). Studies showing that increased female representation in politics

is associated with significant changes in policy-making include Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2004), Clots-Figueras (2011) and Munshi and Rosenzweig (2010).

Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2004), in a much quoted study with evidence from West Bengal and Rajasthan, present evidence that presence of **women leaders is linked to greater investment in public services of relevance to women, such as water**. In both study locations, women leaders appeared to prioritise investments in water. In West Bengal, they also favoured investments in roads. This survey was conducted in a total of 256 villages with the gram panchayat head. The study also finds women are perceived as being less competent as leaders. Min and Uppal (2014) present tentative evidence that reserved villages in India have improved service delivery, using evidence from satellite imagery of night time lighting as a proxy for electrification. They attempt to correlate this with areas of reservation and argue for the existence of a link between reservation and the presence of electricity. (This research is included as interesting but is grey literature and conclusions need to be treated with caution.)

Clots-Figueras (2004) presents econometric research **showing the background of the women legislator matters**. She finds SC/ST women leaders may favour housing spend, whereas elite women favour spending on higher levels of education. Unlike in the case of West Bengal, she finds women leaders spend less on roads overall. Based on long-term panel data from 1967 to 1999, her conclusion is that caste and gender do influence spending decisions in the gram panchayat. Halim et al. (2015) find some quantitative evidence that more women in reserved SC/ST seats increase investment in school amenities but suggest this may be because this is an arena where women are 'allowed' to make decisions. However, this relationship is not linear. As such, their conclusion is rather tenuous and they suggest this issue requires more nuanced research.

Other outcomes are attributed to reservations for women. Kumar and Prakash (2012), looking at Bihar, suggest that, with political decentralisation and women's leadership, **women are more likely to give birth in a health facility**. They attribute this to women being more interested in the concerns of women. The chain of causality in the article is quite vague as to the nature of this linkage.

Ghani et al. (2014) try to link female entrepreneurship and female reservation in local government by showing a connection between women starting businesses and political reservation. They suggest that, in **the period that coincides with political reservation, women have started more home-based informal businesses**. This does not seem to be good evidence for emancipation or reducing inequality and the link seems tenuous and does not analyse the political and economic contexts of the period.

Iyer et al. (2011) claim women's increased representation at local level coincided with a **substantial increase in the reporting of crimes against women**, and that this means women leaders are taking crimes against women more seriously. Similarly, Jayal (2006) finds women are prepared to make more complaints about alcoholic husbands to women leaders.

Deininger et al. (2015) present evidence that suggests women leaders are not seen as being as effective as men, and that this has negative impacts on people's perceptions of service quality. However, increased women's leadership has had positive effects in increasing the

level and quality of women's political participation, the ability to hold leaders to account and the willingness to contribute to public goods. They also suggest key effects persist beyond the reserved period and impacts on women may materialise only with a lag.

Pathak and Macours (2013) set out research that shows the long-term impacts of reservation of local political seats for women on child nutrition and learning outcomes in rural Andhra Pradesh. It uses the Young Lives panel dataset to analyse the impact of being in a reserved seat during gestation and early years. Their hypothesis is that women's political reservation may have improved conditions during pregnancy and early childhood, and they measure the longer-term impacts on children's test scores in numeracy and language capability and their height and weight. Their results seem to suggest children with early exposure to reserved seats have better scores on tests. These results are supported by evidence of better-quality education and health infrastructure. This is an interesting and potentially significant study, though further analysis from other states would be required to confirm these results.

Symbolic representation: the acceptability of women in politics increases through their presence. Beaman et al. (2009) use surveys from West Bengal in 1999–2003 and find previous exposure to women's leadership through rotating reservations decreases bias against women candidates in unreserved elections. They also find limited evidence for tokenism of women candidates, in that they are not strongly influenced by their spouses to stand for election. Bhavani (2009) supports this with a natural experiment in Mumbai that suggests previous exposure to a female leader has positive effects on the likelihood of women being elected in future. Nanivadekar (2006) argues that having women in the political space is very important to increase acceptance of them playing these roles, even if they have limited room to take action.

Beaman et al. (2012) take the analysis of symbolic representation further using a large-scale survey of more than 8,000 adolescents aged 11–15 and their parents in 495 villages. This suggests having women leaders has a role model effect on adolescent girls by reducing education disparities and reducing time spent on household work (by 18 minutes), but it does not increase market opportunities for women.

Descriptive inclusion but limited voice? It is striking that other forms of evidence generated by more qualitative political and anthropological research approaches tell a more nuanced and less positive story about the outcomes of reservations on women's role in political institutions. However, there is also quantitative research that suggests weak impacts from women's inclusion in the local government space.

Rai (2013), in a study of women in local government institutions in Bihar, using qualitative methods, finds reservations for women can be an important factor in some individual women's empowerment at village level but are not a guarantee of actual participation of the elected women. The study identifies supplementary policies as improving the possibility that reservation women will be able to take action: building their self-confidence, increasing their capabilities in politics and organisational management and reducing operational barriers.

Mangubhai et al. (2009) support these conclusions in a study of 200 Dalit women in Gujarat and Tamil Nadu. They find only around a third of the women are able to act with independence and freedom to win the panchayat elections. A range of factors relating to education, experience on social and political issues, motivation to bring development to their community, prior panchayat performance and political negotiation skills, combined with

external factors such as family support, good relations with other villagers, economic stability and family political contacts, influence how women access positions. Given the low social, educational, economic and gender status of Dalit women, dominant forces can challenge and overpower them relatively easily. The authors conclude that, for the majority of Dalit women, the panchayat election process masks strong, caste-based patriarchal control over them. They estimate around 85% of Dalit women are pushed into panchayat politics primarily by dominant castes or their husbands. They also find dominant castes through women's husbands try to manipulate the elections through pressuring lower-caste men to use their wives as proxy leaders.

Ban and Rao (2008) examine claims of 'tokenism' in relation to the women into reserved seats. Their evidence is taken from Karnataka and Kerala and suggests reservations do not result in the election of weak women, and most are not influenced by their spouses to stand (although 20% are). They find women are leaders of equal quality to male leaders and do not make decisions on the basis of their gender. This runs counter to the findings of Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2004). Ban and Rao suggest this difference may reflect lower levels of gendered discrimination in Karnataka and Kerala than in Rajasthan and West Bengal. One interesting finding is that women leaders are less successful in terms of having high-level political contacts than male leaders. This suggests issues around political and social capital that are harder for women to overcome and echoes the conclusion of Rai (2013).

Bryld (2001) argues that decentralisation has led to a capturing of power by a rural elite. His qualitative fieldwork, like that of Rai (2013) and Ban and Rao (2008), shows significant barriers against women attending and speaking at meetings. These can be related to time, language, social norms or education. Barriers from female members of their households also discourage their participation in meetings. This is a small qualitative study but has some interesting insights that are similar to those in other literature on decentralisation, participation and empowerment. Similarly, Vijayalakshmi (2002) presents qualitative evidence on the political inclusion of Adivasi women. The study finds that, even if they are elected, they do not feel part of the political process and still need to focus more on their everyday survival needs. The research gives examples of women who are unaware they have even been nominated for election and argues that radical restructuring of political processes needs to follow affirmative action to allow for the meaningful inclusion of women.

From the above evidence, it is not possible to conclude that political reservations for women in local government have been transformative. This is also observed in World Bank (2011), which confirms conclusion that there is no obvious outcome from the local quotas in India. Local quotas cannot be said to be transformational in terms of their impact on women's lives.

We also have to draw attention to the continued low level of women in the national legislature, where quotas are still being resisted. Randall (2006) notes that we must ask why, if the quotas are so successful, the number of women elected to national parliament is so low and legislation to propose 33% representation for women in parliament is so vehemently opposed. In 2015, women still comprised only 12% of parliamentarians in India.⁹

In relation to evidence from other parts of the world presented below, we need to give some attention to the analysis by Basu (2005), which suggests that political parties have not been particularly effective in advancing women's representation in South Asia, even though they

⁹ <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS>

use women as symbolic resources. There is a danger of women rising as appendages to men and more attention should be given to building the strength of women's movements.

We should also take some care not to separate women from other aspects of their identity and context. Halim et al. (2015) present research that reflects on intersectionality of identity and also provides a useful summing-up of other literature from this study. Their analysis suggests that caste overrides gender in terms of decision-making. They also remind us that history and context matter: India's southern states have more of an activist tendency, which aligns caste and women's movements.

3.1.2 Beyond India

What is also striking in this review is the dominance of India on this debate in South Asia. There is very little robust research evidence on political quotas for women in other parts of the region. We might have expected more on donor-influenced post-conflict environments such as Afghanistan and Nepal. Hence this does appear to present a significant gap.

True et al. (2012) argue that, on average, women's political representation is lowest in the Pacific sub-region, at 3.65% (excluding Australia and New Zealand), then East Asia at 17.6%, closely followed by South East Asia at 18.09% (including Brunei) and South Asia at 19.76%. Women's representation is below the global average in all four sub-regions. This research does suggest gender quotas and reservations have significantly improved women's descriptive representation at national and local levels, most notably in Mongolia, Nepal, Timor-Leste, Afghanistan, New Caledonia and the non-independent territories of French Polynesia. However they caution that high-level women and men may undermine gender quotas in political debates and that, for the successful adoption of gender quotas, women's movements need to be consolidated and supported. They also warn that political parties, in unstable regimes across the Asia-Pacific region, can be family-run political enterprises that allow for elite women's participation but present considerable barriers to non-elite women.

Sub-Saharan Africa and North Africa

There are a few studies on political quotas and reservations for women across Sub-Saharan and North Africa. Ballington (2004) suggests quotas and reservations have been very successful in increasing numbers of women in government across Africa. This large comparative report suggests that, in the decade to 2002, either legislative or voluntary party quotas increased representation 10-fold. While quotas may increase numbers, many of the authors of the case studies in this edited report question whether this leads to women's empowerment (see Tamale on Uganda or Abu Zeid on Egypt in IDEA, 2013). The report concludes there is a need for more transformative effort rather than just descriptive representation.

As in the work on India, there is some evidence that increasing numbers of women in politics can lead to better symbolic representation of women in leadership. Barnes and Burchard (2012) use time series data from the Afrobarometer survey to test the idea that an increase in women's representation, even if only by elites (descriptive representation), does diminish the gap in interest in politics between men and women. They suggest this gap disappears when there is around 25–30% national representation of women.

For individual countries there are very few studies. The only slight exception to this is Rwanda unsurprising given the country's dominance in league tables of women's political representation¹⁰. Rwanda is a relatively small country and therefore it should be easier to examine the impacts of its high number of female legislators. Of the 80 seats in the Lower House of Deputies, 24 are reserved for and voted for by women. Women also stand in seats for open election. Of Senate seats, 30% are reserved for women. This combination of mechanisms gives Rwandan women the highest share in the national parliament of any country's women.

Powley's (2007) work is cited in the wider literature, seeking to link the presence of women in legislatures to better outcomes for women, alongside that of Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2004) as evidence of substantive representation through policy-making, although it is a very different type of study. Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2004) use quantitative analysis, whereas Powley (2007) is a qualitative case study. Powley's qualitative and political analysis suggests women legislators in Rwanda have taken the lead on pro-child legislation and are strong advocates for the needs of children in the budget. Her research acknowledges constraints on the effectiveness of women in parliament as it is a relatively weak institution. She also notes women's role is constructed in terms of their responsibility as mothers rather than as women.

Similarly, Burnet (2011) presents an interesting and nuanced ethnographic account that teases apart the high-level representation of women in Rwanda. As does Powley (2007), she notes the critical link to the post-genocide context and the strength of the women's movement. Given the dominance of Kagame and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) in Rwandan politics, she sees their strong influence in shaping the political space. The RPF approach is to promote women through the party structure and thus there are claims that female representatives' allegiance is to the RPF rather than other women. Do they represent women and citizens or the party that has placed them in the reserved seat? Burnet suggests mixed evidence on women legislators bringing in more women-friendly legislation. While there is progressive gender legislation, such as harsher penalties for gender-based violence, in 2009 parliament voted to reduce maternity leave and increase the working week. Devlin and Elgie (2008) also claim women's presence normalises their participation in politics and has important effects in terms of solidarity, but show parliament is still not a more women-friendly environment in terms of child care provision or working hours. They note the impacts of women as legislators are less clear on policy and perhaps it matters more that the RFP is clearly progressive on gender, and this seems to be more crucial than the gender of the legislators.

Burnet (2011) also suggests mixed evidence from Rwanda that high female participation results in higher female political engagement. However, she does suggest symbolic representation is important and has helped women in general gain confidence in speaking out in public. Her interviewees talk about women as entrepreneurs in every arena, including politics. There is agreement with Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2004) that the presence of women in politics makes it more likely other women will be engaged and that people have changed their views on the ability of women to lead and that this is particularly influential at the local level. However, she also suggests differential class based impacts of political engagement, which are more liberating for urban elite women but can add an additional burden for poor, rural women in local governance on top of their many existing

¹⁰ <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

responsibilities. She also notes that increasing gains for women have led to increased friction in relationships with men and some men withdrawing from the political space. This appears to be particularly in relation to increased inheritance rights, which has led to new tensions with male siblings.

Kagaba (2015) notes the importance of the constitution in Rwanda and in qualitative research explores the gains and losses for women in the constitutional adoption of equality, particularly in relation to inheritance rights. She finds women are very positive in terms of awareness of their rights and increased confidence of their own value. However, like Burnet (2011), she finds some evidence that this increased assertion may have contributed to a breakdown in family life.

In further qualitative work, Debusscher and Ansoms (2013) cast doubt on how far descriptive representation can overcome structural inequalities. However, they do find good evidence on post-conflict social change that has increased the role of women in civil life and contributed to their acceptance as leaders. The key message is that the large numbers of women in public life have not yet been transformative but are instrumental. While strong political will and target-driven policies offer opportunities to promote gender equality, transformative potential is undermined by 'the dominance of an underlying economic rationale; the neglect of the "invisible labour" of women; the formalistic implementation of gender policies and their focus on quantitative results; the limited scope for civil society voices to influence policy; and the lack of grassroots participation' (p.1111).

Similar to the conclusions on Rwanda above, Clayton (2014) presents evidence on Lesotho that the presence of women, even if not directly transformative in terms of legislation, is starting to shift social norms concerning the role of women in public life. Lesotho has 30% women-only reservations in local electoral divisions and, when survey data on reserved areas are merged with Afrobarometer data, they suggest the greater representation of women reduces the power of the local chiefs. However, the data show women are perceived as having legitimacy in some areas more than others, with women councillors seen as not having the authority to deal with issues of land and grazing.

A number of other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have employed reserved seats for women and this has led to a substantial increase in their numbers in local and national government. Wang (2013), writing about Uganda, argues the country has been a pioneer in increasing the number of women legislators through the use of reservations. In her analysis of Rwanda, Burnet (2011) suggests the RPF was inspired by the Ugandan approach. However, this research suggests pro-women legislative outcomes were poor from 1996 to 2006 but several pro-women laws passed in the 2006–2011 multiparty period. Increased numbers of women in parliament may have contributed to pro-women policies. They find other important factors include the role of the women's caucus in parliament, alliances with male legislators and strong relationships between female legislators and actors in civil society and the aid community.

Tanzania has also followed a policy of reserved seats for female candidates at every level of government. Yoon (2008, 2011) examines the evidence on the special seats in place since 1985 and asks why they have not had more impact. Women make up 30% of national government through reservations but only 7% of elected seats. Yoon (2008) cites many examples of patriarchal discrimination in political campaigns, such as allegations of

prostitution when women contest seats. She notes that women also lack resources to contest elections. In 2005, only five women were elected without special seats. Women in these special seats often enter cabinet in Tanzania and so may mask poor levels of elected representation. However, Yoon does note that women who have held special seats can go on to compete for elected seats, as they have accumulated experience and political capital. Yoon (2011) explores the limited impact women in special seats have been able to have in effecting substantive representation and the many barriers women face in working in the parliamentary system.

Ward (2006) examines reservations for women in Eritrea, Tanzania and Uganda and again finds a need to go beyond descriptive representation in counting numbers of women in parliament. In all three country case studies there is little evidence of transformation. It is argued that reservations are connected to political projects of unity and the mechanism is vulnerable to political manipulation. For women in reserved seats there is a problem of who they represent. This argument was made elsewhere in relation to reservations in Rwanda.

We might expect more literature from South Africa on women's political participation, given that gender equality is enshrined in the constitution and the relatively high numbers of women in political bodies. In fact, there seems to be little in the way of research available on this.

Scribner and Lambert (2010) compare the constitutions of Botswana and South Africa. They argue that the countries reveal a complex political context in which constitutional provisions are one of several factors affecting policy. Other factors include activism by women's movements and ruling party commitment to gender equality. Constitutional provisions do not in themselves drive policy change. Women's movements in Botswana and South Africa have been critical actors in shaping policy change, but their efforts have had different degrees of success. Botswana's women's movement has struggled to combat sex discrimination and improve gender equality. On the other hand, South Africa has adopted more rights-based legislation and court actions, which is underpinned by the country's more equity-oriented politics coming out of the anti-apartheid struggle.

The importance of women's movements also appears in Bauer (2004) in relation to Namibia. She argues that party closed list proportional representation and voluntary party quotas acting with the women's movement have worked together to reach 29% representation of women in parliament. Her research suggests the importance of an international women's rights movement (the significance of Beijing) combined with an active local women's movement in driving through political acceptance of descriptive representation for women.

Hassim (2014), also researching women's political representation in South Africa and India, argues that women's engagement is nuanced and context-specific. As in India, in South Africa there is evidence that women councillors favour working on water issues. However, Hassim suggests this might be because this is one area where they are 'allowed' to make an input, as water is seen as a 'women's issue'. As in Lesotho (Clayton, 2014), there is other evidence that women cannot address structural power issues such as land access.

There is also a small amount of evidence from our search on the use of quotas in North Africa. In political economy research on women's political participation in Morocco, Castillejo and Tilley (2015) suggest the political engagement of a women's movement has led to a series of institutional, legal and policy reforms that have strengthened women's formal rights. Such

reforms have then created further space for women to build their voices in formal and informal institutions: 'This iterative interaction between agency through mobilisation and institutional change through policy reforms is at the heart of the story of progress on women's political voice in Morocco' (p.6). The study also shows that women's limited access to employment constrains opportunities for reform as most women are in a relatively weak economic position.

In a related case study on Tunisia, Chambers and Cummings (2015) again suggest change is rooted, contextualised and political. They find equality has been deeply rooted in the constitution since 1959 and in the Code of Personal Status since 1956. Investments in reproductive choice and health, plus social and legal reforms in the 1950s/1960s, were important in driving early gains for women in the political space. However, progress from this period was not so sustained. The authors argue change can come from top-down authoritarian measures rather than women's agency, and women's empowerment needs investments in health and education and a suitable elite bargain.

However, there is a contention that women elected under quotas toe the party line and any more radical or challenging views are side-lined. The research suggests society may remain deeply patriarchal despite gains in terms of numbers of women in the political space and argues more support is needed to go beyond this. It also highlights the danger of religious conservatism after the Arab Spring. This is also noted by Tadros (2015) in relation to Egypt, where conservative women in political spaces may actually vote to reduce progressive freedoms for women more generally.

In both cases, the importance of the women's movement combined with the elite political bargain has been essential in finding women room to manoeuvre in the political space.

Latin America

The literature on women's political participation in Latin America is again different in character from that of India or Africa. As for the African region, the nature of the mechanisms used for women's representation does not lend itself easily to quantitative analysis beyond some descriptive statistics on numbers of women in political bodies. The literature is also to a greater degree about the nature of political change and political settlements in the region. Many papers are also comparative of a number of countries and also of categories of representation.

Friedman (2009) explores the impact of left-wing political leadership on representation and policy outcomes for women in Brazil, Bolivia, Chile and Venezuela. She argues that political party affiliation is more important than gender. Through historical and political economy analysis, she argues that, where socioeconomic outcomes are addressed, the outcomes have been positive for women. However, significant barriers to women's rights remain, although some left-wing leaders have been prepared to challenge conservative positions from the church on reproductive and LGBTQ rights. Htun and Piscopo (2010) agree this is an area of conservatism that has not yet been addressed. Further, Htun (2016) argues political party quotas and legislative reservations have given inclusion for excluded groups without proper representation in that their presence has not enabled formal and informal processes to hold elected representatives and the political class accountable.

There are mixed views on whether quotas have improved the symbolic representation of women. Sacchet (2008) sums up the impact of political party quotas across Latin America as being significant in terms of sending a message to institutions and social agents on the existence of gender inequalities. She suggests the need for quotas is a political message about the gendered nature of political power. She argues that far greater initiatives are required to overcome the barriers that keep most women out of politics, such as a lack of political, financial and social capital. Zetterberg (2009), in one of the rare quantitative assessment of quotas in Latin America, tests the hypothesis that greater descriptive representation leads to greater symbolic representation in that women are seen as more rightfully in the political space. Using data from 17 Latin American countries, this research finds no general proof of attitudinal or behavioural changes in women's likelihood of being involved in politics.

What does seem to be apparent from the research on Latin America is that women's movements and political parties have played a crucial role in the adoption of quotas, but that, as in Sub-Saharan Africa, this can lead to (but does not guarantee) increased descriptive representation. Furthermore, increased descriptive representation does not lead to transformative substantive representation, as structural and cultural barriers to women are not addressed.

Jones (2004) on Costa Rica argues the adoption of meaningful quotas required sustained efforts by women's groups/legislators. Araujo (2003) presents historical tracking of quantitative data on gender of representatives at different levels of Brazilian government. In 1995, quotas (the party list system) were introduced and representation increased but in 2002 it was still at only 8% at federal level. Araujo presents a profile of women elected: on the left they are activists, on the right they have family capital. She concludes that the evidence on party list quotas at this time in Brazil is not strong as such mechanisms do not address wider structural barriers that prevent many women entering politics, such as domestic responsibilities, lack of political and social capital and lack of financial resources and sponsorship.

In relation to Mexico, Baldez (2004) examines the processes behind the adoption of gender quotas. She finds a combination of three processes is important: the adoption of the quotas themselves, a judicial commitment to enforcing them and cross-party unity of women in pushing for quotas as well as public acceptance of a greater role for women in political life. These themes are also emphasised in Bruhn (2003), who stresses the importance of leftist party agendas combined with gender activism in pushing for the adoption of quotas.

Domingo et al. (2015b) present an interesting political economy analysis of Colombia. They show some descriptive representation impact from quotas and increased legislation against VAW but suggest this is still highly prevalent and is especially conflict-related. In addition, women politicians have more traction at the local rather than national level. This is a theme we saw in the research on India. They note women's activism is important but patchy and resource-constrained, though it has made significant gains in constructing a public feminist narrative. Women MPs have formed a Gender Legal Committee that has supported pro-women legislation and increased their legitimacy. Domingo et al. emphasise that political change is long term and iterative. They conclude that formal rules and rights are important but implementation can remain slow. International support needs to be flexible and adaptive and able to respond to opportunities to build alliances around specific issues.

Franceschet and Piscopo (2008) argue quotas may generate mandates for female legislators to speak for women but can reinforce stereotypes about weak capacity. Their data suggest women face barriers from institutions and from social norms. They argue that, although Argentina was the first country in the world to legislate gender quotas, they have had a labelling effect on 'quota' women, who were viewed as less able because of having been elected through the quota. They do suggest presence of women in the political space is not strongly associated with changing policy. They argue there may be more female- and child-friendly bills in parliament but this is not necessarily borne out in implementation, legislator attitudes are poor predictors of outcome and the ideological foundations of political parties may be more important. Zetterberg (2008), exploring data on Mexico, argues 'quota women' are not as affected by their label as might be assumed. She suggests the problems women encounter in the political space are not to do with the quota but with the political system itself and the ways it operates to construct barriers to women's involvement and influence.

However, Piscopo (2011) finds in Argentina and Mexico (which under-fills quota targets but has a gender commission), that female legislators, more than male legislators, advocate for policies dealing with health, minority rights and women's rights. She concludes that legislative institutions and practices such as gender commissions can contribute significantly to the possibility of substantive representation of women.

This body of evidence shows there are no clear or easy answers when it comes to assessing affirmative action for women's political participation. While there is a normative agenda in some policy circles to see descriptive representative as a proxy for substantive representation, the greater weight of evidence shows this link is not strong and varies greatly according to the political, social and economic context. Tadros (2015), in summing up an extensive set of case studies on women's empowerment, suggests a need to go beyond a focus on quotas to the barriers in formal political spaces, as opposed to more informal activist ones where women are already active. She suggests that essentialising women's common oppression across political, class, religious and ethnic lines is at odds with how political power operates. She argues for working in more overtly feminist political ways on addressing specific inequalities, for example on tackling the barriers that prevent women entering formal political spaces, such as a lack of opportunities for political apprenticeship to build a constituency.

3.2 Reservations/quotas for groups defined by ethnicity, race or caste

In relation to quotas or affirmative action for groups other than women, we find that the research literature is quite sparse, with one exception: local panchayat reservations in India for SCs/STs do have an associated body of research. Reservations are calculated according to the proportion of SC and ST groups present in the state in the previous census. Thus time lags in the implementation of reservations allow for the possibility of a natural experiment and allow for quantitative research.

3.2.1 *Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe reservations in Indian panchayats*

There are many similarities in the nature of the evidence for SC/ST representation to that for women's reservations, with a body of quantitative evidence and some qualitative studies. The evidence is mixed: some does support the idea that SC/ST reservations create social change and result in better services and poverty reduction for SC/ST groups but the case is not highly robust. The same tensions over descriptive, symbolic and substantive representation are present. However, what is distinct is a greater tension over the naming and membership of categories. This is not picked up in the quantitative research but is highly significant when we explore qualitative evidence.

Political reservations for SC/ST groups may be linked to reductions in poverty, but the picture is mixed. Prakash (2007) uses state-level panel data to argue that increasing ST representation significantly reduced rural and urban poverty whereas increasing SC representation reduces urban poverty but has no impact on rural poverty. He suggests it is the people just below the poverty line who are benefiting. By contrast, Chin and Prakash (2011) claim ST political reservations reduce national poverty rates. This effect is found to be more pronounced in rural than in urban areas, with the effect magnified following decentralisation. No impact is seen for SC reservations. The reasons for this are not fully explored, but it is noted that differential impacts of reservations for SC and ST groups are seen in other studies. The panel data used in this research only go up to the year 2000 and so may be rather dated.

In a rather more up-to-date analysis, Chaudhary (2015) present interesting quantitative research using the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) for India to link decentralisation and political reservations to better MPI outcomes for particular groups. The research suggests that in the early days of reservations there was elite capture but the process of embedding certain groups has led to better outcomes for people like them. Some of the causality links in this article are rather under-explored.

Bardhan et al. (2005) use survey data on West Bengal to suggest an SC/ST reservation weakly improves access for the poorest groups to the Integrated Rural Development Programme but not to employment guarantees. They suggest local revenue-raising is weakened but do not explore the reasons why this might be the case. They conclude there is more room for action for SC/ST political representatives in contexts where relationships are less hierarchical. This is a similar conclusion to that of Ban and Rao (2008) with respect to women.

Kaletski and Prakash (2014) analyse data from state and household surveys in 15 Indian states and find that, at the household level, ST reservation decreases incidence of child labour, while SC reservation increases the total number of children working. They claim their results survive a variety of robustness checks and explore potential explanations for the differential impact, including geographic isolation, caste fragmentation, support for the Congress Party and decentralisation of power.

Dunning and Nilekani (2013) find weak evidence that quotas result in policy shifts and suggest omitted variables often confound findings such as those in Prakash (2007). They claim partisanship and party politics matter more than identity group. This, they suggest, is supported by the fact that income differentials for SCs/STs and higher castes have not significantly decreased.

Thorat et al. (2016) examine the continued contentious nature of affirmative action policies for SCs/STs in India. They examine quantitative data from national statistics on the comparative poverty and asset ownership of SC/ST groups in relation to others and find that discrimination continues to shape their disadvantage. Their conclusion is that affirmative action policies in their current form (covering the public sector) have presented a weak corrective to discrimination but should be extended much further. They also contend that reparation should be provided to discriminate against groups in the form of asset reallocation.

Evidence on symbolic, substantive representation and leadership quality is very mixed. Krishnan (2007) analyses village census data from nine Indian states aggregated to 65 districts and 610 electoral constituencies. He finds little evidence that ST legislators perform any differently to those selected from unreserved constituencies. However, SC legislators appear to perform better, providing greater access to educational facilities, in particular primary schools. However, Bardhan et al. (2008) compare reservations for women and SCs/STs and find in relation to women's reservations no improvement in any dimension of targeting for women and a worsening of intra-village targeting of some benefits to SC/ST groups. This is in contrast with the findings of Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2004), and is similar to some of the results of Besley et al. (2005) for South Indian states. However, they do find some positive effects of joint reservations of some leadership positions for SC/ST women.

Palaniswamy (2010) questions whether the formal powers of the president in the panchayat (the focal point of SC/ST/women reservations) translate into de facto power. He argues this may well depend on other factors, such as local power structures. Indeed, he claims evidence suggests presidents elected on reserved seats face considerable difficulties when they are working among representatives who come from powerful castes or belong to the local elite. This research uses a dataset from 80 gram panchayats and 225 villages in the state of Karnataka, to explore public goods provision and the targeting of household-level benefits under various anti-poverty programmes. The results suggest the president is not the sole decision-maker and the council is a broad-based body where the voices of other elected village representatives matter. They also claim the effectiveness of SC representatives depends on the caste of the president.

Further, Natraj (2011) suggests minority reserved candidates affect voter behaviour, reducing turnout and in the processes he analyses increase the share of votes for right wing parties.

As for the Indian evidence on reservations for women, we find that the qualitative evidence on SC/ST reservations adds another layer of complexity. In this case the contested and political nature of group labels is evident. Michelutti and Heath (2013) present a case study of the Yadavs and Dalits in northern India, exploring their political parties. Although both groups have benefited from affirmative action, this does not mean boundaries between them are reduced. They find conflict between them in competing for the benefits of affirmative action. Middleton (2013) explores the politics of 'tribal' recognition, with insights into the logistical, political and epistemological difficulties of India's affirmative action system. This research considers the experience of government anthropologists themselves and shows the system is complex and contested. The tribal label is desirable as a potential gateway to resources, as noted in Karlsson (2013), who documents one campaign for tribal recognition.

Moodie (2013) examines the so-called 'creamy layer' in the SC/ST reservations system: 'those members of marginalized communities who have benefited sufficiently from affirmative

action that they are no longer in need of, or entitled to, its benefits; they have “risen to the top” and need to be “skimmed off” (p.23). This raises considerable questions as to who is entitled to speak for whom and emphasises that group reservations can create intra-group inequalities. Moodie shows in ethnographic work with the Dhanka ST that assumptions that affirmative action could change the fortunes of the group are misplaced as those who rise in one generation can slip back in the next. This research is also interesting in terms of the dynamics of poverty. Moodie suggests affirmative action is still required even for those thought to have become part of the ‘creamy layer’, as the change in their condition may not be sustained in the next generation.

Rout and Patnaik (2013) present a qualitative investigation of panchayat SC/ST reservations in Orissa. They observe a vicious circle of disempowerment, where low participation by ST representatives is a consequence of their exclusion by the presidents and local elites. ST representatives were found to be enthusiastic about the panchayat and their constituency but were not made a part of decision-making. Their voices were often suppressed, and they were discouraged from becoming involved in panchayat affairs. In research examining the social effects of affirmative action on the relationship between Dalits and the dominant castes, Still (2013) also finds discrimination has been maintained despite the reservations. Using fieldwork in rural southern India, she shows how people use their knowledge of reservations to form opinions that shape behaviour in everyday life. Still suggests reservations have become used to vindicate upper-caste hostility towards Dalits. While discrimination on the basis of pollution has lessened, in its place reservations (combined with ideas about habits, morality, and cleanliness) have become the main route through which resentment is expressed. She finds the language of reservations has legitimated an upsurge of anti-Dalit feeling.

Karlsson (2013) examines the hybrid category of ‘indigenous tribe’ in the state of Meghalaya and argues we should think of it as a strategic conflation of two different regimes of rights or political assertions. The first is related to affirmative action as expressed in the ST status, whereas the second is related to a global framework asserting the rights of indigenous peoples. While the benefits of asserting the status of indigenous tribes is obvious, for example preventing other, non-indigenous, tribes from owning land in the state, the long-term gains seem more doubtful and likely to enhance the position of one marginalised group at another’s expense. This research again shows the political nature of categories.

3.2.2 Political affirmative action beyond India: Fragmented evidence

The research evidence on places other than India is very sparse but tends to emphasise the relationship between representation and the boundaries and naming of a group. In this set of literature, there are also evident tensions over whether quotas and reservations can be used in the same way for all marginalised groups. The difference between women and ethnic minorities as groups is explored. The final theme in the evidence is one of inclusion or co-option of marginalised groups in the radical state projects in Latin America.

Shneiderman (2013), in an ethnographic account of Nepal, examines the complex relationships between marginalised communities, the state and non-state actors such as development agencies in negotiating the classificatory systems of categories that underpin

affirmative action policies. She focuses on the dynamics of 'ethnic restructuring' amid the political process of post-conflict 'state restructuring' and suggests international actors often unwittingly encourage the hardening of ethnic boundaries through development projects that target marginalised populations defined in cultural terms. Such interventions can also result in unexpected outcomes in building ethnic consciousness.

Palmieri (2010) documents Vietnamese efforts to incorporate ethnic minorities into the National Assembly through a National Council of Ethnic Minorities and a broad stated desire to be inclusive. This report is descriptive but show some success in increasing the participation of women and ethnic minorities through quota mechanisms. There is a gap in the literature on political inclusion of different ethnic groups in relation to the Asia-Pacific region in general.

Bird (2014) cautions against conflating women and ethnic groups' representation, which she says is evident in the global literature on electoral systems and electoral engineering. This literature tends to emphasise structural barriers to women's and marginalised ethnic and racial groups' representation as being the effects primarily of electoral rules and ballot structure. However, closer examination suggests the causal mechanisms affecting representation levels of women and marginalised racial and ethnic groups within proportional representation systems are somewhat different, and that the benefits of proportional representation for minority ethnic groups are often contingent on the presence of ethnic parties that provide strength of group identity. Hodzic and Mraovic (2015) support Bird's analysis of ethnic minority representation. They present comparative qualitative case studies of eight municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina to explore the effectiveness of different arrangements for political representation of minorities in terms of actual influence on decision-making and accountability to their constituency, in relation to the political background and party affiliation of minority representatives. First, it is found that reserved seats have had an overall positive, but in reality rather modest, effect in terms of strengthening the political voice of minorities in decision-making. Second, party affiliation and support of minority representatives are crucial factors in establishing and effectively maintaining the relationship of substantive representation.

Htun also picks up the difference between representation for women and ethnic minorities. Htun (2004b) uses case studies from France, India and Peru to argue that women tend to be given quotas within parties whereas ethnic minorities get reservations in legislatures. She argues that organising for women's quotas is like a class action, but once women enter office the logic for the unified action disappears. On the other hand, a legislative reservation strengthens ties between group members but may magnify differences between groups. "The choice between softening or hardening difference inevitably arises in the quest for political justice. Policymakers designing institutions and the scholars advising them should take notice lest they unwittingly trade a legislature of white men for a fragmented, even polarized political society" (p.85). In earlier research, Htun (2004a) explored the danger of entrenching the category of race. We noted a similar concern by Alexander (2007) in relation to South Africa. Htun (2004a) asks whether Brazil will be able to adopt race-specific public policies while acknowledging the contingency of race. She argues that, since the category itself easily aids in the cause of racism, it might be desirable to move beyond the concept of "race". However, she acknowledges that race has validity as a social category, as racial labels shape human identities and social relations. There is a tension between trying to get beyond race as a category on the one hand and forming practical strategies to combat racism on the other.

Htun and Ossa (2013) consider the difference of political inclusion for women and indigenous groups in Bolivia. They find women have mobilised across class and ethnic lines and succeeded in gaining parity in participation. However, indigenous movements have continued to struggle to have their demands for inclusion accepted by a government otherwise pledged to their cause. They explain these diverse outcomes through differences in the social movements that support demands for change. Whereas women united over the single issue of gender parity, different parts of the indigenous movement offered different proposals for inclusion and reserved seats, and this has worked against unity. The parity issue also affects all women whereas reservations were targeted at numerically small, rural groups. The authors claim the Bolivian state wants to be inclusive and therefore finds claims to indigenous autonomy to be threatening.

Schilling-Vacaflor (2011) also finds this tension between inclusion and co-option in the 2009 Bolivian constitution, which aims to create a representative, participatory and communitarian democracy, combining enhanced mechanisms and institutions for participatory democracy with new social rights. She suggests there are many limiting factors when it comes to putting the emancipatory elements into practice. These include 'the increased strength of the executive branch, the intent of the government to co-opt civil society organizations and to exclude dissident views, the resistance of the conservative opposition to losing some of its privileges, the deep-rooted social inequality, the social conflicts and polarization, the resource dependence of the current economic model, and the authoritarian characteristics of indigenous self-governance structures' (p.3). We should note here that indigenous self-governance structures have their own lines of power, discrimination and inequality and the Bolivian state is struggling with integrating these into the reshaping of the state.

Walsh (2015) analyses a similar tension in Ecuador. This research shows a split between those who suggest the inclusion of Afro-Ecuadorian individuals and organisations in the state is a historic shift in tackling discrimination and those who see this only as co-option and an attempt to demobilise protest and collective action. Walsh suggests Afro-Ecuadorian organisations have become somewhat complacent on the issue as more leaders and community members are offered jobs within the state.

3.3 Political reservations for people with disabilities

There is very little research evidence on affirmative action for people with disabilities to enter political spaces. It is a clear gap where further searching needs to be done and further research is needed. There is a literature around the rights of people with disabilities and the need to create or enforce anti-discrimination legislation, but there is little evidence on where or how this has been done in relation to political participation. The one exception where we have some limited evidence is on Uganda.

Zero Project (2015) explores the application of anti-discrimination legislation in relation to disability. It highlights the example of Uganda, which since 1995 has had reservations in local and national government for those with disabilities. These are for one man and one woman in each county and by 2006 there were 47,000 such representatives.

Katsui and Kumpuvuori (2008) present a qualitative study that explores these reservations in more depth. Political reservation for people with disabilities in Uganda was created through

the 1997 Local Government Act. The authors argue this Act is an interesting example of affirmative action for disempowered groups, including women, people with disabilities, youth, workers and the army. Uganda has a quota of five MPs to represent the disabled population: four MPs from four regions (Central, East, West, North) and one woman with a disability and by 2006 had seven MPs with disabilities, two of whom were elected by general ballot. They also confirm the figure of 47,000 disabled councillors in local government and that disability has become positively visible in the Ugandan political space. However, they argue from their qualitative research that disabled people find their deprivation and discrimination is not assuaged through political representation alone, given limited commitment of resources to their issues. They would prefer a more charity-based than political response to their immediate needs.

3.4 Social movements: Mobilising around legislation

The evidence base reviewed above emphasises the significance of social movements in mobilising around the discrimination facing marginalised groups in entering political spaces. In particular, many of the gains made in the numbers of women entering legislative forums have been supported by alliances between activists, political parties and elites. Here, we do not review the large body of work on social movements in general, but have picked up from our evidence set some examples of where social movements can organise around national legislation to try to effect substantive or transformative change.

This literature is different to that on affirmative action through legislative quotas. It seems that there is an evidence gap on how national legislation and social movements can interact to effect change. We know from this study that many international conventions exist (such as CEDAW, International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions, the Convention on the Rights of the Child), which may to some degree be reflected in national programmes of legislation. Yet it seems this is insufficient to create significant changes in the experience of marginalised groups, which is then captured in research. In this study, we exclude a large quantity of literature that describes the existence of national legislation and details the failure of its implementation. We found a few studies that do examine how social and political movements have used specific legal mechanisms to address aspects of discrimination, for example in relation to the stigma of HIV/AIDS. There is also some evidence that international agreements have driven the adoption of anti-discrimination policies on violence against women (Weldon and Htun, 2014). However, we found very little evidence of broad anti-discrimination legislation (such as constitutional provisions of equality) being used to advance the rights of discriminated-against individuals or groups. This is likely to reflect marginalised groups' well-recognised limited access to legal systems and some courts' reluctance to make judgements that are unenforceable because of limited state resources (Berger, 2003).

IDEA (2013) presents a synthesis of case studies looking broadly at the political engagement of marginalised groups. Drawing on these, it argues that political reforms aimed at increasing inclusion will work only when they are based on relationships and alliances that can create a momentum for change. Such alliances may be fostered with opinion-influencers such as key political and religious leaders and media representatives.

There is some evidence available in relation to how legislation and the inclusive South African constitution were used as entry points for the South African Treatment and Action Campaign

(TAC) as a successful social movement organised around the right to treatment and care but also to address societal inequalities such as gender, which underpinned HIV infection patterns (Heywood, 2009). Heywood argues using the constitution to argue for the state's duty to act is an option only where the institutional environment is accepting and supportive. Jones (2005) reaffirms this conclusion.

Mdee et al. (2012) show on a very small scale that this approach has also worked in Tanzania, where people living with HIV/AIDS used the 2008 HIV/AIDS Act to legally challenge stigma. This was successful because of a combination of access to knowledge and resources for the group making the claim and a willingness by local court officials to apply the 2008 Act. Vincent and Stackpool-Moore (2009) confirm that comparative case studies around HIV/AIDS suggest the value of social movements as political actors.

Blofield (2009) examines the plight of paid domestic workers in Latin America. Domestic work as a sector employs more than 15% of the economically active female population. These employees tend to be discriminated against in labour law through mandated lower salaries and benefits and longer working hours. Such workers also suffer from race, gender and class discrimination. Blofield analyses domestic workers' legal rights across the region and process-traces political reforms in Bolivia and Chile to find that, although elite resistance to change is a constant, domestic workers can gain legal reforms – but they must organise autonomously and form social and political alliances with labour, feminist and indigenous organisations. Weldon and Htun (2013) analyse policies on violence against women in

70 countries from 1975 to 2005. Their analysis suggests the most important and consistent factor driving policy change is feminist activism. They argue this is more critical than left-wing parties, numbers of women legislators or even national wealth. Like others, they show that effective domestic feminist movements use international conventions as levers to shift policy-making.

What each of these instances shows is that social movements can effect change when able to form alliances and to use international or national conventions or agreements as leverage. We also saw this to be the case in relation to arguments for the introduction of quotas. It is perhaps instructive to consider whether mobilisation around specific issues rather than identity-based categories might be a more effective way to address inequality and marginalisation. This is supported by Tadros (2015).

3.5. Conclusions and gaps

3.5.1 Main insights

The evidence on affirmative action on political participation is dominated by quantitative studies on political quotas at the local government level in India. Political reservations are targeted at women and SCs/STs. A number of these studies do suggest positive outcomes, in that presence of a previously underrepresented group improves outcomes or access to services for that group. Examples of this include much-quoted studies on the political inclusion of women leading to better access to water services. The limitation of these studies as a body of evidence is that they all explore different sets of variables using different assumptions. Explanations of causality tend to be underdeveloped and insufficiently

contextualised. Outcomes for poverty reduction in SCs/STs resulting from political inclusion are asserted in some analyses but the available evidence is often contradictory.

More qualitative and contextualised studies present a much more problematic and complex picture of the impact of reservations. They also capture tensions in the labelling of groups as marginalised through the allocation of reservations.

This tension over the labelling and representation of marginalised groups is a critical conclusion. The evidence base shows the substantial gains made in increasing numbers of women in national legislatures. However, a significant number of studies contest the degree to which this has served all women well in terms of outcome. For example, elite and wealthier women may find new political opportunities but there are few changes for poorer women. It is clear that, although mobilising around the category of women can be useful to argue for greater representation, once that representation is obtained then divisions between women become more visible.

The same tensions are evident around the affirmative action of ethnic minority groups. Divisions over the boundaries of inclusion and representation are critical and contested. The strongest conclusion from the study is that political context matters in terms of outcomes that create more inclusive societies.

3.5.2 Evidence gaps: Political participation

There are clear evidence gaps on affirmative action and political inclusion for people with disabilities. Policies exist in a number of countries but the evidence base on implementation is almost non-existent.

There are few mixed-methods studies in the data. This appears to be a significant gap, given the observation in relation to India that quantitative and qualitative approaches have tended to produce quite different conclusions.

Another surprising gap is the lack of evidence on the relationship between civil society advocacy, political or legislative change and improved outcomes for marginalised groups. Given the amount of attention given to this in major development programmes, this is a significant gap.

4. Education

4.1 Introduction

Discussing affirmative action in the field of education in India, Higham and Shah (2011) identify three key approaches to reducing discrimination: indirect inclusion, where disadvantaged groups derive most benefit from a mainstream policy without being explicitly differentiated; positive action, where designated groups receive special encouragement without other groups being inherently disadvantaged; and positive discrimination, where selection preferences are applied so individuals from targeted groups take the place of others who would qualify on merit alone. In this section, we concentrate on the second two categories. We also outline some evidence concerning indirect inclusion, but, as outlined in Section 1, this was not the focus of the study and we did not systematically look for material on this approach.

Turning to the specific mechanisms by which states have sought to promote better educational opportunities and outcomes for discriminated-against groups, the key approaches on which our review found evidence are promoting socially excluded groups' access to education through increasing the accessibility (financial and physical) of schools and higher education; reducing entry requirements or giving preferential access to discriminated groups in higher education; and curriculum or pedagogical change in schools to better respond to the needs of discriminated groups.

Other than mobilisation campaigns to promote girls' education, our study located very little evidence of public-oriented campaigns intended to change attitudes and social norms concerning educating children of specific discriminated groups. A surprising omission is evidence of any concerted campaigns to change teachers' attitudes and practice to educating the children of SCs/STs in India, given that discriminatory attitudes and practices are widely documented as a significant reason for non-enrolment and dropout (Kamat and Sedwal, 2008). Likewise, other than a few studies of the impact of teacher training on changing attitudes towards disabled children, and on gender mainstreaming in classrooms¹¹, we found little evidence of efforts within education systems to promote more inclusive attitudes and practices. Where teachers hold positive attitudes towards members of marginalised groups, such as girls, ethnic minorities and children who are in the wrong class for their age, their practice is more likely to be responsive to children from these groups, as Westbrook et al. (2013) show, drawing on six studies in Ghana, India, Kenya and Uganda.

This section is structured as follows: Section 4.2 discusses efforts to reduce discrimination in primary and secondary education through a range of policies intended to promote both attendance and learning among discriminated against groups. While there are some common approaches, discussed in Section 4.2.1, the majority of these measures are somewhat specific to the particular group they are intended to benefit and thus this section discusses measures to boost attendance and learning among four key groups identified as frequently discriminated against or whose educational enrolment and outcomes have been historically low: girls¹²; speakers of languages that have historically not been official languages of the education system (which in practice has a disproportionately positive effect on discriminated-against racial and ethnic groups); disabled children; and pastoralist children. Section 4.2.5 on pastoralist children raises issues of effective complementary education more broadly as a route to promoting disadvantaged groups' access to education. In each sub-section we summarise evidence of impact and analysis of the factors that have facilitated or undermined effectiveness.

Section 4.3 then moves to higher education and discusses the application of positive discrimination measures on the basis of caste, race, gender and disability, outlining evidence of impact and the factors that have facilitated or undermined effectiveness.

Table 2 presents an overview of the policies, programmes and studies considered in this section.

¹¹ We also draw on a discrete body of literature concerning inclusive practice in South African schools, reflecting the specific context of the shift to multi-racial and multi-cultural schools after the fall of apartheid.

¹² Despite the growing recognition that in some countries and parts of the world and in some subjects, boys – particularly boys from poor households – are starting to fare worse than girls in enrolment, retention and outcomes, no focused studies on promoting boys' education were located for this review.

Table 2: Overview of policies, programmes and studies on education

Type of intervention	Policy or programme reviewed	Studies examined
Broad access and quality improvements	Review of multiple programmes including Bangladesh and Mexico	Lazlo (2008)
	Programa para Abatir el Rezago Educativo, Mexico	Paqueo and Lopez-Acevedo (2003)
	District Primary Education Programme and Sarva Shiksha Abhijan, India	Bandyopadhyay and Subrahmanian, (2008), Kamat and Sedwal (2008), Sayed et al. (2007)
	Broad post-apartheid funding and admissions reforms, South Africa	Sayed et al. (2007)
Targeted non-formal education or alternative mainstream education to enhance attendance and achievement disadvantaged groups	Escuela Nueva, Colombia; School for Life, Ghana; Community Schools, Egypt; BRAC, Bangladesh;	Farrell and Hartwell (2008), Nath (2012)
	National Institute for Open Schooling, India	UNICEF (2009b)
	Review of multiple programmes targeting mobile children	Carr-Hill et al. (2005), Downie (2011), Dyer (2015), Kratli and Dyer (2009)
Mother tongue/ bilingual education in early grades	Peru	Hynsjo (2014), Hynsjo and Damon (2015)
	Guinea Bissau and Niger	Hovens (2002)
	Mozambique	Benson (2001)
	India (Andhra Pradesh and Orissa)	Cuadra et al. (2008), Panda et al. (n.d.)
Cash transfers/financial support	Reviews of multiple girl-oriented programmes	Baird et al. (2013), HEART (2014), Unterhalter et al. (2014)
	Package of financial support to ethnic minorities in Vietnam	Nguyen and Baulch (2007)
Attitude change (gender)	Hey Girls, let's Go to School, Turkey	UNICEF (2014)
	Welcome to School Initiative, Nepal	Shanker et al. (2015)
	Meena Communication Initiative, South Asia	CMS (2004)
Gender-equitable school structures and/or curricula	Review of multiple programmes	Miske (2013), Schwandt and Underwood (2016), Unterhalter et al. (2014)
	Stop Violence Against Girls in Schools	Parkes and Heslop (2013)
	Transforming Education for Girls in Nigeria and Tanzania	Unterhalter et al (2014)
	Sistema de Aprentizaje Tutorial, Honduras	McEwan et al. (2015), Murphy-Graham (2008, 2010, 2012)
	Re-entry policies for pregnant school girls, Zambia	Chilisa (2002), Mwansa (2011), Wedekind and Milingo (2015)
Inclusive school education for children with disabilities	Review of multiple programmes and policies	Grimes et al. (2015)
	Inclusive education policy, South Africa	Donohue and Borman (2014), HRW (2015), Ntombela (2014)
	Inclusive education policy, Ghana	Agbenyega (2007), Ametpee and Anastasiou (2014)
	Inclusive education policy, Lesotho	Johnstone and Chapman (2009)
	Inclusive education policy, Kenya	Mugo et al. (2010), Mwangi (2013)
	Inclusive education policy, China	Deng and Harris (2008), Kritzer (2011)
	Inclusive education policy, Uganda	Arbeiter and Hartley (2012)

Type of intervention	Policy or programme reviewed	Studies examined
Affirmative action in higher education	Reservations for SCs/STs, in India	Bagde et al. (2012), Bertrand et al. (2010), Cassan (2015a, 2015b), Desai and Kulkarni (2008), Frisancho Robles and Krishna (2013), Gilles (2015), Jeffrey et al. (2004), Khanna (2015), Kochar (2009), Still (2013)
	Race-based affirmative action, Malaysia, Brazil, post-apartheid reforms South Africa	Clifford et al. (2013), Cloete (2002), Downs (2010), Francis and Tannuri-Pianto (2012), Khan et al. (2013), Lee (2005, 2010) Lee (2012), Rao (2009)
	Gender-based affirmative action (entry requirements and catch-up courses), Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Ghana	Bunyi (2008), Morley et al. (2011), Onsongo (2009)
	Disability, Ghana, Tanzania and Uganda	Kaguhangire-Barifaijo and Karyeiya (2012), Morley and Croft (2011), Mwaipopo et al. (2011)

4.2 Action in primary and secondary schooling

Two key macro/broad ways in which governments have pursued Education for All (EFA) agendas (which dovetailed with the MDGs) and sought to reduce inequalities in access to education have been through programmes that increase the accessibility of schools, both physically and financially, and programmes that enhance the quality and/or relevance of education, aiming to make it more attractive to groups who are currently underrepresented. We first discuss evidence concerning these broad inclusive policy thrusts and their impacts on marginalised groups, then examine measures designed to promote attendance and learning among specific groups that commonly face discrimination both in accessing education and within the education system.

4.2.1 Reaching discriminated against groups through broad school accessibility and quality enhancement programme

The studies located for this review provide limited insights into programmes that aim to universalise primary or secondary education through extending educational opportunities to marginalised groups. In part, this is because an assessment of the impact of broad poverty reduction and social development policies on marginalised groups was outside its scope and would have required a differently targeted search. Nonetheless, we draw on five studies of broad educational inclusion and exclusion that emerged from our search process. Lazlo's (2008) review of insights from natural and randomised experiments in education finds infrastructural improvements (increasing the supply of schools or electricity) have had positive impacts on enrolment for poor rural children. The examples in this review from Bangladesh and Vietnam suggest roughly similar increases in enrolment among boys and girls.

Paqueo and Lopez (2003) examine the impacts of the Programa para Abatir el Rezago Educativo, implemented in four states of Mexico between 1992 and 1997, which aimed to improve the availability and quality of primary education through books, didactic materials, training of teachers, school infrastructure and distance education technologies, and through institutional strengthening of the primary education sector. They found that overall these interventions had substantial positive effects on the learning achievement of children in indigenous and rural schools in poor areas, but that greater attention needed to be paid to the poorest of the disadvantaged children. They also found negative effects in urban areas,

though they hypothesised that this might reflect a poorly formed control group or the fact that urban schools entered the programme later and so had less time to embed changes before the evaluation data were collected.

Though not intended as evaluations or overall assessments, a set of studies from India provide some insights into the extent to which Education For All agendas have enhanced enrolment, retention or attainment among marginalised castes and tribes. Measures aimed at targeting the enrolment and attendance of poorer and disadvantaged groups include scholarships for scheduled caste and scheduled tribe children for post-primary education and residential hostels for girls and children from STs (Higham and Shah, 2011); more general measures include free textbooks, uniforms and midday meals (Sayed et al., 2007). Studies of these programmes typically draw on household survey or administrative data to examine changes in enrolment and, sometimes, educational outcomes; some, such as Sayed et al., combine these quantitative data with qualitative primary research observations.

Taken together, these are likely to have contributed to the increase in the proportion of the relevant age cohort of the SC/ST population enrolled in primary education (gross enrolment ratios of 83% and 86%, respectively, in 2006, though this varied considerably across different states) and who are literate (up from 37.41% in 1991 to 54.69% 2001 for SCs and from 29.6% in 1991 to 47.1% in 2001 for STs (Kamat and Sedwal, 2008). The studies do not discuss how far these increases are directly attributable to government- and NGO-led increased accessibility and demand-side measures, and how far to changing perceptions of the value of education (themselves influenced by well-publicised investment in education and by affirmative action in labour markets – see below). These studies also acknowledge significant dropout levels as a result of both economic pressures and discrimination and continuing low levels of attainment (Bandhopadhyay and Subrahmanian, 2008; Kamat and Sedwal, 2008), reflecting a greater policy emphasis on access than on quality.

Again looking at attempts to promote an educationally inclusive environment that redresses past patterns of discrimination, educational policy in South Africa has emphasised integration of schools and equalising funding between schools that historically received substantially different funding allocations. Though it does not assess the overall effectiveness of South Africa's education policies in terms of the inclusion of marginalised groups, Sayed et al.'s (2007) study on educational exclusion – based on qualitative research in 13 schools in South Africa and 16 in India – found that formal inclusive policies intended to combat race-based exclusion, in particular, were – to a greater or lesser degree – being undermined by school practices intended to maintain standards. For example, a significant number of schools impede access through residential requirements, language use and levying of high school fees, all of which function to exclude poorer black children. Furthermore, increased funding allocations could not make up for a legacy of underfunding and neglect (van der Berg, 2002).

Vietnam has made significant provision to increase ethnic minorities' access to education, particularly secondary school, where their attendance rates have historically been significantly lower than those of the Kinh majority and much lower than ethnic minority attendance in primary school. Policies have concentrated on three main areas: increasingly the availability of schools via building new schools and classrooms, the provision of boarding houses in remote areas and incentives for teachers to work in remote areas; addressing cost barriers through fee waivers, grants for the provision of school materials, transport grants, textbook loans, etc.; and some efforts to train bilingual teachers and promote bilingual

education, at least in the first year of primary schooling (Nguyen and Baulch, 2007). We were unable to find any quantitative assessment of this package of policies but qualitative evidence from the highlands of northern Vietnam suggests they have played an important role in establishing education – at least up to Grade 9 – as normal and desirable, for girls as well as boys (Jones et al., 2014).

A key gap in the literature examined is a consideration of how improving the quality of teaching can enhance the enrolment and attainment of children from discriminated against groups. For example, Westbrook et al.'s (2013) rigorous review of curricula, pedagogical strategies and teacher education approaches in LMICs comments that studies rarely discussed children's socioeconomic or demographic background and how this might influence the effectiveness of different approaches to teaching and learning. Alternative basic education programmes take a variety of institutional forms: some are run by mainstream public education systems, others are run by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) but provide bridges to or curricula accredited with mainstream curricula; still others operate entirely outside the mainstream system.

4.2.2 Non-formal or alternative basic education programmes

Non-formal or alternative basic education programmes typically respond to three main sets of circumstances, all of which are linked to social exclusion and discrimination: economic deprivation that renders mainstream schooling unaffordable or clashes with children's essential livelihood activities; socio-cultural barriers (including family or community discrimination against particular groups of children); and school-level factors (e.g. poor-quality teaching or teacher absenteeism in mainstream schooling) (Shanker et al., 2015). Marginalised and socially-excluded groups of children are often either the explicit targets of or disproportionately represented in such alternative education programmes, which variously target children living in isolated rural areas, children whose family's mobile livelihood is not always compatible with conventional schooling (e.g. seasonal work, mobile pastoralism), working children who are supporting themselves or their households economically and/or children whose schooling is deprioritised, such as girls in some cultures and households. These programmes encompass a variety of institutional arrangements: some are run by and fully integrated with mainstream public education; others offer bridges to mainstream education and national testing and certification; others deliberately operate at arms' length from mainstream provision.

Our search process did not find any examples of rigorous or systematic reviews on non-formal or alternative education, nor did it lead to many individual evaluations of non-formal or alternative education programmes¹³. This may reflect a flawed search process – it may be that evaluations and impact studies of these programmes are not indexed with terms such as ethnic minority, disabled children, etc., given their primary focus on children from very poor groups. Many are, however, specifically oriented towards promoting gender equality in access and achievement, and it is therefore surprising our search picked up so few such programmes.

¹³ Consistent with our experience, a systematic review of the effectiveness of non-formal education for street and working youth found no relevant studies of sufficient quality to include (Shephard, 2014).

Given the limited numbers of individual evaluation studies picked up in our search process, and the existence of several (typically non-rigorous or systematic) literature reviews¹⁴ that highlight large-scale non-formal education programmes with evidence of positive impact on marginalised groups of children's education, we draw selectively on these and on a few evaluations of well-known large-scale programmes we accessed through targeted searching.

Farrell and Hartwell's (2008) review highlights the achievements of four large-scale alternative education programmes that have been effective in expanding enrolment and attendance and enhancing learning outcomes among very poor children: Escuela Nueva in Colombia, BRAC in Bangladesh, Community Schools in Egypt and School for Life in Ghana. In all four, disadvantaged students are more likely to complete primary school and meet performance standards than in mainstream schools (or, in the case of Colombia, schools not using the Escuela Nueva approach). Similarly, the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) (2009b) cites data showing the large-scale achievements of the National Institute for Open Schooling in India in providing effective education to out-of-school children.

Beyond some disaggregation by gender, disaggregation of data for specific social groups is rare in these overviews. One exception is Nath's (2012) analysis of the extent to which different groups of students (rural, urban, girls, boys, Bengali, ethnic minority) in BRAC primary schools in Bangladesh are achieving a set of key competencies. Drawing on test data, Nath finds BRAC students outperform those in government schools, with girls in particular doing better (perhaps reflecting the emphasis on gender equality in BRAC schools) and no gender differences in achievement among BRAC students. Nath's analysis also finds ethnic minority students as a cohort are achieving fewer competencies than Bengali students.

4.2.3 Measures to reduce gender inequalities in primary and secondary education

Broad universalisation programmes for primary and secondary school typically aim to address many of the supply- and demand-side factors that underpin gender inequalities in attendance and educational outcomes, and there is growing evidence of the impacts of such programmes on increasing girls' attendance (Sperling and Winthrop, 2016; UNESCO, 2015; World Bank, 2012). Likewise, as discussed in Section 4.2.2, large-scale non-formal education has a positive track record in promoting girls' attendance and achievement.

There has been much recent analysis and synthesis of effective approaches to promote girls' attendance and learning, ranging from broad inclusion strategies to much more specific targeted programmes (e.g. King and Winthrop, 2015; Miske, 2013; Sperling and Winthrop, 2016; Unterhalter et al., 2014). As noted above, our review did not locate evaluations of efforts to reduce gender inequalities that disadvantage boys. In this section, we summarise evidence on the following approaches: financial incentives to encourage girls to attend and stay in school; large-scale norm change campaigns to promote girls' school attendance; programmes to promote gender sensitivity and reduce discriminatory practice within schools; and abolition of policies that discriminate against girls who become pregnant while at school.¹⁵

¹⁴ Examples of these reviews include Farrell and Hartwell (2008), Shanker et al. (2015), Sharma and Ng (2014), UNICEF (2009b) and Yasunaga (2014).

¹⁵ We focus on these approaches because of the availability of evidence. There is also clear evidence concerning the importance of increasing the availability/proximity of schools as a way to increase girls' enrolment and attendance in

Cash incentives

A recent systematic review (Baird et al., 2013) of 75 cash transfer programmes examines the relative effectiveness of conditional and unconditional cash transfers for promoting children's school attendance and enhancing learning outcomes. It concludes that cash transfers, both conditional and unconditional, have a significant effect on enrolment and attendance but much less on learning outcomes. It does not examine whether such programmes have a differential effect on girls and boys. A rapid review for DFID echoes this finding, noting that the evidence of impacts on enrolment and attendance is clear, whereas that on learning is mixed (meaning some studies do find positive impacts on learning) (HEART, 2014: 1). Unterhalter et al.'s (2014) rigorous review of interventions to boost gender equality in education concludes there is strong evidence concerning the impact of cash transfers on both girls' access to education and their learning/attainment¹⁶. Given these three recent synthesis studies, we do not review individual studies of the impact of financial incentives.

Large-scale attitude and norm change campaigns

Reflecting our observation concerning the limited evidence on communication campaigns to challenge discriminatory attitudes and practices, there is surprisingly little rigorous evidence of mass campaigns to change attitudes, norms and practices concerning girls' education.

The Hey Girls, Let's Go to School campaign in Turkey is credited with encouraging 350,000 out-of-school girls to enrol between 2003 and 2006. This programme used mass media and community-based mobilisation by volunteers and professionals (e.g. health workers) to encourage parents to send their daughters to school (UNICEF, 2014). Similarly, the Welcome to School Initiative in Nepal led to a net increase in enrolment of 470,000 children, 57% of them girls. This initiative involved community-level mobilisation, economic incentives (school supplies and scholarships) and expansion of capacity to meet demand (Shanker et al., 2015).

An evaluation of the Meena Communication Initiative in India, a large-scale multi-media messaging programme that promoted girls' rights more broadly, including the right to education, found a softening of negative attitudes towards girls' education and that, for 27% of viewers, learning about the importance of girls' education was the single most important impact (CMS, 2004). The evaluation of Taru, a radio soap opera in India that promoted gender equality, found that, compared with people who did not listen to this programme, Taru listeners were significantly more supportive of the view that girls should be allowed to continue studying as much as they want, and were more likely to disagree with the view that, when resources are scarce, only boys should be sent to school (Singhal et al., 2004)¹⁷.

Promoting gender-equitable school environments

Our review did not find any evaluations of large-scale gender mainstreaming programmes in schools or programmes aiming to promote more gender-sensitive attitudes and practices among teachers. Unterhalter et al.'s (2014) rigorous review of programmes and practices to

reviews such as Sperling and Winthrop (2016), World Bank (2012) and annual UNESCO Education for All Global Monitoring Reports.

¹⁶ Note, however, that the thresholds for impact do vary between contexts – for example in Haryana, northern India, the Apna Beti Apna Dhan cash transfer had little impact on schooling beyond grade 8. At this point, other concerns came to the fore, such as protecting girls' reputations in order to secure a good marriage, in a context where many girls would have to travel outside their villages to attend the next level of schooling (Nanda et al, 2015).

¹⁷ Both studies made use of mixed methods, though quantitative survey data formed the mainstay of the evaluation, particularly for Taru.

promote gender equality in education identified gender mainstreaming as a approach, for which positive evidence exists, though more is needed; Miske's (2013) review also highlights a number of positive, mostly small-scale, examples, as do more recent studies, such as Schwandt and Underwood (2016). Unterhalter et al. (2014) point out mainstreaming gender equality requires 'considerable resources in terms of money, time, skill, support and opportunities for critical reflection and communication, way beyond that planned for or provided' (p.41), a conclusion Schwandt and Underwood support: they found much greater impact from an intervention to promote a gender-equitable school environment in Botswana, where resources devoted to the education sector as a whole were greater than in Malawi and Mozambique.

One much discussed example that provides pointers towards models for gender-sensitive secondary education comes from a medium-scale programme in northern Honduras. An NGO-led programme, the Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial (SAT), has developed a critical, gender equality-promoting, pedagogy and curricular materials that have inspired and been adapted for use in other parts of Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa (Murphy-Graham, 2012; Murphy-Graham and Lample, 2012). The SAT curriculum emphasises critical thought, acquisition of practical skills and values of equality (Murphy-Graham, 2010, 2008). In Honduras, where SAT has been enfolded within the formal education system, while keeping its distinct shape, it has been found to lead to better educational outcomes (by 0.2 standard deviations) at 10% lower cost than mainstream middle schools (McEwan et al., 2015) as well as an increased sense of agency and empowerment among participants (Murphy-Graham, 2008, 2010, 2012).

One other approach to promoting more girl-friendly school environments has been to reduce gender-based and other physical violence in schools. Again, we found little evidence of large-scale policies and programmes (though several medium-scale programmes, working in over 40 schools, have piloted approaches towards reducing school-based violence), and two reviews (Leach and Dunne, 2014; Unterhalter et al., 2014) have found very few rigorously evaluated studies. A mixed-methods evaluation of a multi-country NGO programme, Stop Violence Against Girls, which took place in Ghana, Kenya and Mozambique, found school-based girls' clubs had a clear positive effect in promoting a more girl-friendly environment, and boys' clubs had helped boys develop more egalitarian behaviour and attitudes (Parkes and Heslop, 2013), while the evaluation of Transforming Education for Girls in Nigeria and Tanzania found girls' club members had stronger academic performance and greater knowledge of HIV/AIDS, life skills and their rights, were more challenging of discrimination and violence and had more ideas of how to overcome obstacles than non-club members (more so in Tanzania than in Nigeria) (Leach and Dunne, 2014).

There are also positive small-scale examples of promoting gender-equitable attitudes and practices in schools (Achyut et al., 2012; Bajaj, 2009) but limited evidence of large-scale changes to tackle these dimensions of the discriminatory environment girls face.

Re-entry policies for pregnant school girls

Although a number of Sub-Saharan African countries have amended policies or repealed laws that previously discriminated against pregnant schoolgirls by expelling them, treating them differently to boys who fathered children while at school or otherwise impeding their right to

education, there is very little published literature assessing the impact of these policies. Qualitative evidence suggests implementation is often patchy, because of school and community resistance or ignorance of policies, and that girl mothers who wish to return to school are still excluded from school on ‘moral grounds’ (Bantebya et al., 2013; Chilisa, 2002; Mwansa, 2011).

A much-cited case study is that of Zambia, where the policy on schoolgirl pregnancies was amended in 1997 from automatic expulsion to facilitate girls’ re-entry to school. As a result, 76% of the 3,738 high school girls who became pregnant between 2002 and 2005 were re-admitted (Ministry of Education, 2006, in Bunyi, 2008). More recent data suggest around 65% of girls who become pregnant at school re-enter (Wedekind and Milingo, 2015). In-depth exploration of the factors affecting whether girls return suggests that having sufficient funds to continue, while bearing the additional expenses of having a child, the availability of a care-taker and a lack of stigma at school are key factors. Lack of stigma, in turn, depends on schools creating supportive and non-discriminatory environments – Wedekind and Milingo’s study suggests more comprehensive sex and relationships education could help achieve this goal.

The passage of this policy illustrates the politics of anti-discrimination policies in some aid-influenced low-income countries – the re-entry policy was advocated by local women’s organisations and designed by enthusiastic bureaucrats, as it was seen as a step towards meeting international legal commitments on children’s rights, and was supported by major donors. The forces propelling its implementation mean it was implemented before it was approved in parliament and despite some stakeholders, such as teachers, not being properly informed. The policy has proved controversial, with some churches particularly opposed, particularly to the lack of proper debate and consultation, and mixed views in civil society as to whether it is encouraging non-marital pregnancies (Mwansa, 2011). More studies exploring the politics of implementing anti-discrimination policies would be instructive.

4.2.4 Promoting education for children with disabilities

Over the past two decades, and particularly since the 1994 UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Salamanca Conference on inclusive education, a growing number of countries have declared inclusive education policies. In some countries, these constitute a broad framework for improving access to education for a range of disadvantaged groups; in others, inclusive education has been interpreted to mean inclusion of children with disabilities. Our search process found few direct assessments of the impacts of policies and programmes in this area: the majority acknowledged the existence of a policy or programme and then presented statistics or qualitative evidence concerning disabled children’s lack of access to education or examined barriers to policy implementation (e.g. Ametpee and Anastasiou, 2014 in Ghana; HRW, 2015 for South Africa).

For example, Ametpee and Anastasiou (2014) estimate only 3% of Kenya’s disabled children are attending school; Hernandez (2008) and Donohue and Borman (2014) cite data that make corresponding estimates of 60% and 30% for India and South Africa¹⁸. Box 3 gives a summary of how – despite a positive legal and policy environment – disabled children continue to face

¹⁸ These data are likely to be inaccurate given limited identification of disabilities in many low-income settings and hiding of disabled children in some contexts.

discrimination in accessing education in South Africa. A subset of studies (Agbenyega, 2007; Ali et al., 2006; Mukhopadhyay et al., 2012; Ntombela, 2011) examines teachers' or student teachers' attitudes to inclusive education of children with disabilities. As Mukhopadhyay et al. (2012) point out, studies of teachers' attitudes are more common than impact studies in this area.

Box 3: South African disabled children and education – the multiple faces of discrimination

- *Discrimination accessing education:* Schools often decide if they are willing or able to accommodate students with particular disabilities or needs. In many cases, children with intellectual disabilities, multiple disabilities and autism or foetal alcohol syndrome are particularly disadvantaged. In most cases, schools make the ultimate decision – often arbitrary and unchecked – as to who can enrol.
- *Discrimination because of a lack of reasonable accommodation in school:* Many students in mainstream schools need to overcome physical and attitudinal barriers in order to receive an education. Many students in schools for children with sensory disabilities do not have access to the same subjects as in mainstream schools, jeopardising their access to a full curriculum.
- *Discriminatory fees and expenses:* Children with disabilities who attend special schools pay school fees that children without disabilities do not, and many who attend mainstream schools are asked to pay for their own class assistants as a condition of staying in mainstream classes. Additionally, parents often pay burdensome transport and boarding costs if special schools are far from families and communities; in some cases they must also pay for special food and diapers.
- *Violence, abuse, and neglect in schools:* Students are exposed to violence and abuse in many of South Africa's schools, but children with disabilities are more vulnerable to such practices.
- *Lack of quality education:* Children with disabilities in many public schools receive low-quality education in poor learning environments. They continue to be significantly affected by a lack of teacher training and awareness about inclusive education methodologies and the diversity of disabilities, a dearth of understanding and practical training about children's needs according to their disabilities and an absence of incentives for teachers to instruct children with disabilities.
- *Lack of preparation for life after basic education:* The consequences of a lack of inclusive quality learning are particularly visible when adolescents and young adults with disabilities leave school. While a small number of children with disabilities successfully pass the secondary school certificate, or matric, many stay at home after finishing compulsory education; many lack basic life skills. Their progression into skills-based work, employment or further education is affected by the type and quality of education available in the special schools they attend.

Source: HRW (2015).

Four studies provide significant insights based on primary research into the barriers to effective implementation of inclusive education policies; most other studies also mention these. Lack of resources to support policy implementation recurs repeatedly (Ametepee and Anastasiou, 2015; Grimes et al., 2015; HRW, 2015; Mwangi, 2013; Mukhopadhyay et al., 2012)¹⁹, raising questions as to why governments make policy commitments they are unable to finance and why international financing for education has made so little impact on disabled children's access to education. Grimes et al. (2015) suggest the lack of specific focus in the MDGs on disabled children's education may have deflected attention and resources away from this area; more broadly, Ametepee and Anastasiou comment on the vagueness of international declarations on EFA and inclusive education, which do not 'help developing countries set clear goals for educating learners with disabilities' (p.151)²⁰. Donohue and

¹⁹ Mukhopadhyay et al. (2012) additionally highlights the findings of other studies in Botswana, Ghana and India that emphasise the way lack of resources undermines teachers' capacity to include disabled children effectively.

²⁰ The SDGs, which contain stronger statements on inclusivity, such as highlighted below, may prove more motivating of increased resourcing and commitment: *By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality*

Borman (2014) also highlight vagueness of inclusion policies as a reason for the limited implementation of South Africa's White Paper 6 on Inclusive Education. They argue that 'progress can be made with inclusive policy in South Africa if procedures are clarified, directives are given, and the appropriate authorities assume responsibility and control of its implementation' and that 'Education White Paper 6 ... was a monumental step forward in respect of the rights of people with disabilities in South Africa, but the policy will remain purely symbolic until real initiative and deliberate action are taken' (p.11).

These studies identify three key areas where resourcing has had a significant impact: pre- and in-service training of teachers, classroom support (given large class sizes) and availability of assistive devices. This has affected the extent to which teachers can expect – or are able – to tailor their teaching to different students. For example, Johnstone and Chapman (2009) in Lesotho found that:

'Most instruction of students with disabilities was not undertaken as a part of a coherent approach to teaching based on access and accommodation, but in teachers' spare time. For example, one teacher observed that, "it [teaching learners with special needs] is too much of work, because they need time. If you put them in your class, then on your spare time you take them, you give them their work." Another teacher agreed, saying "[w]e just give them the lessons in the large group. Then during our spare time we take those with disabilities alone in their group."

Kritzer (2011) reports similar findings from China, where the Learning in the Regular Classroom movement since the early 1990s has been intended to enable disabled children's education, while simultaneously costing less than large-scale special education. Citing a study by Deng and Masset (2000), he notes that 'in some "Learning in the Regular Classroom" schools, students with disabilities have been observed sitting alone, isolated from classroom activities, or have even remained at home, despite the fact that their names are on the registration list. This unfortunately common practice has been called "drifting in the regular classroom"' (p.3).

Johnstone and Chapman (2009) also highlight absence of teacher incentives (such as recognition of training and competence) as another key factor undermining Lesotho's inclusive education policy.

In countries where the dominant teaching style is teacher-centred and focuses on a whole class, there are particular challenges in an inclusive education approach that involves tailoring of approaches to the needs of particular students. This is compounded by large class size, and by lack of infrastructure (e.g. sufficient classrooms) (Agbenyega, 2007; Arbeiter and Hartley, 2002; Deng and Harris, 2008; Johnstone and Chapman, 2009).

Where a significant number of teachers trained before inclusive education reforms during a period when a medical model of disability with separate 'special' and 'mainstream' education predominated, reorienting practice towards more inclusive approaches can be challenging

primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes; By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situation; Build and upgrade education facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive and provide safe, non-violent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all. <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/?menu=1300>, accessed 11 December 2015.

(Donohue and Borman, 2014). Ntombela's (2014) study of inclusive practice in three primary schools in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, underlines the importance of effective in-service training; in the schools Ntombela studied, a few teachers had attended inclusive education workshops but learning had not been effective or was often quickly forgotten. Without further support, teachers had struggled to implement new practices, particularly with respect to disabled children.

Many education systems have continued to pursue hybrid approaches involving both a formal commitment to inclusion and provision in special schools. A consistent finding across the studies of teachers' attitudes is that teachers in mainstream schools are generally positive about and feel competent to include learners with physical (especially mobility-related disabilities) but feel unable to support learners with deeper challenges, particularly intellectual disabilities and more profound hearing or visual difficulties. Many teachers interviewed by Johnstone and Chapman (2009), Mwangi (2013) and Ntombela (2011) felt children with disabilities of these types could be better supported outside mainstream classrooms. Children's and parents' perceptions vary, often reflecting the specific institutional context, the nature of service provision and particular children's needs and abilities. For example, some of the disabled children and their parents interviewed by Human Rights Watch (HRW) (2015) in South Africa felt special education would marginalise their children and limit their learning opportunities, while others consider it their only hope for effective education tailored to their needs. Mugo et al. (2010), drawing on evidence from Kenya, suggest boys are more likely to be sent to residential special educational institutions than girls – reflecting fears about adequate protection and in some cases greater reluctance to pay additional costs for girls.

Taken together, the studies suggest anti-discrimination legislation and inclusive policy have had rather limited impacts in terms of enhancing disabled children's access to schooling. In a review undertaken to inform the 2015 EFA Global Monitoring Report, Grimes et al. (2015) conclude that 'whilst there is evidence to indicate that international policies and treaties such as CRC, EFA and CRPD have influenced individual states to develop and implement their own disability legislation and EFA action plans, there is little evidence of educational system reform removing discriminatory barriers to the education of children with disabilities' (p.1).

4.2.5 Mother tongue and bilingual education reforms

Reforms of language of instruction have been undertaken in many countries to enhance enrolment, retention and learning, typically been in contexts where national languages are those of a former colonial power (e.g. Spanish in Latin America, French, English or Portuguese in much of Africa) and are not widely spoken at home. The extent to which these policies are conceived as anti-discriminatory varies: in Latin America, in particular, there is a broad anti-discriminatory thrust to policies of this type, which are part of a broader set of measures to promote substantive equality between indigenous or other marginalised ethnic groups and dominant ethnic groups, which are typically not of indigenous heritage, and are often referred to as 'bilingual intercultural education' (Lopez and Sichra, 2007). Likewise, in some countries (e.g. India), home language instruction in primary schools has been introduced in areas where children speak tribal languages rather than the state language or English (Panda et al., n.d.). In other countries, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, language reforms are often intended to enhance learning among the majority of the population who do not speak the national language at home and do not have access to it through the media, books and other resources available to the children of the elite.

Typically, these programmes involve teaching a designated home language (intended to be the majority home language of the area) for the first few grades, with the national language and/or English taught as subjects, transitioning to instruction in the national language or English in late primary school or secondary school. Specialists in language and educational development increasingly argue for transition programmes to begin after six or more grades of schooling in the home language, when children have had the opportunity to develop a strong grasp of that language (Global Campaign for Education, 2013).

There is a growing body of quantitative evidence indicating the positive impacts on children’s learning of home language instruction. For example, Lopez and Sichra (2007) cite four studies on Mexico and Peru that show increased educational achievement in language and literacy (and ‘other subjects’ [unspecified]) among indigenous children educated in bilingual schooling as compared with Spanish-language schooling, even if they have only three to four years of primarily mother tongue education. They also cite two studies from Bolivia and Guatemala that show significantly higher levels of self-esteem and greater capacity for adaptation and dealing with frustration among indigenous children whose schooling had been bilingual. Some literature reviews also highlight evidence of limited impacts – for example Hynsjo and Damon (2015) cite several studies from Peru that find no significant differences between attainments in bilingual and Spanish-language schools. In the time available for this review, we were able to locate six first-hand studies and also draw on evidence from other initiatives summarised in reviews. Table 3 summarises the findings from primary studies. These show mixed but overall positive results from mother tongue education in the early grades of primary school.

Table 3: Summary findings – primary studies on bilingual or home language education

Study and location	Findings
Hynsjo (2014) Peru	Indigenous children who attend schools whose teachers are trained in intercultural bilingual teaching achieve 0.73 standard deviations higher scores in mathematics and 0.35 standard deviations higher scores in language, compared with indigenous children who attend Spanish-medium schools or intercultural bilingual (EIB) schools where teacher are not trained in EIB teaching.
Damon and Hynsjo (2015) Peru	Indigenous children who attend Quechua-medium schools achieve mathematics scores 0.54 standard deviations higher than indigenous children who attend Spanish-medium schools. There is weak and inconclusive evidence that indigenous children who attend Quechua-medium schools attain higher language test scores and no evidence these effects are caused by quantitative or language achievement prior to entering school.
Hovens (2012) Guinea Bissau and Niger	Test results in Niger demonstrated that pupils who started in their mother tongues could read and write better even in the second language. Observations in both countries indicated that bilingual classrooms were more stimulating, interactive and relaxed. However, there was no discernable impact on maths scores in Guinea Bissau. Rural children and girls gained the most from participating in bilingual programmes in both countries. The language of testing made a major difference to results with children typically performing better in their home language.
Benson (2001) Mozambique	Using data from two provinces, Benson found the percentage of female bilingual students who remained in school through Class 4 was 11% higher than for bilingual boys, and 39% higher than the national average for girls. In Tete province, bilingual girls scored better on tests than bilingually educated boys or children in non-bilingual schools of either gender, though boys outperformed girls in some subjects.
Panda et al. (n.d.) Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, India	In both states, children in multilingual schools scored better on all areas tested (language, maths, environmental studies). In multilingual schools, teaching and learning materials were used more frequently (they were often locked away in the comparison schools), possibly reflecting the additional training given to teachers to implement multilingual education.
Cuadra et al. (2008) Orissa, India	Overall in Orissa, multilingual education had a positive effect on enrolment rates, has led to decreased dropout rates and has raised community awareness of and participation in education. However, absenteeism (particularly of girls) has

	continued to be a major problem, with children missing over a third of teaching days in some schools because of farm and domestic work commitments.
Lee et al. (2015), Kreung and Tampeun ethnic minority children in Cambodia	Students in bilingual schools performed better in mathematics than their peers in the monolingual schools, but the differences in Khmer literacy and oral Khmer test scores were statistically insignificant.

Bilingual or home language education is controversial, with some parents fearing children will not adequately learn the languages that give them access to commerce and political voice. However, the studies examined do not bear this out, as by the end of primary school children who have attended bilingual education programmes typically perform as well or better on core assessment measures (so long as tests are in a language in which children have developed competence over the period of their education) as compared with those whose education has entirely been in the national language (Heugh et al., 2010, in Heugh, 2011). A few studies (e.g. Benson, 2001; Hovens, 2002) suggest home language education has a greater positive impact on girls than boys, as girls are in many cultures less exposed to the outside world and have fewer opportunities to acquire national languages. However, Smits et al.'s (2009) comparative quantitative study of 26 developing countries found that overall there were not significant gender differences in impact and boys and girls benefit equally from mother tongue education.

Several studies emphasise the importance of an adequate supply of learning materials (Contreras and Simoni, 2003; Cuadra et al., 2008) and of effective, ongoing in-service training of teachers in their use and in bilingual/mother tongue education more broadly. Issues of cost-effectiveness are not much reported. However, World Bank research in Guatemala and Mali (cited in Global Campaign for Education, 2013) found overall bilingual education was actually more cost-effective than national language instruction, once the costs of repetition and dropout were taken into account. Introducing mother tongue-based bilingual schooling created savings of \$5.6 million a year through reducing dropout and repetition, despite higher initial costs for introducing new materials and teacher training. In Mali, although French-only education cost 8% less than multilingual education, the total cost of educating a student through the six-year primary cycle in French actually was 27% higher because of high repetition and dropout rates. The Global Campaign for Education highlights ways of reducing the costs of developing materials in home languages, such as the use of shellbooks that can be printed out in the desired language.

Overall, these studies indicate that mother tongue education in the early grades of school with transition to national languages as media of instruction as appropriate can have a positive impact on children's learning (and often particularly benefit discriminated against ethnic and linguistic groups). The studies were mostly conducted in linguistically homogenous areas where there is a clear home language spoken by all or the majority of children. This review found limited assessment in areas where home languages are mixed. Nor does the literature on bilingual education and disadvantaged children's learning outcomes discuss issues of inequality related to elite children being educated in a national or international language.

4.2.6 Focused programmes to support pastoralist children's access to education.

As children of groups who are disproportionately likely to live in remote rural areas, to be working (caring for family herds or performing other essential livelihood activities) and often

to be members of ethnic minorities, pastoralist children often benefit from broader reforms that increase the accessibility and flexibility of education and enhance learning opportunities through language-of-education reforms. However, even where reforms or alternative basic education programmes are geographically targeted, the impact on pastoralist children has rarely been specifically assessed.

As a result, our review found limited rigorous evidence examining the impact of programmes to support pastoralist children's access to and attainment in education. The evidence that exists relates mostly to small-scale alternative basic education programmes, and evaluations have been limited. This is in part because, even where state-funded and state-implemented, the main metric is numbers of children progressing into formal or 'standardised' schooling, and data on children's progress and attainment are often limited. The relatively small body of rigorous evaluation also reflects ongoing stigma and discrimination against pastoralism as a way of life – a legacy of development strategies that aimed to sedentarise and 'modernise' pastoralists communities – which often intersects with prejudice and discrimination against particular ethnic groups and means effective programmes to reach children in these groups have not been prioritised. For example, Dyer (2015) observes that in India greater attention has been paid to education for the children of seasonal labour migrants than for mobile pastoralist children.

Several reviews (e.g. Dyer, 2015; Krätli and Dyer, 2009) summarise the impacts of mostly pilot or short-lived initiatives in encouraging greater access to relevant and good-quality education for pastoralist children. These reviews typically find pastoralist families are interested in good-quality and relevant school education, so long as it does not require families to abandon one of the few viable livelihood sources in dryland areas (pastoral production) and children continue to acquire the practical skills of animal husbandry they will need if they are not able to use education as a route to employment. Typically, flexible schooling meets the needs of semi-mobile pastoralists rather than extremely mobile households (Dyer, 2015).

Carr-Hill et al. (2005), Downie (2011), Dyer (2015) and Krätli and Dyer (2009) emphasise the importance of flexibility in school timing, locations and relevant curricula. To date, these attributes have been more common in non-formal (and often not state-provided) education than in the formal education system, though there are recent examples from Ethiopia, India, Uganda and other places of state-led programmes or state-NGO collaborations. For example, the Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja programme in Uganda, a state-NGO collaboration, is a much-cited model of primary education that is relevant to pastoralist children, and has high rates of progression to formal secondary education. However, pressures on children's time mean attendance rates are typically around 70%; the quality is also variable, with some problems of undertrained facilitators (UNICEF, 2009a).

Reviews such as Dyer (2015) highlight the potential of open and distance learning. However, Dyer concludes that 'despite [its] unrivalled capacity [...] to provide the elusive fit between mobile livelihood and formalised education provision, it has yet to be trialled for children and at scale. Until this has been done, providers will be put off by high start-up costs²¹ which are incurred before it can move to an economy of scale.' (p26)

²¹ These may include for the costs of training teachers to be able to support open and distance learning, a very different model to that of classroom-based education.

4.2.7 Other discriminated-against groups

Our review did not locate cohesive bodies of studies examining the impact of initiatives to reduce discrimination against other groups of children within the education system or to promote their attendance. We were surprised not to find any individual studies examining the impact of initiatives to reduce discrimination against migrant, internally displaced or refugee children, or children affected by HIV/AIDS. This may reflect the fact that these initiatives are primarily small-scale, short-lived and project-based and so are not included in the review²².

Some reviews, such as Shanker et al. (2015), touch on approaches to promote refugee and displaced children's education, such as enrolment campaigns and provision of some financial support and extra classes for Syrian refugee children in Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon. Kirk (2009) highlights the importance of alternative or temporary schooling for displaced children dovetailing with mainstream education systems (a broader point widely recognised in relation to non-formal education). However, we found no consolidated reviews or high-quality impact studies related to promoting education for this group of children.

4.3 Affirmative action in higher education

Affirmative action in higher education typically involves setting quotas for disadvantaged social groups, reducing entry requirements for certain underrepresented groups, providing access courses to boost representation and, in some contexts, providing financial support to disadvantaged groups. After a period where primary education dominated international policy thinking on enhancing access to education in low-income countries, the strategic developmental importance of higher education and its role in multidimensional poverty reduction is now recognised. So too are the individual economic returns to education, which are higher for tertiary than for other levels of schooling (Montenegro and Patrinos, 2014). Beyond the economic returns are the social returns for individuals, which may be particularly meaningful for people from discriminated against groups – the opportunity to 'be someone', 'make something of one's life', 'not just be seen as a disabled [person] but as a professional' (Morley and Croft, 2011; Morley et al., 2010), where labour market opportunities exist. This section is organised by type of inequality that affirmative action policies are inclined to address.

4.3.1 Caste

India's affirmative action policies to redress caste-based inequalities in higher education have attracted the greatest volume of analysis of all the educational policies and initiatives examined. This reflects the longevity of the policies (they were implemented after independence for SCs/STs, harmonised across India's states in 1976 (Cassan, 2015a) and extended in the 1990s to include 'other backward castes'). The details of reservations vary from state to state, depending on its demographic make-up (Bertrand et al., 2008). It also reflects availability of quantitative data derived from college records and from the National Sample Survey (NSS). These policies have been controversial – among those who consider

²² For example, we did not include a study of a randomised controlled trial of open, distance and flexible learning for children affected by HIV/AIDS, which included in-school support aimed at reducing the discrimination they faced, as it was a small-scale project with approximately 1,500 beneficiaries in Malawi and a similar number in Lesotho (Jere, 2012; Nyabanyaba, 2010).

them a weak measure that provides little redress for the structural disadvantages that marginalised castes face, those who consider them to disproportionately benefit better-off members of disadvantaged castes²³ and those who feel they discriminate against other economically disadvantaged groups whose access to higher education is no greater than that of SC members (Still, 2013).

Most studies find positive effects for SCs and STs. Bertrand et al. (2008), studying engineering colleges, find that reservations for disadvantaged castes²⁴ are well targeted and contribute to improved performance among these groups. Bagde, Epple and Taylor (2012)'s study of a sub-sample of engineering colleges in a particular Indian state also found reservations had a significant and substantial positive effect, on both college attendance and first-year academic achievement. Desai and Kulkarni (2008) suggest the effects are different for STs than for SCs, and the former are more able to achieve parity in college graduation with upper-caste Hindus and others, possibly because their deprivation is more economically rooted and less related to discrimination.

Bertrand et al. (2008) also find a strong positive economic return to admission for lower-caste groups, though they are less likely ultimately to work in advanced technical occupations than their higher-caste peers. This suggests that – in this context – reservations may be playing a role in reducing poverty, particularly as – contrary to a common line of argument – it is not only the economically best-off sections of disadvantaged castes who are accessing higher education as a result of these reservations (as also demonstrated by Thorat et al., 2016). This may be in part because better-off members of disadvantaged castes perceive applying to higher education under admissions quotas as stigmatising (Gille, 2012). However, in a later paper, Bertrand et al (2010) find women may lose out as disproportionately. While women comprise 23% of people displaced by the reservation policy, they comprise only 16% of the 'displacers', an unexpected effect that works counter to efforts to get more girls and women studying and working in STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) areas.

However, Frisncho Robles and Krishna's (2012) study of an engineering college suggests reservations lead to students taking subjects for which they are not necessarily best qualified: as a result, students from discriminated-against castes admitted under reservation policies fail to catch up with their peers who have been admitted through open competition and end up earning less than they would have if they had picked less selective major courses of study. Desai and Kulkarni (2008) find mild deterioration in college graduation rates for SCs, casting doubt on the effectiveness of affirmative action policies that facilitate admission but provide little other support for targeted groups. Kochar (2009), also examining data for a prestigious engineering college in Maharashtra, likewise concludes that

'A weakening of the affirmative action policies which place reserved category students in colleges that they are ill-qualified for would improve outcomes for students of all castes. This is because all students are hurt by the variance in ability within a program that the current system generates. Students at both ends of the academic distribution are also hurt by the reduction in mean student ability; even weak students would do

²³ This group is known as the 'creamy layer' in debates on affirmative action in India.

²⁴ In the colleges they studied, 7.5% of places were reserved for STs and 15% for SCs.

better if they were placed in classes where the difference between their ability and the classroom mean were not so large.’ (p27)

She also argues that a more effective way to address educational inequalities would be to focus on earlier levels of schooling since considerably fewer SC and ST students complete secondary school as compared with upper castes²⁵.

Also emphasising the role of broader structural inequalities in limiting both Dalits’ educational achievement and subsequent opportunities, Jeffrey et al. (2004) highlight the disconnect between Dalit men’s aspirations and the education level they are able to achieve (in part as a result of attending relatively poor-quality government schools and missing out, because of corruption, on the scholarships they were due). This, in turn, limits the possibilities available to them in labour markets, where they lack the social connections and ability to bribe to secure government jobs, and where better private sector jobs are often not available because they have lesser competence in English and other skills; many have been forced to return to manual labour in their villages, showing education can be a route to social mobility only if it is accompanied by greater structural change.

Bertrand et al. (2008) find no quantitative evidence that being displaced as a result of affirmative action leads to more negative attitudes towards affirmative action or to lower castes, and some weak evidence that being admitted to higher education under a reservation policy leads to more positive attitudes towards affirmative action. However, caution is needed, as there is a vociferous debate on the effectiveness and justice of affirmative action policies and some qualitative evidence that affirmative action policies are perceived as unfairly advantaging the economically better-off members of disadvantaged castes (Still, 2013).

Another set of studies considers the combined effects of reservations in higher education and policies promoting universal primary and secondary schooling and in labour markets on overall education levels among disadvantaged castes. Using a nationally representative dataset (the National Sample Survey), Desai and Kulkarni (2008) show that educational inequalities have declined over time for SCs and STs (who benefit from reservations), but not for Muslims, who are educationally disadvantaged but do not benefit from the current reservation policy (Khanna, 2015). Khanna finds the effects of affirmative action are greater in states with higher ‘intensity’ of reservations, and the bulk of the impact does not accrue to the economic elite within disadvantaged castes (the ‘creamy layer’). Overall, Khanna (2015) suggests reservations in higher education and in the labour market have led to an increase of about 2.2 to 3 years of high school education for students in SCs, which can mean transitioning between levels of education (primary to secondary school, secondary school to college).

Desai and Kulkarni (2008) and Heyer and Jalal (2009) support these findings, arguing that employment reservations incentivise investments in education. Cassan’s (2015a, 2015b) analysis finds a less strong effect – that affirmative action leads to an average of 0.3 years additional participation in education. Furthermore, Cassan (2011) argues that these accrue almost entirely to boys and men, and that these policies have had no effect on increasing

²⁵ For example, in urban Maharashtra, the state of focus in Kochar’s (2009) study, data from the 2004 National Sample Survey reveal that only 27% of SC and ST students aged 18–25 completed higher secondary school (Grade 12) compared with 43% from the upper castes.

enrolment or attainment among girls. He also finds the benefits accrue mainly to people in urban areas and in secondary schooling (ibid.).

Khanna (2015) warns that reservations may disincentivise education as well. Different government jobs have different educational requirements. For jobs that require only primary schooling, a student may be encouraged to drop out as soon as they finish primary rather than continuing (ibid.). This is consistent with findings from Brazil, which suggest affirmative action is associated with lower human capital development among targeted groups (Assuncao and Ferman, 2013, in Khanna, 2015), though other studies do not find this effect in Brazil (Francis and Tannuri-Pianto, 2012).

4.3.2 Race or ethnicity

Our review found evidence of the impact of race- or ethnicity-based affirmative action policies in higher education in Brazil (one primary and one secondary study), Malaysia (four studies), Vietnam (one study) and South Africa (three studies).

Malaysia

Affirmative action policies in Malaysia, intended to reduce poverty among and enhance the position of people of Bumiputera descent (i.e. ethnic Malay or indigenous), have focused on both higher and school-level education. Affirmative action in Malaysia's higher education sector has involved expansion of educational facilities, quotas and reservations in state institutions, and the development of some Malay-only institutions.

Overall, these policies have successfully raised the proportion of students of Bumiputera descent at public universities (from 40% in 1970 to 62% in 1988 and from 62% to 69% over the 2000s (Rao, 2009)²⁶. However, there is some evidence that benefits have accrued disproportionately to better-off Bumiputera (Lee, 2012, Rao, 2009), despite some focusing of efforts on expanding higher education provision in 'rural and underprivileged areas', and that, as beneficiaries of affirmative action, Bumiputera are disproportionately concentrated in public universities (Lee, 2012).

There is, however, some evidence that graduates of public universities are often less employable than those in private universities and end up in lower-paid jobs as a result (Lee, 2010). This reflects an absence of soft skills, which are in demand by employers, among graduates of this group, a disproportionate concentration of Malay students in Malay-language institutions with potentially fewer opportunities to acquire English language skills and an underrepresentation in scientific and technical fields of study (Lee, 2012). To address this, the Malaysian government opened residential science schools to equip Malay students for entry into technical courses at colleges and universities (Rao, 2009). In the early 2000s, responding to Chinese and Indian disillusionment with affirmative action policies that were perceived as unfair, quotas for non-Bumiputera students were introduced at these institutions (Lee, 2012)²⁷. In the 1990s and 2000s, private higher education facilities expanded enormously and disproportionately draw from the Chinese and Indian minorities, who had previously studied abroad, undertaken non-degree tertiary education or not continued in education after secondary school (ibid.). The increase in Malay enrolment in private higher

²⁶ These percentages are rounded up from those in Rao's paper.

²⁷ The papers reviewed do not discuss the motivation for this change, but it may reflect political considerations.

education over time has not led to a more ethnically integrated higher education sector – ethnic enclaves have continued to persist – for example, in 1999, in private higher education institutions, the Malay and non-Malay student breakdown was 16.3% and 83.7%, respectively (Lee, 2005).

Together with measures to increase the share of assets owned by Bumiputera, and broader growth promotion and poverty reduction measures, affirmative action in higher education has been part of a package contributing to a considerable reduction in poverty, such that poverty is now not as racialised as it was in the 1960s. For example, poverty levels are disproportionately high among the rural Indian population as well as Orang Asli (indigenous people) (Lee, 2005) and rural Malays. This – plus the perceived denial of opportunities to non-Malay students – has led to calls for affirmative action to focus on poorer students rather than specific ethnic groups (Rao, 2009). When quotas have been relaxed or removed, other ethnic groups' take-up of places formerly reserved for Malay students has been limited (Lee, 2005). This has possibly reflected financial barriers to take-up and the different secondary education systems primarily attended by Malay and ethnic minority students, respectively (Lee, 2012).

Vietnam

Vietnam has also implemented measures to promote ethnic minorities' access to higher education. There are one-year pre-university courses for ethnic minorities who almost qualify for university education to enable them to participate in a full course of study. The law provides for up to 100 ethnic minority students per province, who have lived in areas designated as 'extremely difficult' and who have passed upper-secondary school leaving examinations, to be nominated to proceed to higher education, rather than entering via competitive examination. Since 1995, ethnic minority students have been able to study alongside Kinh students at university. A number of universities run separate classes for ethnic minority students, though it is less clear whether these measures promote extension of opportunity or undermine social integration. Bui (2006) in Nguyen and Baulch (2007) report that the number of ethnic minority students nominated to colleges and university tripled from 689 in 1998 to 1,709 in 2005, which is likely to reflect an intensification of policy aimed at boosting ethnic minorities' educational and developmental opportunities.

Brazil

Evidence from an affirmative action programme at the University of Brasilia found racial quotas helped promote equity for Afro-Brazilian groups and students who gained access in this way were from lower socioeconomic groups than those they displaced (Francis and Tannuri-Pianto, 2012). Approximately 71% and 27% of the displacing students were racially mixed or black, compared with 31% and 2%, respectively, of the displaced students. About 95% of the displacing students identified themselves as black compared with 16% of the displaced; 40% of displacing and 19% of displaced applicants were from lower-income families; 8.5% of displacing and 31% of displaced applicants were from higher-income families (Clifford et al., 2013).

South Africa

Unlike Brazil, India and Malaysia, South Africa has not instituted formal racial or gender targets or quotas in schools and universities (Lee, 2010). Instead, post-apartheid policy pursued twofold objectives of increasing black presence in historically white institutions and

narrowing the perceived, real or reputed quality gap between historically white and black institutions. One key approach to increasing black presence in white institutions was to remove racial restrictions on student applications. This led to a growing proportion of black students enrolling in historically white institutions: in 1993, 49% of black students were in historically black institutions and 13% in historically white institutions; by 1999, the respective percentages were 33% and 39%, with the remainder in distance learning (Lee, 2010). However, although post-apartheid policies have led to a dramatic increase in higher education access for black students and women, the overall participation rate has decreased. Access is still possible only for a small elite: the participation rate for Africans, for example, increased from 9% in 1993 to 13% in 2000 (Cloete, 2002) and graduation rates remain below those of other racial groups (Lee, 2010). Furthermore, access of black students has not improved significantly in the high-status and high-skill areas such as the sciences and engineering, or in postgraduate programmes (ibid.).

Despite a picture of limited progress in aggregate, case studies of individual universities show a greater degree of change. Khan et al.'s (2013) study of changing racial and gender composition of students in a medical school in Durban, South Africa, finds that, since the end of apartheid and the outlawing of racial or gender discrimination in admission, the number of black African and female medical students has increased considerably, particularly in historically white institutions. Other initiatives include the development of community education sites and the introduction of a graduate entry medical programme at one university, which admits those who have successfully completed an undergraduate degree, thus offering students who may not have been eligible straight after school (likely to be disproportionately black students, whose high school graduation rates are lower) an alternative entry route to medical training. Downs' (2010) study of the impact of a science and English language foundation year at the University of KwaZulu-Natal finds that this initially contributed to increasing the numbers of black science graduates, even though students on the foundation course left school with poor matriculation scores. Alumni of both this programme and that at the University of the North completed their degrees in less time than students who had entered through the mainstream route. Downs argues such programmes serve both to allow historically disadvantaged students to meet their potential and as a filtering mechanism for individuals not suited to degree-level study.

Some financial support has been made available to economically disadvantaged students (Cloete, 2002; Lee, 2010) – this has been the main way of achieving educational redress, rather than quotas. We were not able to locate any studies that directly assessed the impact of this financial support on equalising participation rates or improving black students' outcomes.

4.3.3 Gender

Outside India, where affirmative action policies in higher education have focused primarily on caste, and Malaysia's experience with race-based affirmative action, the most concerted analysis focuses on policies to boost women's participation in higher education in general. Analysis focuses particularly on encouraging women to study STEM subjects, where gender disparities are greater and potential returns are often highest. The three studies we located of affirmative action to boost women's participation in higher education all examine policies and approaches in Anglophone Africa: Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Responding to a

situation where women make up less than half of university entrants and in many countries less than a third (Griffin, 2007, in Bunyi, 2008), universities have typically sought to promote greater participation of women across the board by lowering entry requirements by one or more grade points (Onsongo, 2009) and/or by providing access courses, particularly in STEM subjects.

Lowering entry requirements has been the most common policy: Bunyi's (2008) study of affirmative action for women in African higher education finds such measures have been applied in at least six countries. In some, these appear to be university policies; in others (e.g. Uganda), there is a constitutional basis for such provisions. These lower entry requirements appear to have increased women's enrolment. For example, in Kenya, an estimated 300 additional female students per year enrol in public universities as a result of lower entry requirements from women. Following Uganda's Makerere University awarding female students a 1.5 points bonus on entrance exam results, the share of female students increased from 23.9% in 1989/90 to 45.8% in 2003/04 (Onsongo, 2009). A similar programme at the University of Dar es Salaam led to the proportion of female students increasing from 15% to 27% (*ibid.*)²⁸.

Lower entry requirements for women have been criticised on several grounds: they do not directly help the most marginalised and poorest women into higher education; they do not necessarily lead to any more women studying STEM subjects (Bunyi, 2008); and they reinforce stereotypes of women's lesser intelligence or capacity (Bunyi, 2008; Morley et al., 2011).

A 2004 review of students accessing Makerere University's affirmative action scheme for women (1.5 point lower entry requirements) reveals approximately 90% of beneficiaries come from more privileged families, most of whom would have accessed university education without the scheme. As a result, the university introduced 25 scholarships for women from rural areas to study STEM subjects (Onsongo, 2009); beyond Onsongo's comment that this is too small a number to have a significant impact on poor women's access, no evaluations of the impact of the scholarship scheme in supporting poor women's access could be found for this review.

Some universities have sought to counter differentials in women's participation in STEM-based courses of study by modifying entry requirements or giving preferential admission to female students (e.g. Gulu University in Uganda awards female applicants for science, maths and technology degree programmes 2 points instead of the national 1.5 (Okwakol et al., 2005, in Bunyi, 2008). At the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Ghana, in 2007/08, all qualified female applicants were offered admission into the Bachelor of Science Mechanical programme (Effah et al., 2008, in Bunyi, 2008)).

Others have provided remedial/access courses to address lower levels of qualifications among girl school leavers. Bunyi (2008) cites evidence that the University of Dar es Salaam's free six-week remedial course in science and mathematics for borderline female candidates, instituted in 1997, led to 214 female students entering highly competitive STEM-based courses such as engineering, medicine and architecture, and has been replicated in Tanzania's Sokoine University of Agriculture. The proportion of female students starting engineering courses at the University of Dar es Salaam rose from 7% in 2003/04 to 18% in 2004/05 and 21.2% in 2005/06 (Gender Centre, 2008, in Onsongo, 2009) as a result. However, a similar

²⁸ The timeframe for this comparison is not given – it is merely reported as 'before' and 'after' affirmative action.

programme at Kigali Institute of Science and Technology in Rwanda became too controversial and had to be abandoned after only one intake (Huggins and Randall, 2007, in Bunyi, 2008).

The studies examined typically did not consistently explore differences between public and private universities in their commitments to affirmative action, though gender differentials in enrolment rates are often lower at private universities. Bunyi (2008) suggests three possible reasons for this: many private universities are run by religious bodies, and are perceived as offering better protection and moral guidance to young women; many offer primarily arts-based courses, which disproportionately attract women; and they are attended primarily by elite students from families with sufficient resources to finance higher education for all their children and thus are not rationing resources on gendered grounds.

Such evidence as is available suggests outreach and access courses have been successful in boosting women's enrolment and graduation rate on STEM courses. For example, Sokoine University in Tanzania has implemented an outreach programme where female academics visit upper-secondary schools and encourage girls to enrol for the forestry degree course. As a result, the percentage of female Bachelor of Science Forestry students increased from 3.3% (1987–1992) to 10.9% (1993–1996) (Abeli et al., 2005, in Bunyi, 2008).

The literature reviewed provides limited insights into the impact of affirmative action on women's learning outcomes and degree pass rates, making it impossible to confirm or refute the common view that students admitted through affirmative action perform less well than those admitted on merit alone. Data from the University of Dar es Salaam (Onsongo, 2009) indicate that participants in short remedial science courses went on to form over 50% of the top 20 biology and chemistry students in 2000/01. More data from a wider range of universities and subjects and a longer time period are needed to fully assess the impact of short access courses. Comparison of educational outcomes between students admitted on merit alone and those benefiting from reduced test score admission policies are also needed to build a clearer picture of the impact of affirmative action on women's tertiary education outcomes.

4.3.4 Disability

We located only two studies²⁹ that examined issues of disabled students' access to higher education in a low- or middle-income context (Morley et al.'s 2011 study of widening participation in Ghana and Tanzania and Kaguhangire-Barifaijo and Karyeija's 2012 study of affirmative action for disabled students in Uganda). As Section 4.2.4 discussed, disabled students often face substantial barriers to completing primary or secondary education. Indeed, as Morley and Croft (2011) put it,

'Being disabled at least doubles the chance of having never attended school [...]. Those who do start school are at increased risk of "dropping out" before completing basic education [...]. Exclusion from basic education means that there has been a small pool of disabled students qualified to enter HE [higher education]. Additionally, access for disabled students to HE or particular programmes can be formally blocked [...] or informally advised against [...]' (p.384).

²⁹ A number of papers by different authors were produced under the auspices of Morley et al.'s study.

This is particularly the case for female students with disabilities: Mwaipopo et al. (2011) present data from Tanzania that show a substantial drop-off in disabled students' participation after Form 4 (i.e. not completing the final two years of secondary education that are essential for access to higher education), with particularly marked drop-off among girls³⁰. Morley et al.'s study, and in particular papers by Mwaipopo et al. (2011) and Morley and Croft (2011), indicates the absence of formal policies for promoting or supporting disabled students' access to higher education. They indicate individual universities making some adjustments (e.g. in terms of locating physically disabled students' accommodation on the ground floor) and the importance of informal social support from peers. None of the universities in their study had instituted attitude change campaigns and as a result some disabled students were undermined by negative attitudes on the part of staff or other students. However, others reported that their academic success had also helped change attitudes.

In 2005, the Ugandan government reserved 64 slots for disabled students among the 4,000 students supported annually with public funding (0.64% of the total number of supported students) (Kaguhangire-Barifaijo and Karyeiija, 2012). Disabled students are admitted with the minimum requirement, while having to study with other students with considerably higher grades. Furthermore, they are often placed where they are perceived to be able to cope but not necessarily where they fit and on courses they find interesting. Thus, the impact on disabled students' higher education opportunities remains limited.

4.4 Conclusions and gaps

4.4.1 Main insights: Affirmative action in education

The extent and nature of affirmative action in education varies considerably by level of education, context and social group. At primary and secondary level, there is evidence that affirmative action policies have been successful in increasing participation and learning among targeted groups. The evidence base is strongest for girls, partial for speakers of non-dominant/non-national languages and most limited for disabled children. There is a notable gap in large-scale evidence on refugee and displaced children, children affected by HIV/AIDS and other smaller discriminated-against social groups. There is also some evidence from India that, in combination with measures to promote SC/ST political representation and access to labour markets, a package of measures to promote marginalised children's access to education has had positive impacts on these groups. Qualitative evidence does, however, suggest gains in access have not necessarily been matched with a shift to a less discriminatory school experience, and this continues to be off-putting for many children (Kamat and Sedwal, 2008; Sayed et al., 2007).

It is also clear that effective affirmative action approaches vary considerably by social group. On the one hand, broad measures to enhance access to and quality of education have an important part to play in increasing marginalised groups' educational opportunities. On the other hand, the measures that specifically enhance each group's opportunities differ based

³⁰ In 2010, there were 880 disabled students in Form 4 in Tanzanian secondary schools, 41% girls and 59% boys. In Form 5, this decreases to five girls and 17 boys; in Form 6, it is nine girls and 27 boys. Girls thus compose around a quarter of the very small number of disabled students in upper-secondary education (Mwaipopo et al, 2011).

on the specific factors that undermine their educational opportunities. For example, inclusive education for speakers of non-dominant languages demands curriculum change; effective inclusion for disabled children requires a combination of additional resourcing, changing pedagogical approach and, in some case, assistive devices. For all groups, it is likely training in inclusive attitudes and practices, as well as more specific tailored training, is necessary, though our review found few evaluations examining the impact of such approaches.

In higher education, the evidence reviewed suggests quotas and preferential entry mechanisms can increase marginalised groups' enrolment, but there are risks related to perceptions that beneficiary groups or individual beneficiaries are not competent and are there only because of preferential treatment. Catch-up courses, such as the science courses for women implemented in various African universities, are potentially positive ways to combat this, though more evidence on their impact is needed. The qualitative evidence reviewed also suggests concerted work to change discriminatory attitudes and practices may be necessary, but we found no studies of examples of this taking place, so cannot recommend this on the basis of evaluated evidence. Finally, a theme persistently emerging from many of the higher education studies was a concern that affirmative action was helping redress group-based inequalities, but that economic inequalities continue to limit poorer students' access. The importance of more extensive economic support for disadvantaged students emerges in many of the studies we reviewed (e.g. Morley et al., 2011; Onsongo, 2009).

Studies on the limitations of affirmative action in higher education also point to the importance of more extensive and sustained action to equalise educational opportunities during children's school years (Bunyi, 2008). Patterns of educational achievement that reflect multiple forms of discrimination over a child's lifetime cannot be fixed even by relatively large quotas (as in the case of SCs in India), and in most countries reserved places or quotas are much smaller. As suggested in the preceding paragraphs, achieving this is likely to require continued sustained investment in the quality and physical and financial accessibility of education as well as measures that enhance the learning opportunities of specific marginalised groups.

4.4.2 Gaps

Overall, with a few exceptions, such as Mwansa (2011), very few studies discuss the politics of the apparent disconnect between generally anti-discriminatory and inclusive laws and policies, and the limited implementation of these laws. A few studies point to resource constraints, but there is little exploration of why some policies (e.g. inclusive education) have been so seriously under-resourced, nor of the political economy surrounding the passing of laws and policies that are subsequently given little attention. Likewise, this set of studies does not generate significant insights into resistance to or subversion of laws and policies perceived to be controversial, including corrupt application of quotas. This said, there are exceptions, such as Mwansa's study of the political economy of Zambia's re-entry policy for schoolgirl mothers and Sayed et al.'s (2007) study of inclusion in South African and Indian schools. More scattered insights exist on inclusive education for disabled children and on mother tongue/bilingual schooling.

A notable gap is discussion of civil society as a driver of change. This is surprising as civil society has been an active advocate of enhancing learning opportunities for discriminated-against groups.

This set of studies also reveals little on the long-term effects of increased access to school education on the economic well-being of members of marginalised groups. In part, this is because affirmative action policies have often not been in place long enough for a cohort of children to have reached adulthood. Of course, the well-established studies of returns to secondary and tertiary education (e.g. Montenegro and Patrinos, 2014) suggest that, overall, enhancing discriminated-against groups' access to education and learning opportunities is likely to have positive effects on their future economic well-being, so long as labour market barriers are dismantled simultaneously. Some of the India and Malaysia studies examined in this review do discuss the relationship between affirmative action in higher education and future labour market success; we turn to insights from these studies in Section 5.

Finally, this set of studies provides few insights into the relative effectiveness for marginalised groups of broader educational development policies, which expand accessibility and improve quality as compared with targeted measures, and the contexts in which these two different approaches can make the greatest contribution. Relatedly, we found surprisingly little evidence concerning the impact of complementary or alternative basic education programmes on discriminated groups other than girls. It is unclear whether this reflects the search strategies employed or whether evaluations are not generating findings of relevance to this review. Some further probing of the impact of such programmes on marginalised groups would be useful.

5. Labour markets

5.1 Introduction

Discrimination in labour markets can be described as a situation of unequal treatment of workers based on non-economic group characteristics, such as race, gender or caste (Thorat, 2007), and includes both measures to stop discriminatory action and remedial measures towards more equitable practices. In this section, we consider a diverse series of policy measures and outline the evidence available on their impact and implementation. The two fundamental ILO Conventions in this areas are the fourth and fifth most ratified among ILO member states: the Equal Remuneration Convention (No. 100) has been ratified by 168 of 183 member states and the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention (No. 111) by 169 (ILO, 2011). ILO believes there continue to be positive advances in anti-discrimination legislation and policies, particularly in passing new legislation around prohibiting discrimination based on age and disability (ibid.).

The section is structured as follows: Section 5.2 considers affirmative action policies, which aim to increase the inclusion of people with disabilities in the labour market, through quotas, supportive work environments and attitude change. Section 5.3 looks at affirmative action targeted at racial and ethnic groups. The majority of the available literature concerns South Africa and India, so we consider these examples in depth, with a briefer look at Malaysia's successful policy. We then focus on active labour market policies: Section 5.4 looks at training programmes targeted at disadvantaged youth in Latin America; Section 5.5 at training for adolescent girls; and Section 5.6 at training for people with disabilities. All of these policies aim to improve labour market outcomes by building skills relevant to the local labour market and support to enter the workplace. Finally, Section 5.7 looks at the impact of public works and employment guarantee schemes on excluded groups, with a focus on India and Ethiopia.

The evidence located for this section of the review is a very disparate and fragmented: despite an increasing volume of anti-discrimination legislation we found very limited evidence of the impact of legislative change. The data in this area are ‘skant and sketchy’, and capacity constraints in implementation and monitoring are a serious concern (ILO, 2011). The most consistently good-quality body of evidence is on the impact of youth training schemes, reflecting a number of randomised control trials (RCTs) conducted in the 1990s, and large-scale government projects such as the Adolescent Girls Initiative in Liberia, Nepal, Haiti, Jordan and Rwanda (Adoho et al., 2014; Chakravarty et al., 2015b; Groh et al., 2012; Rodella et al., 2015; World Bank, 2013a). In other policy areas, we found the literature was concentrated in particular countries and that authors were mainly reliant on national data that were not collected specifically to examine the impact of affirmative action policies. This thus presents a limited picture of impact and is focused on the changing nature of the workforce, rather than poverty outcomes or broader changes in experiences or perceptions of discrimination.

This section does not include social protection or social insurance policies, which are beyond the scope of this review. A number of key thematic gaps in the literature have been located, particularly around the influence of trade unions and the impact of test cases and enforcement of anti-discrimination and affirmative action provisions through the courts. We also did not locate any substantial evidence on activities designed to improve employer attitudes towards excluded groups. There is also a lack of literature around the intersection of different identities, with no evidence of specific policies targeting disabled women for example. We also do not include studies dealing with the protection of vulnerable workers, such as child labourers or those trapped in bonded labour. The papers located on these issues were primarily descriptive, giving an overview of the current situation rather than considering the formation of policy and implementation of measures to improve well-being.

Table 4 provides an overview of the laws, policies, programmes and studies discussed in this section.

Table 4: Overview of laws, policies and programmes and studies on labour markets

Type of intervention	Policies and programmes discussed	Studies examined
Affirmative action	Employment equity and black economic empowerment in South Africa	Impact on employment: Bezuidenhout et al. (2008), Burger and Jafta (2006, 2010), Hinks (2009), Sartorius and Botha (2008) Impact on attitudes: Roberts (n.d.), Zulu and Parumasur (2009)
	Public sector employment reservations in India	Impact on income: Bertrand et al. (2008), Borooah et al. (2007), Prakash (2009), van den Berg et al. (2010)

		Income on employment: Heyer and Javal (2009), Jodhka and Newman (2007), Moodie (2013), Thorat (2007)
	Affirmative action in Malaysia	Impact on employment and income: Lee (2012), Yusof (2006)
	Affirmative action for women in South Africa	Impact on employment: Bezuidenhout (2008), Bhorat and Goga (2012), Mathur-Helm (2005)
	Employment quotas for people with disabilities	Impact on employment in South Africa: Dube (2005)
	Supported work environments	Impact on employment and attitudes in Tanzania: Aldersey (2010) Impact on employment in Malaysia: Wan Abdullah (2013)
Youth training	Broad vocational training programmes targeted to young people with incomplete education	Impact on employment and earnings: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Colombia: Attanasio et al. (2008, 2011, 2015) Dominican Republic: Card et al. (2011), Ibararan et al, (2012) Panama: Ibararan and Rosas Shady (2006)
	Vocational training and business support programmes targeted towards adolescent girls	Impact on employment, earnings and self confidence: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Liberia: Adoho et al. (2014) Jordan: Groh et al. (2012) Nepal: Chakravarty et al. (2015b) Haiti: Rodella et al. (2015) Lao PDR: World Bank (2013a) Rwanda: Botea et al. (2015)
Public works	Employment guarantee scheme	Impact on consumption, income and self-confidence in India: Arora et al. (2013), Holmes et al. (2010), Sudarshan (2011) Impact on participation in Ethiopia: Jones and Holmes (2011)

5.2 Affirmative action policy for people with disabilities

There are many policy options designed to increase labour force participation rates of people living with disabilities, for example quotas, vocational training and work placements, measures to support self-employment and campaigns to change attitudes. Data on employment rates of people with disabilities are collected in ILO national surveys and show significant variation across LMICs, from a high of a reported 81% in Malawi to low of 30% in South Africa – although it is important to note that those not looking for work would not appear in these figures and a high proportion of people with disabilities work in the informal sector, which is also not included. For example, in Cambodia, an estimated six times as many people with disabilities are self-employed as are employed; in China, the official data state that 75,000 people with disabilities start a business every year with government support, although this is a very small proportion of the disabled population (ILO, 2003). Despite this, we did not find any evidence that met the review criteria that dealt with policies to support disabled people to start and run their own businesses.

This section is based on a total of six research studies: four impact studies, one of which conducted research based on secondary analysis of official data (Dube, 2005), and two qualitative studies, Aldersey (2010), which focuses on knowledge, and Wan Abdullah (2013),

which focuses on disabled persons' experiences of employment in Malaysia. The majority of the remaining papers are based on official data around employment numbers rather than being impact and evaluation studies.

5.2.1 Quotas

None of the studies located during this research demonstrated a causal link between increased quota legislation and increased employment of people with disabilities. In some cases, employment figures are disputed or unreliable (ILO, 2003; Kett, 2012). The World Disability Report confirms that no evaluations of the impact of quotas have been conducted (WHO, 2011).

Two studies include a discussion of quotas in African contexts: Dube (2005) on South Africa and Aldersey (2010) on Tanzania. In both cases, the authors determine impact through a correlation of official employment data with the quota. Both studies show the rate of employment of people with disabilities has not reached that mandated by the quota. For example, in South Africa, the quotas state that 2% of employees in the public and private sectors should be disabled – a target that has not yet been reached. Although recent national statistics on disabled people's labour force participation, not broken down by sector or quality of employment, show broadly similar levels of employment and unemployment for people with and without disabilities, more people with disabilities are considered economically inactive – and almost a third of the working-age population (27.5%) were unemployed.

The evidence base is similarly limited for other contexts. We located some discussion of China's policy but nothing from other Asian countries or Latin America³¹. China has a three-pronged approach to disability employment: quotas, tax incentives for private business and measures to support people with disabilities into self-employment (ILO, 2003; Kett, 2012). The quota reserves 1.5% of all employment opportunities for people with disabilities and applies to both government and private sector jobs – although there is the option for firms to pay a fine equivalent to a year's wages for an average worker to an unemployment insurance fund for disabled workers. Employment service centres, of which there are now over 3,000, assist with and monitor implementation of the scheme (ILO, 2003). The number of people with disabilities employed under the quota system rose from 25,000 in 1996 to 72,000 in 2000 (ibid.). For 2006, the National Sampling Survey on Disability states that 80% of disabled people are employed and, among urban disabled workers (4.33 million people), 11.9% were employed by welfare enterprises, 11.5% through the quota scheme and 15.8% through self-employment (ILO, n.d.). There is some dispute over the accuracy of these figures (see Campbell and Uren, 2011).

The scope and function of enforcement and accountability mechanisms around this legislation appears to vary widely. An ILO profile of China reports government data that show a very low level of inspections: just 1,186 have taken place in Chinese cities – although no timeframe or outcomes from these inspections are given (ILO, 2003).

³¹ Quotas for the employment of people with disabilities exist throughout Latin America. For example, in Brazil there is a reservation of 5–20% of public service positions filled through competitive exams. Private enterprises must employ people with disabilities as follows: 2% of positions in enterprises with 100–200 employees; 3% of positions in enterprises with 201–500 employees; 4% of positions in enterprises with 501–1,000 employees; and 5% of positions in enterprises with more than 1,000 employees (Government of Brazil, 2008).

Aldersey (2010) reports two small studies of the implementation of quotas for the employment of disabled persons in Tanzania. The first, a qualitative study of 126 companies by the Tanzania Union of Industrial and Commercial Workers, found only 0.7% of employees in the surveyed companies were disabled and only seven had a total of 3% disabled employees or more – putting them in compliance with quota legislation. Employers gave a number of reasons for non-compliance, including inadequate information and advice as well as the additional financial burden and concerns about needing to supply additional support for workers with disabilities, so reducing productivity. The second part of the paper, based on the author's own interviews with people with disabilities, describe experiences of discrimination and lack of adhesion to the quota provisions – in some cases limiting educational and vocational aspirations, as illustrated in this quote from a lawyer specialising in disability advocacy (who is not disabled herself).

'Even the policies and laws are not followed. Employment is a big problem, even for those with an education; they have a hard time trying to get employment. People [with disabilities] hesitate to opt for certain professions these days, such as law, because they know they won't be employed after their training.' (p.12).

5.2.2 Attitude change

It is noted throughout the literature that employer and societal attitudes towards disability are fundamental in limiting access to employment (Aldersey, 2010; WHO, 2011). Some literature also notes that quotas can be 'disabling and patronising' for people with disabilities as with other stigmatised form of special treatment (Heyer, 2008), as they assume both that employers will not hire people with disabilities without a quota and that people with disabilities are not able to compete for jobs on an open market.

However, we found no impact assessments of large-scale public campaigns designed to help change negative attitudes or behaviour directly around the employability of people with disabilities. The World Disability Report does note an interesting example of an electricity company in Brazil using its compliance with the national quota for the employment of people with disabilities for positive publicity: on the back of every bill is written 'the number of workers with disabilities is greater than that required by law. The reason is simple – for us, the most important thing is to have valuable people' (WHO, 2011).

5.2.3 Type of work and working environments

Transition from education to the labour market is an area of concern for all young people and particularly young people with disabilities (WHO, 2011; UNESCO, 2012). For example, Mugo et al.'s (2010) analysis of the situation of young people with disabilities in Kenya notes that many of the employment opportunities available are 'un-skilled', and can thus be both exploitative and physically demanding, such as in work on building sites or as security guards. These are unlikely to be thought of as suitable for youth with disabilities, a situation not helped by the limited options for vocational training available. We found no impact assessment studies of services that aim to support people with disabilities to find employment on the open market.

Sheltered or supported employment provides either employment in a segregated part of a regular enterprise or a sheltered environment for a whole business. The review located one study that looked at the impact of this kind of employment mechanism for disabled persons

– Wan Abdullah (2013) assessed the satisfaction of people with learning disabilities employed in a supported enterprise in Malaysia, a rare example of research focused on a specific area of disability. Wan Abdullah used surveys and group interviews to examine levels of satisfaction with their working experience. It is clear the workers still encounter discrimination from their managers and customers:

‘They know that I am disabled. They scold me as if I don’t have feelings’ (Chia, group interviews, p.169).

‘They [the non-disabled employees] always teased us ... saying that we can’t do the job ... when I try to lodge a complaint, some will say that I always grumble even for a small problem’ (Azreen, group interviews, p. 173).

Despite this, respondents were generally happy with their employment and happier than they had been in previous employment. They showed the least satisfaction with the level of pay they were received, with most aspiring to be paid more money in the future. Small-scale NGO projects designed to provide employment to people with disabilities are also common.

5.3 Affirmative action for discriminated racial and ethnic groups

Reflecting the literature located for this review, this section focuses on affirmative action policies in South Africa and India, for which studies were available that looked beyond national employment data to broader impacts of affirmative action on well-being, and attitudes and criticisms of the approaches. There are no available systematic reviews in this area, although Browne (2013) gives an overview of measures taken in public sector employment through an annotated bibliography of the literature on Australia, India, Malaysia, Nigeria and South Africa. She finds a lack of data for more contexts but suggests strong national leadership is essential for the successful implementation of policies. She draws on the example of Nigeria, where weak control of implementation has led to ethnic fragmentation and conflict over the jobs available.

Affirmative action policies are also in place in countries including Nigeria and Sri Lanka and across much of Latin America. Latin American policy often targets people of African descent and broadly embraces affirmative action as a human right and in response to reports from the Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance and the Durban conference processes (Human Rights Committee, 2009). In most Latin American countries, policy seems to focus on provisions to access education. Brazil has a more comprehensive programme: a longstanding quota system for civil service positions in many states, a 2014 law that reserves 20% of federal civil servant positions for people with black or pardos (mixed race) identity and a requirement for companies that supply the government to also meet the 20% quota (Conceição, 2014). We were not able to locate any evidence on the impact or implementation of labour market affirmative action policies in Latin America, other than training schemes for marginalised youth, to include in this review.

5.3.1 Affirmative action in South Africa

In the aftermath of apartheid, the South African government is committed to redressing injustice (Ncube et al., 2012) and minimising discrimination based on demographic profile (race, gender) or disability or HIV status (Bezuidenhout et al., 2008) as part of the creation of a non-racial South Africa. Affirmative action policy in South Africa encompasses both ending discriminatory practices and remedial action to ensure equity (Burger and Jafta, 2010). The legal and policy framework for affirmative action has expanded in scope since the passing of the Employment Equality Act (EEA) in 1998. A Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policy framework was put into place in 2003, criticism of changes achieved lead to the development of the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment framework implemented in 2007 a more comprehensive and transformational set of policies.

Individual companies are required to measure their progress in seven areas: equity ownership; management; employment equity; skills development; preferential procurement; enterprise development; and socioeconomic development. The government collates scores and publishes an annual report that gives an overview of progress towards equality in the labour market. As discussed below, the effectiveness and resourcing of monitoring and implementation is an area of concern. It is beyond our scope to consider the political economy of the formation of affirmative action policy or the broader workings of government – though we do at the end address some of the criticism of affirmative action and its meanings in modern South Africa.

For this review, we were unable to locate relevant literature for most areas of this framework; in this section, we focus on the change achieved in employment equity and in shifting public opinion. Later in the section we consider Black Ownership Initiatives.

The 1998 EEA supports the goal of employment equity. The Act obliges employers to implement affirmative action measures to ensure discrimination does not occur based on demographic profile – race, gender, disability or HIV status. It includes both numerical targets and the identification of barriers to employment (Burger and Jafta, 2010). Companies with more than 150 employees are required to produce an employment equity plan (EEP) to detail the steps they are going to take and are required to report annually to the government. There is also a system of inspection visits, sanctions and ‘public shaming’. Section 5.4 further discusses provisions designed to eliminate gender-based discrimination.

Impact of employment equity measures

Analysis of labour market data to show the direct impact of affirmative action policy is extremely difficult, especially as so many factors can lead to changes in the make-up of the labour market – both in the market and economy and because of changes in foundational factors like education and skill levels. We located four studies that look at the extent of change in the market: three of these (Burger and Jafta, 2006, 2010; Hinks, 2009) use statistical techniques to directly estimate the impact of the EEA. The available data analysis is limited to formal sector employment, given the shape of the South African labour market and growth and that informal sector gaps are likely to be wider than they appear from the data analysis presented below.

The general finding is that affirmative action has not worked as well as expected. That African people have remain grouped in low-end to middle-range jobs, while white and Indian people

have tended to be grouped in middle-range to top-end jobs is supported by all of the literature included in this section (Bezuidenhout et al., 2008; Burger and Jafta, 2006, 2010).

Burger and Jafta (2010) use data from October Household Surveys and National Labour Force Survey from 1997 and 2006 to look at changes in levels of employment by race. They find the racial gap in the likelihood of finding employment increased from 28% in 1997 to 38% in 2003 and then dropped to 28% in 2006. The authors use the Oaxaca-Blinder econometric analysis technique to explain these differences and suggest they do not point to a reduction in discrimination. Instead, they argue, a period of rapid economic growth between 2003 and 2006 and a narrowing of the skills gap between White and Black workers explain the changes.

Burger and Jafta (2006, 2010) also consider the impact of affirmative action measures on the wage gap between White and Black workers. They find the gap has actually increased since 1997, when a typical male White worker could expect to earn approximately 90% more than a Black worker, and a White female worker 70% more. However, by 2000 the wage gap had risen to 120% between men and 90% between women; it has remained relatively stable since. The authors' analysis technique points to a higher return to education for White workers as the reason for this increased inequality, reflecting both perceptions of the poor quality of education received by many Black students and ongoing systematic inequalities. Bezuidenhout (2008) looks at labour force data by sector and finds a higher proportion of top legislators, senior officials and managers are Black. The degree of change is small though – from 2.6% in 2000 to 3.3% in 2007 – suggesting few people have really benefited from these policies.

Effectiveness of equity ownership

Equity ownership makes up 20% of the BEE scorecard designed to eliminate the racial divide in the ownership of companies (Ncube, 2012). The preferential procurement system means this measure is particularly important for firms that supply the government and is increasingly seen as important for other companies to retain their customers (Sartorius and Botha, 2008).

Sartorius and Botha (2008) is the only study we located that estimates the effects of the equity ownership policy. The authors surveyed 72 companies listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and used thematic analysis techniques to look at successes and failures in BEE ownership initiatives. They found 27 companies had transferred 10% or less of total equity, 28 between 10% and 25% and only 17 25% or more. Ten of the companies that have transferred 10% or less are financial institutions and were required to transfer 10% of equity by 2009 and to reach 25% by 2014. Three companies had transferred more than 30%: major shareholders had identified the need to become BEE-compliant and had been willing to sell a part of their stake in the company to assist in meeting the requirements. Survey respondents were asked why they had introduced BEE ownership initiatives. The highest-ranking reason, with 37 responses, was 'BEE is essential for South Africa to sustain its economic and democratic structures'. This was closely followed by the statement, 'Companies see BEE as an opportunity to grow their business and market share', which was given 32 times.

BEE implementation and monitoring

We located two studies that used quantitative data to address questions of how satisfied workers are in their roles (Hinks, 2009) and how well they feel their employers have implemented BEE framework policies (Zulu and Parumasur, 2009). One study (Bezuidenhout

et al., 2008), looked at how well compliance with EEA legislation was being monitored and enforced. The studies suggest more measures are needed to enforce the legislation and to ensure the correct groups are benefiting from Broad Based BEE policy.

Bezuidenhout et al. (2008) conducted a large-scale study of the impact and implementation of the EEA using data from the South African Labour Force Survey and interviews with government officials and employers. They found legal use of the Act had been very limited and that it was extremely difficult for an individual to take an anti-discrimination case to court. Informants were clear that officials had focused on procedural rather than substantive compliance since 1998, given a lack of capacity for inspections and the volume of other labour issues a single visit needs to cover. There was also a feeling that in-company training and accessibility of information had a positive impact on implementation. Very few interviewees in companies reported ever having received a visit from a labour inspector; they also said they felt EEA reports disappeared into a 'black hole' once sent to the labour ministry.

Hinks (2009) use data from the Mesebetsi labour force survey of 10,000 individual respondents in late 1999 to look at the impact of affirmative action legislation on levels of job satisfaction – which includes earnings, job security, type of work, opportunities to use skills/education, working time, working conditions and distance from work. White workers were the most satisfied and Black workers the least satisfied. Black workers are significantly more satisfied when in roles in companies with an EEP and there is no significant difference for White workers. However, "Coloured"³² workers, who should also benefit from affirmative action policy, are less satisfied when working for an employer with an EEP.

Zulu and Parumasur (2009) used questionnaires and interviews with 668 employees to look at the management of cultural diversity and workplace transformation in three production companies in Gauteng. The authors use descriptive statistics to show that employees perceive that companies have made insufficient efforts towards achieving equity in the workplace and have little confidence in the extent of employee involvement in the process of managing and creating a more equitable environment. In qualitative interviews, employees' opinions were split about both the measures taken within the company and whether South African business as a whole is committed to addressing cultural diversity in the workplace: 34.7% of respondents agreed business was committed and 34.7% disagreed and 33.6% remained neutral. It should be noted that the authors do not give a racial breakdown of their respondents and there are a high number of neutral answers throughout the study.

Roberts et al. (2011) draw on data from the nationally representative South African National Attitudes Survey between 2003 and 2009 to look at changing attitudes to the effectiveness of affirmative action policies in the labour market. They find nationally a broad level of support for affirmative action as a form of redress: 60–70% of people always strongly agree there should be racial and gender-based affirmative action in the workplace. There is also a broadly positive attitude towards the outcomes of affirmative action in 2009: 71% of respondents agreed it was 'contributing to a more skilled workforce' and 68% that the policy was creating a more unified society. Indian and Coloured respondents were more sceptical about the impacts, echoing Hinks' (2009) finding that all included groups do not seem to be benefiting equally from the EEA. Roberts et al.'s analysis also reveals that residents of informal

³² The term "Coloured" is no longer an official designation of the South African government. We use it here to reflect the language used in the paper and it is based on respondents self-identification.

settlements, the young and the unemployed are likely to have less positive attitudes towards affirmative action.

A lack of clarity and compulsion in the legislative framework is identified as a barrier to implementation in a number of papers (Roberts et al., 2011; Sartorius and Botha, 2008; Zulu and Parumasur, 2009) alongside a feeling that the policy has benefited a narrow band of people so far (Bezuidenhout et al., 2008; Roberts et al., 2011). The BEE framework and its enforcement mechanisms in South Africa continue to evolve and develop. For example, since 2014 all employers regardless of size are required to report to the government on their compliance with the EEA; one example of a recent legal ruling is *Solidarity v. Department of Corrective Services* (CASE No C.368/12), in which a group of Western Cape Correction Services officers claimed they had unfairly been denied promotion because the organisation's EEA plan was formulated to favour Africans rather than Coloureds against regional demographics. The Department of Correctional Services was required to take immediate measures to ensure EEA plans better represented the regional demographics of people of designated groups (CEE, 2014).

Some criticisms of affirmative action

South Africa's constitutional commitment to equity and equality has led to broader and more comprehensive affirmative action policies, but the evidence brought together in this review illustrates that there are significant problems with enforcement, reach and impact. A central question in the discourse around affirmative action is whether it is designed to achieve demographic representation or poverty alleviation, and how these two goals of the state can be combined (Bentley and Habib, 2008).

Structural inequality in South Africa is based in both the legacy of the colonial settlement and unequal distribution of assets and institutions under apartheid. Inequalities are not solely centred on race but also play out in factors such as class, geographic location and the industry-based formal economy. Failure to transform the education system means this is another site of continued exclusion (Vandermoortele et al., 2013). Lack of an economic definition of beneficiary groups has resulted in measures that mostly benefit a small, politically connected, well-educated elite (Alexander, 2007; Boshoff and Mazibuko, 2003) and more broadly have failed to create economic opportunities for the marginalised majority (Durrheim et al., 2009). The nature of South Africa's economic growth has led to what Vandermoortele et al. describe as 'jobless de-agrarianisation', with millions of people with marginalised livelihoods unable to participate in either the formal or the informal economy and argues that the failure to transform the education system further exacerbates inequality

Criticisms have also been made around racial categories. Dupper (2008) argues that, although the replication of apartheid-era racial categories is required to begin to provide redress, this also functions to reinforce the normality of these categories as people's primary means of representing themselves. This means the complex realities of intersecting inequalities cannot be either considered or dealt with in the current structure. Mbembe (2015) expresses concern regarding the emerging discourse of transformation, which uses a self-reliant neoliberal ideology to erase the historical privilege of White South Africans, minimise the experience of racial inequality and argue that White South Africans are paying a high social cost for affirmative action laws and policy. He stresses the contrast with ideas of transformation based on redistribution of wealth and capital that suggest a move towards a more class-based

affirmative action system (Bezuidenhout et al., 2008; Burger and Jafta, 2006, 2010), but argues that progress towards equality requires a new politics of racial solidarity and responsibility that moves away from ideas of entitlement.

5.3.2 India

Affirmative action policies for STs and SCs and in some cases Other Backward Castes (OBCs)³³, also known as the reservation policy, involves quotas for participation in civil service, public companies, statutory bodies and voluntary agencies. The policy was incorporated into the Indian Constitution in 1950 and combines legal safeguards against discrimination with proactive affirmative action (Thorat, 2007). Reservation percentages correspond to the demographics of the local population. For example, in Andhra Pradesh 25% of educational institutes and government jobs are reserved for OBCs, 15% for SCs, 6% for STs and 4% for Muslims. In Tamil Nadu, the reservation is 18% for SCs and 1% for STs. These labour market-based reservations are complemented by measures in the education and political systems discussed elsewhere in this paper.

This section examines the impact of reservation on the number of SCs/STs in public sector positions, then considers the evidence on broader income and economic well-being measures before looking at whether the policy is reaching the most marginalised, criticisms and current suggestions for its development. We located surprisingly little literature that looked at impact on economic well-being or poverty reduction and nothing on implementation or any of the complementary measures in place to assist SCs/STs to access reserved employment positions.

Employment outcomes

There is agreement in the literature that the reservation policy has slowly increased the proportion of SCs/STs in public sector employment (Heyer and Jayal, 2009; Thorat, 2006, 2007; Xaxa, 2001). Thorat (2006) claims the absolute number of SC government employees increased from 218,000 in 1950 to 641,000 in 1991, falling to 540,000 in 2003 because of government contractions. The number of ST employees increased from 38,000 in 1960 to 211,000 in 2003.

Within government, the Department of Personnel and Training is tasked with monitoring, enforcing and modifying the rules. Alongside this, each ministry has specific personnel tasked with ensuring the reservation policy is implemented. The independent National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes functions as a civil court to deal with reports of discrimination or violation (Thorat, 2007). We did not locate any studies for this review that examined how effective these mechanisms are and how they function.

We located surprisingly little literature that looks at impact on broader levels of employment or economic well-being. Table 5 presents those we did locate. These studies show broadly positive impacts on employment levels and illuminate a clear link between better education and better labour market prospects.

Table 5: Economic impacts of reservations for SCs/STs and OBCs

Study	Type of data	Outcomes
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³³ The reservation for OBC was not introduced until 1993 and is more controversial; those of the highest socioeconomic status within the OBC are excluded from the policy.

Borooh et al. (2007) The effectiveness of jobs reservation: Caste, religion and economic status in India	Employment data from the 55th NSS from 2000. Constructs a comparison of the experiences of ST and SCs compared with OBCs using a multinomial logit model and the Oaxaca Blinder technique to look for explained and unexplained differences. The analysis does not make any distinction between private and public sector roles.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raised number of STs and SCs in salaried employment but they still take up a lower proportion than forward-caste Hindu men • Discrimination bias against Muslims who do not benefit from the policy • Strong relationship between education and level of employment. Literacy increased the probability of being in formal waged employment
Prakash (2009) The impact of employment quotas on the economic lives of disadvantaged minorities in India	Data from NSS rounds in 1983, 1987, 1993 and 1999 and policy variables from the SC and ST annual commissioner's report.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significant increase in likelihood of a SC having a salaried job • Increase in household consumption and children attending school (for everyone or those with job) • Decreased incidence of child labour • Less effect among STs
Bertrand et al. (2008) Affirmative action in education evidence from engineering college admissions	Survey with individuals who applied to engineering colleges in one state in 1996 and are followed up in 2004 and 2006.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • College attendance • Increases lower-caste members' monthly income by between Rs 3,700 and 6,200 • Lower-caste group: those from higher socioeconomic backgrounds benefit most • Reported job quality increases but not to match that experienced by upper-caste group members

We located only one paper that looked at well-being outcomes beyond the individuals concerned. Van den Berg et al. (2010) use regression discontinuity analysis of data from the National Family and Health Survey 2005/06 to show a significant positive effect of the policy on under-five mortality of OBC children, with gains larger for female than for male children.

Reach of reservations to the most marginalised

Gains in employment in the public sector have undoubtedly been made, but have not always extended to the highest levels of employment, and ST/SC roles remain concentrated in Class III and IV jobs such as janitors and clerical staff (Thorat, 2007). The high number of SCs who are employed as janitors, an occupation traditionally associated with SCs, suggests that the policy has made little contribution to occupational desegregation (Heyer and Jayal, 2009).

Table 6: SCs in central government posts by category (%)

Category	I	II	III	IV	All
1965	1.64	2.82	8.88	17.8	13.2
1995	10.1	12.7	16.2	21.3	17.4
2001	11.4	12.8	16.3	17.9	16.4

Source: Heyer and Jayal (2009), using data from NCSCST (1998) and Planning Commission (2005).

Concerns are also expressed as to whether quotas are reaching the most disadvantaged within OBCs and whether the advantages gained have extended inter-generationally to create a small middle-class elite that benefits disproportionately (Jeffrey et al., 2005). This is the 'creamy layer' problem we have already seen, a term that has appeared in several Supreme Court judgements (Desai and Kulkarni, 2008). Legislation is now in place to try to prevent this. For example, the sons and daughters of Class I and II government officials and those whose families have an income of more than Rs 100,000 a year are officially excluded from the reservation system.

Moodie (2013) presents an interesting perspective on this problem, citing a 2002 ethnographic study of the Dhanka ST in Rajasthan. Among this group she found, rather than a 'creamy layer', a number of 'creamy individuals.' In a context of decreasing numbers of government jobs, there is a growing sense of alienation among Dhanka youth and a fear that the community will not be able to sustain the gains made. As such, these 'creamy individuals'

are highly valued because of their ability to give back to the community and advocate on their behalf for resources.

Over time, the groups included in the reservation policy and the quota amounts have changed – for example with the inclusion of sections of OBCs in 1993. There is demand from some groups to extend reservations to Muslim members of OBCs (Borooah et al., 2007) and women who are socially or economically disadvantaged (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004).

Reservations in the private sector

There is also a literature on the suggestion of extending reservations into the private sector, as this is where more than 90% of the SC/ST workforce is located and where they contend with a lack of protection and discriminatory practices (Thorat, 2007; Madheswaran and Attewell, 2007)³⁴. This policy seems to have been rejected by business owners. For example, Jodhka and Newman (2007) interviewed 25 human resource managers in large firms in New Delhi and not one expressed any support for reservations in the private sector. They believe that meritocracy is enough and the employment system is fair:

‘If a person is capable enough, he or she doesn’t need reservations. There are enough jobs in the market; one can easily achieve what he wants’ (Palin, human resource manager for 15 years). (p.4130).

The view was also expressed that the education system needs to improve to enable SCs/STs to access higher quality employment:

‘We do not support reservation. Productivity will suffer and the company will suffer. The scheduled cases should be given opportunities in education and after that, they should compete on their own’ (human resource manager, shoe company). (p.4130).

For this review, we also located one study that looks at the importance of factors outside the reservations themselves to labour market outcomes. Deshpande and Newman (2007) explore caste differences in university students’ aspirations of and expectations from the labour market. They administered questionnaires to a sample of 173 university students from varied caste backgrounds in 2005 and 2006; nearly 28% of respondents were reserved category students. They found reservation students had lower expectations – with an expected monthly salary of Rs 19,510, while non-reserved students expected to earn about Rs 24,470; 45% of reservation students viewed an ideal career as in the public sector compared with 12% of non-reservation students, who were more likely to report a desire for a corporate sector role. Reservation students were also much less likely to report that they would use family contacts to look for work, suggesting their smaller networks give less access to highly skilled private sector roles.

5.3.3 Malaysia

Malaysia’s experience of affirmative action and economic empowerment of the indigenous Bumiputera community seems to have been more successful in terms of poverty reduction than the application of similar programmes in South Africa (Sartorius and Botha, 2008). The New Economic Plan was first implemented in 1970 when Malays made up 57.6% of the population and 65% lived in poverty, and now includes employment and equity ownership

³⁴ For further discussion on quotas in the private sector, see Thorat (2004a, 2004b), in Debroy and Babu (2004).

quotas in the public and private sectors as well as measures designed to assist enterprise development (Lee, 2012; Sartorius and Botha, 2008).

We located a limited evidence base on the impact of the policy but there seems to be general agreement in the literature that the policies have been broadly successful. Sartorius and Botha (2008) note that, although overall levels of inequality have not fallen in Malaysian society, the gap between different ethnic groups has lessened. Country-level data reported in Yusof (2006) shows income disparity between the Bumiputera and other groups reduced significantly between 1970 and 1993 and, while Bumiputera share ownership remained at 19% between 1990 and 2002, non-Bumiputera ownership fell by 4%, so this actually represents progress.

Lee (2012) uses a range of national data to look at the relationships between affirmative action in the education and labour market and employment outcomes. Analysis shows unemployment for Bumiputera who have received a tertiary degree remains higher than for Malaysia's other ethnic groups – at 4.8% compared with 2.2% of Chinese and 4.0% of India Malaysians in 2007. Lee draws on several small qualitative studies with business owners to argue that this reflects attendance at public university and colleges where English is not the main language of tuition and graduates are generally less favourably regarded. However, progress into higher-level technical and professional public sector jobs appears to have been steady. In fact, Lee reports that there is now an underrepresentation of non-Malay Bumiputera, who in 2006 occupied only 1.4% of top management positions and 3.2% of manager and professional roles compared with 83.9% Malay in top positions and 81.6% at management and professional levels.

5.4 Affirmative action and other legal measures for women

The review located very limited evidence of affirmative action measures in place for women in the labour market, despite widespread recognition of the discrimination they face. The ILO Equal Remuneration Convention is the fourth most ratified convention overall – yet data show women earn between 31% and 75% less than men over their lifetime, and there is no region where the gender gap has been eliminated (Fontana and Paciello, 2007; UN Women, 2015). Gendered disadvantage accumulates over a lifetime as differences in labour force participation rates, types and formality of employment, levels of education, presence of social transfers, unpaid care work and social norms and expectations interact to shape women's experiences in the labour market (UNDP, 2015; UN Women, 2015).

Quotas are one way of breaking down occupational stereotypes, although there is very limited evidence on their impact in practice. UN Women (2015) states that employment quotas for women have been more successful in tackling vertical than horizontal segregation, through quotas for women on corporate boards. There are examples of success from Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries here. For example, Norway introduced a quota of 40% for corporate boards in 2006, which was fulfilled within two years.

For this review, we located only three studies on the impact of affirmative action policies on women, all on South Africa. Bezuidenhout et al. (2008) describe the gendered nature of the South African labour market: Black women are underrepresented and work predominantly in lower-end occupations; women generally are underrepresented in all occupations except as

professional, technical and associate professionals, clerks and skilled agricultural and fishery workers; and men are overrepresented in all occupations except these. The number of women who are legislators, senior officials and managers and professionals has increased slightly. Mathur-Helm (2005) also examines the employment data to find it remains uncommon for women to reach the top levels of management and argues that corporate environments are not yet ready to accept women as equals, a finding reinforced by Bezuidenhout et al.'s case study of a White manufacturing company that is doing well on the inclusion of members of different racial groups in the workforce but has no women in management. Bhorat and Goga (2012) examine national employment data over the period 2001–2007 and find no significant decline in the wage gap between women and men; this is the only paper we located that goes beyond a descriptive statistical analysis and uses Oaxaca-Blinder techniques to decompose the explained and unexplained proportion of the gap. The analysis shows 71% of the gap reflects unexplained factors – or discrimination – highlighting the persistence of gender wage inequality.

Our literature search found no evidence on the impact of maternity rights legislation, collective bargaining or the bringing of anti-discrimination cases that fit the criteria of the review. This may reflect women's predominance in the informal sector, where implementing and measuring the impact of this kind of policy may be more challenging, as well as a lack of policy. For example, a 2010 ILO review of maternity legislation found that, in Africa, only 39% of countries reviewed provided benefits in accordance with ILO standards; in Asia, only two of 23 met the requirements. This is an important area for future research, and is complemented by recent work on paternity and men's contribution to unpaid care work as summarised in Edstrom et al. (2014). The impact of universally targeted measures, such as the introduction of minimum wage legislation or universal social insurance, is beyond the scope of this review, but is a measure that has the potential for positive impacts for women in the labour market.

There is an emerging body of evidence on efforts to improve conditions for migrant female domestic workers. Satterthwaite (2014) and D'Souza (2010) both look at the potential of a rights legislation-based approach building on the 2013 ILO Convention on Domestic Workers. An example of success here is legislation achieved by migrant domestic workers in New York (UN Women, 2015) and domestic workers in Chile and Bolivia, who have organised in the face of elite resistance to secure legal reforms and improved working conditions (Blofield, 2009).

A more negative impact emerges from the one study we located that dealt with the impact of legislation in countries sending migrant domestic workers, designed to prevent migration into exploitative working conditions. For example, ILO (2015) considers the impact of legislation in Nepal introduced in 2012 that banned women under 30 migrating to the Arab States for domestic work, subsequently amended in 2015 to allow women over the age of 24 to work in certain destination countries in South East Asia and the Arab States. Interviews with stakeholder and migrant women found the ban did not prevent women from migrating and instead forced them to go through irregular channels, giving them less control of the experience and placing them at greater risk of violence. Two papers were located that described legislative attempts to regulate the recruitment of migrant workers. Agunias (2012) looks at regulating recruitment agencies in Asia and stresses the practical difficulties of this work across borders and the need for government commitment in both origin and destination countries if regulations is to be effective. Manseau (2006) concludes that the introduction of

standard working contracts for migrant domestic workers would be effective in reducing discrimination.

5.5 Active labour market policies

Our search located very limited evidence on the impact of anti-discrimination measures within active labour market policies. Betcherman et al. (2004) describe active labour market policies as those that are used to reduce the risk of unemployment and increase the earnings capacity of workers – for example through the provision of employment services, training, public works or employment subsidies. This kind of policy can increase social inclusion by providing employment and is a highly visible way for politicians to tackle labour market problems.

The evidence we were able to locate is focused in three areas: skills training for young people with low levels of education; training programmes targeted towards adolescent girls; and training for people with disabilities. Throughout, there is a lack of evidence on the long-term impact of these programmes on poverty reduction or inclusion. The gains from skills training are often marginal.

5.5.1 Training targeted at excluded groups of young workers in Latin America

In 2011, ILO estimated that 12.6% of youth in the global labour force were unemployed—about 74.6 million people (see World Bank, 2013b). This section considers a set of programmes designed to equip excluded groups of young people with the skills they need to enter the labour market or run their own business.

This is the only area of labour market policy where we were able to locate a number of studies that use experimental methods to create conditions where outcomes can be measured in isolation. In Latin America, there is a strong body of evidence based on a series of randomised trials conducted in the 2000s. However, we were able to locate only one study (Attanasio et al., 2015) that looked at the long-term effects of such programmes. Table 7 gives an overview of the evaluations that are covered in this section.

Table 7: Programmes with impact evaluations considered in this section

Study description	Intervention design	Type of evaluation	Outcomes
Colombia: Jóvenes en Acción Attanasio (2008, 2011, 2015)	Between 2001 and 2005 provided 3 months of classroom training and 3 months of ‘on-the-job’ training to young people aged 18–25 in lowest	RCT run in 2005 with last cohort to receive the programme. Control group made up of individuals who had applied for training and were qualified to receive it but were not selected.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women offered training earn 19.6% more and have higher probability of paid employment than those not. • Men offered training earn around 8% more.

	socioeconomic groups. Reached 80,000 people.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive impacts sustained over time.
Dominican Republic: Juventud y Empleo (JE) Card et al. (2011), Ibarra et al. (2012)	Implemented between 2001 and 2006 focused on low-income youths with less than secondary education. Classroom-based basic skills training and vocational training customised to needs of local employers – and then 2-month internship period.	Randomised trial – there was no follow up of programme dropouts – which means the follow-up survey was administered only to a subset of the original control and treatment groups.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No significant impact on likelihood of being employed. • Increase in monthly earnings of 10%.
Panama: ProCaJoven Ibarra et al. (2006)	Two modalities: classroom training and internships for low-income youths and classroom training with a longer internship for youths looking for their first job.	Natural experiment – control groups from populations where programme had been set up but not funded. Baseline constructed from programme data.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No significant impact on overall employment rates. • Significant impact on women’s employment and earnings – particularly in Panama City.

Job training programmes have been extensively evaluated in OECD countries, often using randomised trials (Betcherman et al., 2007; Card et al., 2011). A cluster of programmes on training excluded or disadvantaged youth has developed in Latin America and the Caribbean since the 1990s. Puerto’s (2007b) inventory of programmes that aim to support young workers globally found that 68 of the 289 interventions located globally were in the region, the largest number after that in the OECD. The majority (56%) were purely skills training programmes for young people; 32% took a more comprehensive approach, for example combining classroom and on-the-job training with wage subsidies and public works or classroom and on-the-job training with paid work experience and job search assistance. However, programmes that took place in the 1990s are more likely to have been evaluated: only one of the 45 created between 2000 and 2005 had undergone an impact evaluation with a comparison group. There is also a cluster of youth employment programmes funded by the World Bank and with commissioned evaluations where only concept notes or baseline reports are currently available. These may provide a useful resource in the future³⁵.

Recent work to bring together evidence on the impact of skills training includes Rankin et al.’s (2015) gap map on transferable skills programming for youth in LMICs. This contains 90 completed impact evaluations of both large- and small-scale programmes. The research did not have a specific focus on excluded or marginalised groups of youth but the authors did consider programmes that targeted only girls or only boys, included gender-specific analysis and searched for programmes targeted at out-of-school youth. The majority of the impact evaluations in the review deal with NGO-led projects. The gap map also found a cluster of studies that assessed training programme outcomes around individual knowledge, beliefs and attitudes rather than labour market outcomes. A number of ongoing projects identified are potentially relevant in any update to this study: Apprenticeship training and entrepreneurial support in Malawi³⁶, youth empowerment private sector internships in Kenya³⁷ and also in Kenya a micro franchising programme for girls.³⁸

³⁵ Details of the programme can be found at www.poverty-action.org/study/estimating-impacts-microfranchising-young-women-nairobi

³⁶ <http://www.youth-employment-inventory.org/inventory/view/3459/> Malawi

³⁷ <http://www.youth-employment-inventory.org/inventory/view/950/> for Kenya private sector

³⁸ <http://www.youth-employment-inventory.org/inventory/view/3457/> - Kenya microfranchising

Box 4: The Jóvenes programmes

The Jóvenes programmes have operated in Latin America and the Caribbean since 1991, initially in Chile and then subsequently Venezuela, Argentina, Paraguay, Peru, Colombia, Panama and the Dominican Republic. The programmes have been financed by national governments, with some assistance from the Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank, and form the model for many of the training programmes operating currently in Latin America. Programme participants are poor youth with low levels of education. Some programmes have targeted women.

The Jóvenes approach combines classroom learning with work experience, life skills education, job search information and counselling. Participant youth and companies both receive financial incentives – wage subsidies or stipends – to guarantee participation. The training combines ‘soft skills’ and vocational training that is demand-led in order to meet the needs of employers.

Evaluations have used both experimental and quasi-experimental designs and generally show improved probability of employment and earnings on graduation compared with a control group.

Source: Adapted from Puerto (2007a).

For an overview of the available evaluations from the 1990s and impacts of the programmes, see Betcherman et al. (2007), Ibarra and Rosas Shady (2008) and Veza (2013).

Evaluations for programmes that took place post-2000 are available for Colombia, the Dominican Republic and Panama. Attanasio et al. (2008, 2011, 2015) and Card et al. (2011) use randomised trials to discuss the impact of training for low-income youth in Colombia and the Dominican Republic, respectively. The programmes offer three months of classroom training followed by private sector workplace internships (three months in Colombia and two months in the Dominican Republic). In Panama, ProCaJoven was a similar programme evaluated through a natural experiment, combining classroom training with a 172-hour internship; for first-time job seekers a longer job placement was provided. All participants received a transfer of \$255.

Two of the programmes show stronger impacts on women than men. Attanasio et al.’s (2008, 2011) analysis finds the programme in Colombia had much larger impacts for women than men, with positive impacts on wages, number of hours worked and probability of employment. For men, there is a positive significant impact on the likelihood of having a formal employment contract (6%). For both men and women, the programme has positive impacts on wages in formal employment – an increase of 23% for men and 33% for women – though men who remained in self-employment experienced a drop in earnings compared with the comparison group following participation. The Colombian programme is unusual in that long-term follow-up data are available. Attanasio et al. (2015) use administrative data collected between 2008 and 2015 and find a significant positive effect on the likelihood of employment in the formal sector and that the stronger impact for women continued. In Panama, ProCaJoven showed no significant impact for men but an increase in wages and employment among women – particularly those living in Panama City (Ibarra and Rosas Shady, 2006).

Card et al. (2011) report on the JE programme in the Dominican Republic, which had a significant dropout rate and does not include gender-disaggregated data. At 10–14 months after completing the training there was no impact shown on employment and a positive impact of around 10% on wages. Ibararan et al. (2012) use data from a cohort that received training from the JE programme in 2008 and also find that overall there was no significant impact on employment – although there was a small positive impact on the likelihood of men having formal employment contracts. This evaluation also measures the impact of the programme on risky behaviour and pregnancy and finds the programme has had a positive impact in terms of youth perceptions about their current situation and aspirations for the future, with stronger impacts for women and younger participants.

There is limited discussion of the implementation of these programmes. Card et al. (2011) speculate that the design of JE meant few employers were using the internships to recruit workers: as the programme fully subsidised interns' wage costs, they had a strong incentive to fill the slots with trainees rather than take on full-time workers. The iteration of the programme seems to have addressed some of these concerns by working more closely with employers in order to provide training for real vacancies and placing more emphasis on 'job readiness skills' (Ibararan et al., 2012). Ibararan and Rosas Shady (2006) discuss difficulties in implementing the programme, with spending at 30% of allocated resources after two years of operation and reaching only 3,700 beneficiaries. Political and institutional failures are implicated here but there is no further discussion of these factors or how they could be resolved.

There is less evidence around programmes designed by governments to fill skills gaps in the economy. India has developed private–public partnerships to deliver short-term courses and apprenticeships to ensure the required skills are available as the economy develops. However, the corresponding Action Programme for the Unorganised Sector, proposed in 2004, has not been fully implemented, and access to training remains difficult for youth who lack education and foundational skills, who cannot take time off from work or whose mobility is constrained by gender or caste (UNESCO, 2012). In South Africa, a national skills programme has been in existence since 2001. Aims include meeting the needs of the global economy and undoing the inequality of apartheid, with a training subsidy for employers (Badroodien, 2003). Although no evaluation data are available on the impact of the programme, national surveys and programme participation data reveal that many more Whites receive training in high skills occupations. In 2000, about 71% of those trained in the professional/managerial category were White; 85% of those trained in lower-level occupations were Black (Kraak et al., 2000, in Badroodien, 2003).

Box 5: Social protection and youth

Social protection programmes across Latin America have provided income transfers conditional on children's attendance at regular health checks and school enrolment and are supported by supply-side investments in health and education services (Barrientos and Hinojosa-Valencia, 2009). A number of systematic reviews are available that synthesise the generally positive impact of these programmes on educational attainment (e.g. Baird et al., 2013; Saavedra and Garcia, 2012). Kabeer et al. (2012) and Paruzzolo (2009) find that the programmes are associated with reductions in child labour. Further research on the long-term labour market impacts of these policies and studies of interactions with skills training programmes are a gap in the available literature.

As the 2012 EFA Global Monitoring Report notes, there is a lack of skills training programmes targeted at young people working in the informal sector (UNESCO, 2012). While some of the Latin American programmes discussed above measure the formality of workers' contracts and self-employed incomes, they aim to build skills towards formal sector employment. One review showed most countries did not have a national skills development strategy addressing needs in the urban informal sector or the specific challenges facing rural young women or women from ethnic minorities, who are particularly disadvantaged (Engel, 2012, in UNESCO, 2012). Microcredit and micro enterprise fell outside the scope of this study – although there is potential for the more comprehensive inclusion of skills training in these activities where they are targeted towards excluded youth. As one review noted, the successful Jóvenes programmes rely heavily on a positive macroeconomic context, particularly in terms of job creation (Ibarraran and Rosas Shady, 2009). In the absence of robust private employment growth, job skills development programmes have generally performed poorly. We were not able to locate a body of political economy analysis that explores these relationships in more detail.

5.5.2 Training targeted at women and girls

Large-scale training programmes for more specific groups are rarer in the literature. We located two studies that consider programmes targeted at the specific training needs of adolescent girls or young women, with the objective of helping them enter the workplace. In comparison with the Latin American training programmes, these offer a more supportive approach with an emphasis on forming social networks.

All of the studies included here are reports of pilots undertaken by the Adolescent Girls Initiative, which ran between 2008 and 2015 as a partnership between the Nike Foundation and the World Bank. The programme conducted pilot studies in Afghanistan, Haiti, Jordan, Lao PDR, Liberia, Nepal, Rwanda and South Sudan. Table 8 gives an overview of the studies currently available from this programme as considered in this section. Smaller-scale programmes conceived and implemented by NGOs – including NGOs like BRAC – commonly include elements of training for adolescent girls, often within the context of microfinance or savings groups. Vaessen et al.'s (2015) systematic review of the impact of microcredit on women's control over household decision-making finds no consistent statistical evidence of any effect.

Table 8: Adolescent Girls Initiative Programmes

Study description	Intervention design	Type of evaluation	Outcomes
<p>Liberia: Adolescent Girls Employment Project</p> <p>Adoho et al. (2014)</p>	<p>In 2009, 2,500 girls received 6 months of classroom-based training followed by 6-month placement or support phase. 2 tracks were available, one 'job skills' track focused on skills for formal employment and 'business development services', focused on micro-enterprise development.</p>	<p>RCT. Participants randomly selected from programme applicants. 1,191 young women started the programme. Baseline and 2 follow-up quantitative household surveys and focus groups after training completed. Follow-up 6 months after classroom training completed.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase in employment of 47% and in earnings by 80% • Positive impacts on self-confidence and levels of anxiety about circumstances and future. • No evidence of shift in gender norms in wider community.
<p>Jordan: Jordan New Opportunities for Women</p> <p>Groh et al. (2012)</p>	<p>Programme pilot 2 approaches – 1 gave 450 participants a job voucher they could present to potential employers and paid the minimum wage for 6 months if they hired her; second was employability skills training covering communication and business skills as well as team work.</p>	<p>Randomised experiment. Participants allocated into 3 intervention groups (300 girls) and a control group (449 girls). Quantitative baseline, midline (6 months after training or receiving vouchers) and end line (14 months after). Survey of firms that had employed graduates at midline was also completed.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Receipt of voucher led to short-term increase in employment – but no significant change still present 4 months after voucher period ends. • Soft skills training no overall impact on employment although slightly significant results seen outside the capital. • Training boosted self-confidence and mental well-being.
<p>Nepal Employment Fund</p> <p>Chakravarty et al. (2015b)</p>	<p>Intervention combines skills training and employment placement services reaching over 4,410 girls aged 16-24, as part of a wider programme that reached 40,000 people. Launched in 2009 and delivered over 3-year period.</p>	<p>Quasi-experimental approach with participant and non-participant groups. Based on before and after measures of participants. Average differences between participants and non-participants then compared in a difference in difference strategy.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive impacts on employment and earning, slightly more positive for women; younger women 16–24 experienced same improvements as older women. • Training in electronics, beautician services and tailoring most effective. • No consistent impacts on empowerment or reproductive health.
<p>Haiti Adolescent Girls Initiative</p> <p>Rodella et al. (2015)</p>	<p>Implemented between 2012 and 2014 reaching 1009 girls aged 17–20. Combined training in non-traditional technical skills and 'soft skills', assistance with job placement and small stipend to cover costs of attending training. Results were measured 3 months after completion. Attempts to follow up after this with an SMS survey yielded limited results.</p>	<p>RCT with participants randomly allocated to training or control cohorts. Qualitative studies also carried out by programme to look in more depth at girls' experiences of the programme.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At 3 months no increase in earnings or number engaged in income-generating activities. • Participants changing the type of work they undertook. • Participants showed higher expectations for higher education and subsequent employment; a number had enrolled in higher education. • Participants felt they had improved autonomy and decision-making.
<p>Lao PDR Supporting Talent, Entrepreneurial Potential and Success (STEPS)</p> <p>World Bank (2013a)</p>	<p>Implemented in 2 rounds between 2011 and 2013. STEPS involved 1) a marketplace competition to identify and support adolescent girls who wanted to start or expand a business and that reached</p>	<p>Marketplace intervention monitored through surveys at 7 and 10 months post-training with participants as well as qualitative interviews with stakeholders.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 21 new businesses set up and 20 expanded among marketplace participants. Female-led businesses still had higher failure rate than male-led businesses.

Study description	Intervention design	Type of evaluation	Outcomes
	400 beneficiaries; 2) career counselling offices to provide support and job placement services to university graduates.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 140 new jobs created by business growth. • Limited gender disaggregated results from counselling stream: half of students registered with career counselling service at National University of Laos were female and one third registered at Pakpasak Technical College.
Rwanda Botea et al. (2015)	Delivered to 2,000 adolescent girls in 3 cohorts between 2012 and 2014. Provided skills development and entrepreneurial support. Second component to support girls into higher education is not included in the evaluation.	Non-experimental – follows individual participants before, during and after intervention using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. Sample of 160 girls.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase in non-farm employment. • Proportion of girls reporting businesses, wage employment or internship increased from 50% to 70%. • Amounts earned in income-generating activities increased significantly. • Report larger social networks and greater self-confidence.

Learning from the Adolescent Girls Initiative suggests a number of ways in which active labour market programmes can be adapted for the strongest impacts. Several evaluations stress the importance of flexibility and childcare. For example, in Liberia participants could choose a class in the morning or afternoon and were provided with free childcare (Adoho et al, 2014). Classes in Haiti took place in the morning so participants could travel more safely, and gender training was provided in the technical training centres to prevent and identify abuse (Rodella et al., 2015). Both these programmes had a very low dropout rate.

The importance of the development of ‘soft skills’ to improve employment outcomes is also a strong piece of learning. Adoho et al. (2014) report that in Liberia the programme offered a range of additional support and flexibility – including assistance to open savings accounts in local banks, and small teams formed with a mentor to provide support and foster networks. All this contributed to a retention rate of 90%. It is important to note that the programme was not targeted to the most vulnerable segments of society. Based on comparisons with national data, participants were more educated, more literate and more likely to be engaged in income-generating activity and owned more assets than the average Liberia woman their age.

There are also significant impacts on the quality of work available and earnings. The programmes show matching training closely to the local labour market is vital for success. The programme in Haiti deliberately provided training in non-traditional roles to participants, after consultation with stakeholders on existing employment opportunities in Haiti’s labour market. Three months after the intervention, participants seemed to be transitioning towards higher-skilled jobs in a very difficult labour market (Rodella et al., 2015).

Botea et al. (2015) found the likelihood of girls applying the trade they had been trained in varied significantly. Between 38% and 53% of culinary, food processing and agri-business trainees were doing work connected to their training at endline. However, although 61% of

arts and crafts trainees had at least one non-farm income-generating activity, only 12% among them said they were using their trade. Participants suggested the programme needed to expand the range of trade training on offer in order to more closely match the labour market situation. However, average earnings and business profits doubled over the course of the project and savings and livestock ownership also increased. In Liberia, Adoho et al. (2014) report an increase in earnings of 80% and in employment of 45%.

The evaluation of the programme in Nepal stresses that it is important that skills programmes educate girls and their families about the returns of work in non-traditional trades and growing higher-paying fields, rather than focusing on training in areas like hairdressing or tailoring (Chakravarty et al., 2015b).

The evaluations show generally positive impacts on girls' self-confidence and sense of inclusion, and some impacts around changing family and community attitudes to girls' work.

Adoho et al. (2014) show that in Liberia participants grew in self-confidence and had reduced anxiety about their circumstances and the future. Rodella et al. (2015) found a range of empowerment outcomes, including an increased sense of autonomy, self-confidence, self-esteem and sense of increased standing within the family. Botea et al. (2015) found girl participants had increased their social networks and plans for the future had become a more common topic of conversation, suggesting increases in self-esteem and self-confidence.

At a community level, Adoho et al. (2014) found some evidence that linked the programme to shifting gender norms. The household survey showed no change in attitudes towards age of marriage but there was some change in perceptions of who should be responsible for household tasks, at 0.2 standard deviations. Rodella et al. (2015) found parents who had been doubtful about their girl children working outside the home were more supportive on seeing them graduate and start internships. Botea et al. (2015) also found an increase in family and community support: at follow-up, respondents who said they had someone to borrow money from in an emergency had risen from 61% to 72%, and those reporting they had a place to meet female friends from 67% to 79%.

However, the study of the programme in Nepal found no impact on empowerment. The authors stress that programme designers need to consider specialised outreach strategies to reach adolescent girls and recruit them into skills training, which are aware of the restrictions on mobility many adolescent girls experience. They suggest a recruitment strategy that engages communities and families could lead to more successful outcomes overall (Chakravarty et al., 2015b).

5.5.3 Vocational training for people with disabilities

Many countries have training and employment services programmes that aim to increase employment for people with disabilities. Examples include Programa de Formación en Oficios para Jóvenes de Escasos Recursos in Chile (Puerto, 2007a) and India's Apprenticeship Training Scheme (UNDP, 2012). However, we did not locate any studies that met the inclusion criteria for this review. Two recent systematic reviews (Lemmi et al., 2015; Tripney et al., 2015) look in part at the impact of interventions on labour force participation and income for people living with disability. Both report a small number of studies and caution that firm conclusions about effectiveness cannot be drawn. This thus marks a significant gap in the literature.

Lemmi et al. (2015) look at the impact of community-based rehabilitation programmes and located only one study that discussing the effects of impact on employment or working ability – a programme in China that slightly improved schizophrenic patients’ ability to work full time (57.9% compared with 54.9% in the control group).

We found no studies on the impact of vocational training for youth with disabilities and the available literature suggests most existing programmes or training centres are local small-scale initiatives (Kett, 2012). China provides mandatory vocational training; in 2008, 15,460 students with disabilities were attending a vocational high school – a reported increase of 52% on 2004. However, in 2009, only 1.5% of adults with disabilities had actually graduated from a vocational training institute (Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, 2010). National youth policies seem to be inconsistent in how they deal with disability. The 2007 Kenyan youth policy states that youth with disabilities are a primary area of concern but none of its 10 objectives mention disability (Mugo et al., 2010).

We found no evidence of any large-scale programmes providing information and communication technology (ICT) training to any group, but we did locate some research on small-scale ICT training for people with disabilities in Latin America. Pal et al. (2009) look at the impact of programmes in Mexico, Venezuela, Ecuador, Guatemala and Brazil and find increased aspirations among those had received training and that having access to a training centre built confidence and social networks. Interview data show many programme graduates were able to make the transition into formal employment.

5.6 Public works and employment guarantee schemes

Public works and employment guarantee schemes provide short-term employment, generally on labour-intensive infrastructure development initiatives (Holmes and Jones, 2011). They have the potential for anti-discrimination and inclusion outcomes in terms of both economic empowerment and changing attitudes towards what work can be done by whom. Much of the available research focuses on income and expenditure outcomes for poor populations in general (see Hagen-Zanker et al., 2011 for an overview). However, we focus on outcomes of programmes in India and Ethiopia on attitudes towards gender and women’s empowerment and India’s programme on the well-being of members of ST/SCs. We did not locate any evidence around the impact of these programmes on broader labour market outcomes, transitions to other kinds of employment or the addition of public works programmes to a portfolio of livelihood activities.

5.6.1 India

The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) became part of the Indian Constitution in 2005. MGNREGS is a rights-based, demand-driven programme that provides 100 days of guaranteed employment; by 2011 it had reached 40 million households and created 1.7 billion person days of employment (Holmes et al., 2011).

Gendered impacts

MGNREGS was designed with several features to promote gender equality, most notably the provision of crèche facilities, the guarantee of equal wages for men and women, women's representation on committees and a one third quota for available work (Holmes and Jones, 2011).

We located four studies that look specifically at the gendered impacts of the scheme. Holmes et al. (2010) is a mixed-methods study drawing on national data and interviews. Arora et al.'s (2013) study used a sample of 250 from one district in Haryana – selected by programme officials because there had been good impacts. Jandu (2008) surveyed a total of 776 women and 40 gram panchayat members in four states and present their findings using descriptive statistics. Sudarshan (2011) used interviews and group discussions with men, women and community leaders in four states to assess the impact of the programme.

Across all the studies in this section, women who participated showed high levels of satisfaction with the programme. Holmes et al. (2010), Arora et al. (2013) and Sudarshan (2011) show positive impacts on consumption and income. Arora et al.'s study finds an increase in women's reported self-confidence of 67% following the scheme. Holmes et al.'s more in-depth research finds small positive impacts on women's intra-household decision-making power and economic status – although in some cases women's additional employment has exacerbated household tension.

In terms of programme implementation, studies show women have been excluded as a result of perceptions about what is appropriate work for women – finding that women are more often given 'soft work' like removing soil when wells are dug. Jandu (2008) includes a detailed assessment of the worksites in the study communities and find very low levels of childcare provision: only 28% of respondents stated this was available at their worksite. This finding is echoed in Sudarshan (2011): women explained that children were left unattended or a woman needed to bring along another child to provide care. Kandpal et al. (2012) identify that access to MGNREGS cards, required to access work, can also be a barrier. The study reports that, before taking part in the Mahila Samakhya programme, women found local officials restricted their access by refusing to add their name to household identification cards when they felt the work was unsuitable. After exposure to the programme, 61% of women had MGNREGS cards compared with only 49% of non-participants.

There are also concerns that, despite the one third quota for representation of women in the panchayati raj institutions, which largely control local implementation of the scheme, actual participation is very limited (Pankaj and Tankha, 2010). Arora et al. (2014) report increased participation in only 34% of cases. Jandu (2008) also shows low levels of women's participation in committees associated with MGNREGA – less than 1% said they were involved.

Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes

MGNREGS includes a provision to create assets in the communities on SC and ST land. We did not locate any studies that dealt with the impact of the programme on SCs and STs beyond participation rates. National data show that, in 2010/11, SC and STs had a participation rate of almost 20%, compared with national representation of 14% and 8%, respectively. However, while several studies we located during the search explore participation levels for STs and SCs (Bhupal, 2012; Mishra et al., 2010; Nihidi, 2013), we did not locate any research on the impact of MGNREGS on their consumption, inclusion or well-being.

6.6.2 Ethiopia

We located a limited amount of relevant literature around Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP). The PSNP was launched in 2005 and aims to smooth consumption for poor households through a combination of cash transfers and creating community assets through a public works programme. Holmes and Jones (2011) draw on mixed-methods primary research and Ethiopia's 2008 evaluation of the programme to consider the gendered impacts of the PSNP. They note that the programme design takes women's needs into account in several ways: a requirement for the provision of childcare facilities and provision for the inclusion of female-headed households, women and men's different physical capabilities and women's higher levels of time poverty. The research shows that, although childcare provision has been inconsistent, there is a relatively high participation rate for women. The programme has increased consumption and has been particularly valuable for female-headed households. The research also found that, although wages for participation are low, women and teenage girls participants felt they were now less vulnerable to labour abuse, through a reduction in their need to work as domestic employees in nearby towns. However, the programme seems to have little effect on gendered perceptions of appropriate work – with men still paid more and assigned 'heavy' and skilled work – although there is some suggestion that this is changing slowly. Gains in women's social capital are also evident as women participate in PSNP committee and gain confidence in expressing their opinion.

5.7 Conclusion and gaps

5.7.1 Key insights

This section of the review presents a broadly positive picture of the impact of anti-discrimination measures on access to employment and incomes for excluded groups. Affirmative action policies designed to address longstanding disadvantage have been successful in India and South Africa at increasing the representation of excluded groups in the workplace but evidence of their broader impacts on incomes and well-being is more mixed. In both contexts, there is concern about the creation of a small elite middle class that benefits disproportionately from these policies and leaves the most disadvantaged behind (Bezuidenhout et al., 2008; Burger and Jafta, 2006, 2010; Jeffrey et al., 2005; Thorat, 2007). Public support for the existence of affirmative action measures, as they currently exist, seems to be strong in both contexts, although some qualitative evidence from India shows strong resistance to the expansion of reservations into the private sector (Jodhka and Newman, 2007). In South Africa there is broad support for further expansion of BEE measures to further tackle economic and structural inequalities, and the government has been willing to adjust and expand the legislation.

Labour market outcomes are also dependent on outcomes in other areas of national policy, such as on education, welfare, health, housing and transportation (Bezuidenhout et al., 2008; Lee, 2012), and this relationship is evident in both affirmative action and training policies. In both India and South Africa, the quality of education available to disadvantaged groups is seen as a limiting factor on the quality and level of subsequent employment. For vocational skills training to lead to successful labour market outcomes, the evidence shows, close

relationships with employers, skills carefully matched to the labour market and providing additional 'soft' skills training are all effective (Groh et al., 2012; Rodella et al., 2015). Adjustments to how training is delivered, through the provision of a crèche, adjusted timings or additional mentoring and support, can encourage participation and so contribute to positive outcomes (Adoho et al., 2014). The potential for labour market policy to break down stereotypes and occupational segregation is vast and can be achieved through policies including quotas systems; non-traditional skills training can boost incomes and begin to change attitudes (Rodella et al., 2015; UN Women, 2015).

Participation in the labour market through public works programmes does appear to slightly empower women in other spheres of their lives and build social networks, although the evidence here is not very strong in studies of MNREGS (Arora et al., 2013; Kandpal et al., 2012; Sudarshan, 2011). Conversely, a lack of social networks and connections can limit the employment prospects of students who have benefited from reservations in the education system (Deshpande and Newman, 2007).

5.7.2 Gaps

Each policy area covered in this section has its own problems related to the available evidence. On disability, little is available with which it is possible to make causal links, evaluations of youth training lack long-term follow-up on impacts and public works lack disaggregation between different social groups, and little is available that considers either informal or self-employment or the adaption of policies to the changing nature of labour markets or formalisation of the workforce. There is a lack of evidence linking anti-discrimination measures in labour markets with reductions in income poverty or increasing consumption.

The areas of labour market policy that can be used to tackle discrimination and exclusion are vast; for this review, we located a literature that is both geographically and thematically fragmented. In terms of improving access to labour markets, the impacts of affirmative action policy that legislates for employment or ownership quotas is rarely discussed outside the contexts of South Africa and India in the literature on LMICs. We did not find any evidence on the impacts of policies such as wage subsidies and job search facilities to help discriminated groups of people access employment.

There is a clear lack of literature around the inclusion of people with disabilities in labour markets and a small number of large-scale programmes. We did not locate any studies that dealt with workplace adjustment or behaviour and attitude change among employers, and qualitative evidence shows professionally trained people experience stigma and discrimination. We did not include community-based rehabilitation programmes in our review, and there are potentially some outcomes around changed attitudes towards the abilities of disabled persons in this literature. We also did not include rehabilitation and retraining of people who had experienced workplace accidents. One recent systematic review by Tripney et al. (2015) that considers labour market outcomes for adults with disabilities was able to locate only 14 small-scale studies from LMICs. However, these do show that adaptation and rehabilitation programmes generally seem to have positive outcomes.

We found very little evidence around formal employment conditions and the use of litigation to enforce anti-discrimination legislation. This is particularly notable in the case of women's employment rights and the enforcement of policies around maternity leave, flexible working and early childhood care, but also in cases of discrimination in employers' procedures' for promotion. There was also little literature around affirmative action policies for women's employment. The only discussion of quotas for women's employment was from South Africa.

A final notable gap is discussion of the impact of civil society organisations, trades unions and law courts in driving change and building on affirmative action policies – through taking discrimination cases to court and seeking redress from employers, for example.

6. Conclusions

Our aim was to explore the evidence on how affirmative actions at the national level operate and to assess their impact on targeted groups in relation to political participation, education access and achievement and labour market inclusion. The evidence in this study is highly methodologically diverse and our conclusions involve both some observations on the dataset and some on the substance of our findings.

6.1 Overall conclusions and reflections

One of the more problematic issues in the design of affirmative action to target marginalised groups is the naming and embedding of categories of person. The evidence suggests the use of some categories as the basis for affirmative action can create competition between groups, particularly where significant resources are perceived as being at stake; can reinforce and embed difference in society (as with caste in India or race in society); and can create a false impression of unity (women). We should be aware that categories often change and evolve over time, but also that they create new dimensions of inclusion and exclusion. This means their impacts should be carefully monitored and iterations may be needed to address emerging patterns of exclusion.

Our study found limited direct evidence that affirmative action contributes to reduced poverty or is an important tool for enhancing the lives of the poorest people. This is largely because almost all studies assess the impact on specific groups and relatively few disaggregate between members of the targeted groups. Furthermore, most studies look at the immediate impacts and do not consider other, longer-run, consequences. This is particularly the case for education, where the time lag between the impacts of a policy and impacts on poverty status (even using multidimensional measures) are likely to be longer.

However, there is positive evidence of an impact on poverty. The limited overall size of the evidence base should not obscure this finding. There is evidence that employment reservations in India have had positive impacts on income and consumption and clear evidence that employment of marginalised castes and tribes, and racial groups, particularly in the public sector, has increased in India, South Africa and Malaysia.

Furthermore, training schemes targeted at disadvantaged youth (specifically poor urban young women in Latin America) have mostly had a positive impact on employment and wage rates. There is also some evidence that increasing political representation of marginalised groups has led to service improvements, but the strength of this evidence is contested.

Although we could not find studies examining the poverty implications of anti-discrimination measures in education, a mostly positive record in enhancing discriminated groups' access to education and learning means there is a plausible case that these measures are helping reduce horizontal inequalities. However, in that a combination of economic barriers, limited accessibility and poor quality of education, and, in some cases, overt discrimination hamper marginalised groups' education, it is feasible that addressing these barriers would have a stronger impact on marginalised groups' access than quotas or reduced entry requirements.

There is also some evidence that greater representation of marginalised groups has led to improvements in service quality and potentially thus to impacts on multidimensional aspects of poverty. The strength of, and caveats to, this evidence are discussed in Section 6.2.1.

There are a number of plausible routes by means of which affirmative action might contribute to reduced poverty. There is some evidence suggesting it can indeed lead to change via any of the routes outlined in the theory of change. The evidence base is largest concerning the removal of institutional obstacles (such as low political representation) and enhancement of capabilities, through education and training. There is much less evidence concerning the role of attitude and norm change, though such evidence as exists – largely from campaigns to change attitudes towards gender inequality and to reduce stigma associated with HIV/AIDS – suggests this can be an important route and deserves greater attention.

There are also a number of reasons why these routes might be blocked in practice. Most importantly, laws and policies may be acceded to for political gain in the international arena or with certain domestic interest groups with no real intention of resourcing their implementation. Alternatively policies and laws passed in good faith may subsequently be under-resourced if the case for other groups or sectors' needs can be made more strongly. For example, policy commitments to reducing discrimination against disabled people have rarely been matched with the necessary resources for effective implementation. Entrenched discriminatory social norms may need concerted social mobilisation efforts to shift them, although policies and laws can give an important signal of the direction of change.

Is affirmative action more effective for some marginalised groups or in some sectors in LMICs than others? There is no clear evidence pointing to greater (or lesser) effectiveness for specific groups. The effectiveness of policy depends on the extent of discrimination (how deep and widespread it is); marginalised groups' current capabilities (which affect how far they are able to benefit from reservations or other affirmative action measures); the extent to which policy implementation is resourced and there are incentives to implement or not implement it; and the politics surrounding implementation. A history of political mobilisation around particular forms of discrimination and the size of the group in question plays a vital role. Where there are entrenched racial or caste inequalities affecting a large group, there has typically been more mobilisation and more concerted efforts to redress discrimination than where marginalised groups are small or have not managed to bring political pressure to bear.

Overall greatest attention to gender. The evidence examined suggests globally more countries have implemented affirmative action provisions to redress gender discrimination than other forms of discrimination. This has largely been concentrated in the political and educational spheres. At least 85 countries worldwide have implemented quotas or reservations for political representation. These have generally boosted the numbers of women formally represented. Evidence is more mixed as to how far they have led to gains for these groups.

In education, at both school and higher education levels, there has been concerted effort to reduce gender discrimination. This has contributed to the emergence of reverse gender gaps in primary and secondary schooling in some countries, and to much greater gender parity in others. The small body of evidence on gender-based affirmative action in Anglophone African countries suggests these measures have helped increase the proportion of women studying in higher education and specifically the numbers taking STEM subjects.

Other than some evidence of affirmative action policies in South Africa's labour markets and youth training schemes that have a strong focus on disadvantaged young women, we found little evidence of implementation of laws and policies aiming to combat discrimination on the grounds of gender in labour markets.

Race and caste. In some countries with significant race- or caste-based inequalities, there has been concerted effort to counter discrimination through political, educational and labour market quotas (e.g. India) and combinations of quotas and other affirmative measures (e.g. reduced entry requirements for higher education in Brazil or expanding provision to facilitate discriminated groups' access, e.g. Malaysia, South Africa). Changing admissions policies in higher education in South Africa are one of the few examples we found of generalised anti-discrimination laws filtering down and leading to change in admission patterns. We also found strong evidence of the value of mother tongue and/or bilingual instruction in the early grades of primary school, which has a disproportionately positive effect on marginalised racial and ethnic groups (and in India STs) and on children from poor households whose access to national languages is often lower. Of the three 'sectors' we examined, measures to address racial discrimination appear most common in education and least common in the political sphere.

Disability. The only area of policy and practice where there appears to be a significant focus on reducing discrimination against disabled people is in school education. Studies of inclusive education for disabled children in schools concentrate on barriers to implementation, including teachers' attitudes, so there is little robust evidence assessing the actual change inclusive education policies have – or have not – achieved for disabled children. The evidence base on affirmative action for disabled students in higher education is very small (two studies). As with school education, studies of labour markets and disability tend to concentrate on discriminatory experiences and barriers to implementation rather than the impact of anti-discrimination legislation. This may reflect the fact that implementation is, in practice, very limited.

We found no evidence of laws or policies being used to improve the position of other marginalised groups. This is not to say these do not exist but their impact is not being assessed.

6.1.2 Impacts on children and youth

The vast majority of evidence on children and youth relates to the impacts of affirmative action and inclusion policies on school education, higher education and youth training programmes. These studies primarily show positive effects. Gains in school education reflect a combination of investment in enhancing quality and accessibility for all and targeted measures to enhance the participation and/or learning of specific groups, such as cash transfers, reforms to language of instruction and efforts to promote the inclusion of disabled children. Gains in higher education and training are typically much targeted more at specific groups perceived as disadvantaged.

We did not find any studies that related to gains in the labour market position of a marginalised group or in its political representation with well-being gains for the children and young people of that group. Linkages are plausible but seem not to have been a focus of the literature.

6.2 Experience of affirmative action in specific sectors

6.2.1 Affirmative action in political participation

There is a reasonable evidence base on affirmative action in political participation, but it is rather skewed by a considerable volume of evidence on local government reservations in India for women and scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

Contrary to what is often reported in the policy literature, there is very mixed evidence on whether women's political representation and indeed that of other groups makes much difference in terms of policy outcomes and reduced marginalisation or improvements in poverty or well-being levels. Indeed, while some evidence does suggest policy-makers from marginalised groups are more interested in policies that would assist people like them, the evidence base is not methodologically strong enough to support this as a general conclusion. Such findings (which tend to be quantitative) are often refuted by more intensive political economy and qualitative analysis.

Indeed, there is some evidence that representatives of discriminated against groups primarily pursue their parties' policies rather than necessarily pursuing those that would improve the position of their social groups (though there is often some common ground). This is not surprising, but helps explain why numerical representation of specific groups is insufficient to lead to significant change for these groups.

6.2.2 Affirmative action in education

The education section of this review covered a diverse set of interventions and policies at school and in higher education. The studies reviewed suggest broad policies to promote marginalised groups' access to school education have had reasonable success in enhancing enrolment levels, particularly for girls, ethnic minorities and marginalised castes and tribes in India. Similarly, large-scale non-formal education programmes either running in parallel to the mainstream education or more closely linked to the formal education system but providing more flexible access and learning appear to have played an important role in

enhancing educational opportunities for some marginalised groups. This is typically children whose mobile or agricultural livelihoods or other work activities conflict with school schedules, or children who are not prioritised for formal education, such as girls in some contexts.

It is clear that policies focused on access (such as financial incentives) have typically had positive effects on school attendance but that effects on learning outcomes are more mixed. Such evidence as exists suggests attention to effective pedagogy has had positive effects on learning for children from discriminated against groups, as it has for more advantaged children. The evidence on this is based on a relatively small number of studies and further research is needed. The one area of pedagogy where there are a reasonable number of studies is on the effects of mother language instruction in primary school, which typically has particular benefits for discriminated against ethnic and racial group and for poorer children whose access to media or reading materials in national languages is usually more limited.

Studies of anti-discrimination provisions in higher education indicate emphases vary between countries or regions and focus, for example, on caste in India, gender in East Africa and racial inequalities in Malaysia, Brazil and South Africa. The most common approach has been to establish quotas and reduce entry requirements for discriminated against groups. These approaches can, however, only assist the relatively small number of students from marginalised groups who complete secondary education. Where lower proportions of marginalised groups than of the population as a whole are completing secondary education (as in most LMICs), more systemic measures that tackle 1) economic barriers to education, 2) poor-quality teaching, 3) discriminatory attitudes and practices within schools and 4) specific barriers affecting particular groups (e.g. language of instruction) are needed to achieve more fundamental change in marginalised groups' capabilities to progress to higher education.

Malaysia and South Africa have implemented more systemic reforms related to funding allocations and expanding provision in both schools and higher education. These have gone some way to facilitating marginalised groups' access. These are both, notably, middle-income countries, where the measure constituted one of several simultaneously implemented approaches to redressing inequalities and discrimination affecting a discriminated-against racial majority. Future research could identify how effective strategies to mobilise political support for investment in enhancing the quality of education and facilitating disadvantaged groups' access differ where these groups constitute the majority of the population and where they are marginalised minorities, and between low- and middle-income contexts.

Despite the fact that discriminatory attitudes and practices on the part of teachers and other students are well-recognised reasons for children dropping out of school (this is particularly well documented with respect to caste in India), other than training in inclusive education we found no evidence of large-scale attitude change campaigns or training of teachers in anti-discriminatory practice. This appears to be a significant gap in both policy and evidence.

Foundation and access courses appear to have promising potential in helping widen participation in higher education though more in-depth investigation (beyond the existing small-scale studies of affirmative action for women in higher education in a few Anglophone African countries) is needed to confirm this. This would require some initial mapping work to

identify initiatives, followed by evaluation of their impact. Again, action to increase disabled students' access to higher education is a clear practice and evidence gap.

6.2.3 Affirmative action in labour markets

The labour markets section of the review concerned a range of intervention types that aim to increase access to formal employment and improve the quality of employment accessible to marginalised groups. Two areas emerged as having the strongest bodies of evidence: vocational training and job placement schemes for disadvantaged young people in Latin America and affirmative action policies in India and South Africa's labour market.

Both India and South Africa have increased the representation of discriminated- against groups; however, the available literature tends to be limited as to the presentation and discussion of the available national data. Broader changes in attitudes and poverty do not seem to have been widely researched, and there is a lack of literature on the implementation, shaping and development of these policies as well as experiences within the workplace. Affirmative action policies are in place across Latin America but we did not find any literature that discussed their impact. This is a significant gap.

The review located studies looking at policy for people with disabilities, including affirmative action quotas, supported work environments and targeted training policies. Much more literature is available for small-scale interventions in this area; there seems to be a significant gap in large-scale training policy or implementation or existing legislation. Rights-based literature around the capabilities of people with disabilities and the development and change of policy is also largely absent from this review. Very few countries have yet submitted reports to the monitoring body of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

6.3 Evidence gaps

Our review found a number of areas where we would have expected a more substantial body of evidence:

The politics of implementation and resistance to anti-discrimination policies. Although anti-discrimination laws, policies and programmes are profoundly political, we found limited analysis of the political economy surrounding decisions to accede to conventions or to pass anti-discriminatory legislation. We also found limited analysis concerning actual experiences of implementation and the ways in which well-intentioned policies are deliberately subverted or fail in implementation. One exception to this is the small number of studies related to actual implementation or non-implementation of inclusive education for disabled children, and policies allowing girls who have given birth to return to school (discussed in Sections 4.2.3 and 4.2.4). More detailed empirical analysis of the politics of implementation, non-implementation and active resistance (rather than simply discontent) to affirmative action policies would be insightful.

Surprisingly, we found no analysis of corruption and 'gaming the system' in relation to membership of social groups eligible to benefit from affirmative action, though there is some journalistic evidence, particularly from India, that this takes place.

Use of legal test cases. We found little evidence on where individuals or groups have brought test cases to establish legal precedent and drive greater implementation of anti-discrimination laws. Such cases may exist – and may be primarily documented within the legal literature – but are not crossing over into the social science and development practice knowledge base. Again, we were surprised by the lack of evidence from South Africa with regard to this issue. We located only one study that documented the use of anti-discrimination laws to achieve quality of life improvements for disadvantaged individuals and groups in South Africa (Berger, 2003). This may indicate a gap in our search process rather than a lack of evidence and should be explored further.

The role of civil society mobilisation. Although our theory of change suggests civil society mobilisation is likely to be an important driver of anti-discrimination policies and programmes, we found rather limited evidence on this issue. Such evidence as we found suggests women's movements have played an important role in driving the adoption of some laws and policies to promote women and girls' rights, and that broad, leftist social and political mobilisation has driven some policies aimed at reducing inequalities between different social groups, particularly in Latin America, India and South Africa. We were surprised to find no studies concerning the role of trade unions in challenging labour market discrimination.

Robust evidence on affirmative action for people with disabilities. Across all the areas of study there was very little evidence of affirmative action policies for people with disabilities; where these exist on paper, there is limited evidence that they are actually being implemented. There is evidence that a number of countries have policies on political inclusion, for inclusive education and for labour market inclusion. However, data and analysis on the impact of these measures are unavailable (particularly for labour markets and political inclusion). This is a clear gap for future work. Some evidence of the impact of inclusive education policies and programmes for children with disabilities exists, with a strong focus on the resourcing, institutional and attitudinal barriers that undermine inclusive education, particularly in low-income countries.

A wider range of evidence of affirmative action for marginalised racial groups or ethnic groups. There is some evidence of attempts to include marginalised racial or ethnic groups through affirmative action in all areas. Again, robust evidence on the impact of these policies is patchy, other than a small set of studies that generally show positive effects from mother tongue instruction in primary schooling. We were surprised not to find more conclusive evidence from South Africa in relation to post-apartheid reform, though studies from South Africa constitute just under 10% of documents included in the review.

We found very little evidence of affirmative action by class or recognition of intersecting inequalities. There appears to be a generalised absence of affirmative action by economic class in the evidence base. This suggests lack of recognition in the design of some affirmative action programmes of the ways inequalities intersect. While we recognise that poorer socioeconomic groups are often the basis of targeted social protection policy, this is not necessarily affirmative action or anti-discriminatory.

One area where the intersection of economic disadvantage and group-based discrimination has been recognised is in policies to promote girls' school attendance. These are intended both to help address economic barriers to girls' education and to incentivise families in

contexts where families prioritise spending scarce resources on boys' education rather than that of girls. There is clear evidence that financial incentives (cash and in-kind transfers, scholarships) have played an important role in increasing girls' school attendance, though evidence concerning their impact on learning is more mixed. Cash incentives have also been used to promote ethnic minority children's access to education in Vietnam; these have helped bolster ethnic minority boys' and girls' attendance rates at junior secondary school. Some research suggests they have played a particularly significant role for ethnic minority girls whose education would otherwise have been deprioritised.

Affirmative action in higher education has been moderately successful in increasing the participation of women, and in some contexts ethnic minorities. Typically, gains have been confined largely to better off members of these disadvantaged groups (with some exceptions, including some studies of disadvantaged castes in India and Afro-Brazilians). This may reflect the fact that affirmative action programmes generally do not provide significant financial assistance to the groups whose representation they aim to promote, typically concentrating on lower entry requirements and some (rather limited) measures to promote inclusive attitudes or make mobility-related adjustments for students with physical disabilities. Though economic barriers to participation are well recognised, provisions such as stipends, scholarships and low-interest loans are available on too limited a basis in many countries to help poor young people in general, and in particular young people from discriminated groups, to participate in higher education.

Case studies of higher education access/widening participation programmes that do include financial support measures would both help identify good practice lessons and could help explore their relative contribution compared with measures focusing on entry requirements or providing catch-up courses. Some mapping to identify these initiatives is needed as this review found no evaluations of such programmes, though there were some references to initiatives in Uganda and South Africa.

Very little evidence on many groups recognised to commonly experience discrimination. Studies related to pastoralists focus only on access to education and educational achievement, reflecting recognition that pastoralist children constitute a significant group with limited access to education. Despite some targeted initial searching, we did not find robust assessments of initiatives in this area, and our review had to draw on syntheses, which themselves may have drawn on studies of varying methodological quality.

We were surprised to find very few studies of campaigns to change discriminatory attitudes other than initiatives to reduce stigma against people with HIV/AIDS and one study of a campaign to reduce stigma against leprosy. Both recorded positive attitude changes, though the studies were conducted a relatively short time after programmes ended so evidence of their long-term effects is not available. It was notable that discussions of broader affirmative action measures did not include analysis of communications aiming to change attitude and practices. It is not clear whether the implementation of anti-discriminatory legislation, policies and programmes does not involve these broader communication components or whether studies simply do not report on them.

We found very few studies of efforts to reduce discrimination against refugees, migrants, people with limited citizenship rights, people with stigmatising health conditions, including mental health problems, or people with non-heteronormative sexual identities. This may be

because such initiatives are generally small-scale and initiated by NGOs, and thus did not meet the inclusion criteria for this review.

6.4 Methodological reflections and gaps

The parameters for this review include a wide range of studies with different methodological foundations. In relation to political participation and education, the nature of the reservations in India enables natural experiments. However, the many different studies usually explore different variables and different regions in India, which makes comparison more problematic. Qualitative research on India's political reservations appears to present very different conclusions to the quantitative studies. It is noticeable that mixed-methods studies are very rare. The nature of political quotas or reservations in other contexts (with the exception of Lesotho) makes natural experiment a rare possibility. Some studies of education and labour markets also exploit policy change to conduct natural experiment-based analysis; more would be helpful where data allow (data are disaggregated more widely by gender than by race and large-scale quantitative data on disability are rare).

Particularly in relation to education and labour markets, the evidence does not track outcomes over time, making it difficult to draw conclusions on the impacts on poverty of anti-discrimination policies and programmes in these areas. Some panel data analysis and longitudinal studies on political participation are available. This is crucial, given that the benefits of wider participation are assumed to be time lagged and incremental.

Where evaluations of policy or programmes exist, there is often not enough detail on implementation to make an assessment of the robustness of the evidence presented. For many initiatives, we found only one study. For others we found only two or three, all discussing the issue from a slightly different angle, making it difficult to triangulate conclusions. For example, we found only one study of affirmative action in higher education for Afro-Brazilians; although this study encouragingly showed a positive effect in terms of increasing poor students' access to higher education, this is an insufficient basis on which to draw broader conclusions.

In addition, in other work (particularly linked to international conventions such as CEDAW or ILO), there are snapshots of national data presented with change over time but little link made to the assessment of particular policies.

6.5 Geographical gaps

There are notable geographical gaps in the evidence. Given the longstanding nature of affirmative action in India, it is not surprising that a quarter of all documents used for this review discussed evidence from India. We were, however, surprised not to find more evidence from Nepal, given that some political reservations for Dalits, Janajatis (ethnic minorities) and women exist.

In all areas we found very little evidence on South East Asia (other than Malaysia and Vietnam). The Middle East and North Africa is extremely poorly represented, with only four of the 448 studies reviewed focusing on this region.

Studies on Latin America constituted 15% of those included in the review. In relation to the labour market, there are gaps in the evidence on Latin America, particularly that on the impact of affirmative action policies for indigenous and Afro-descendant groups. This may reflect the fact that we did not include any literature in Portuguese and thus from Brazil only materials in English were included. Given South Africa's history, we also expected to find far more evidence on affirmative action in relation to political participation and higher education, but the evidence found was not always very useable for this type of review: it typically presented an overview of trends but without analysis of the impact of specific measures. This may, in part, reflect the nature of the data available and the difficulty of isolating the impacts of particular policies.

Our review found only two documents relating to Francophone Africa. This may reflect the fact that we did not actively search in French, though we did include any French language documents obtained.

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Annex 1: Initial review questions

The review was initially intended to answer the following main question:

How far and in what ways have anti-discrimination policies and programmes contributed to reduction of deprivation among the poorest people?

It was also hoped that it would be possible to answer some of the following sub-questions:

1. What has been the impact of anti-discrimination policies and programmes on income/consumption/expenditure poverty among poor and socially excluded groups?
2. What has been the impact of anti-discrimination policies and programmes on multidimensional poverty among poor and socially excluded groups?
3. What has been the impact of anti-discrimination policies and programmes on poor and socially excluded people's perceptions of their well-being?
4. What has been the impact of anti-discrimination policies and programmes on poor, socially excluded children and youth?
5. What contextual factors and programme/policy design and implementation features are most important in explaining positive impacts and limited impacts?
6. What complementary activities have the greatest effect on the effectiveness of anti-discrimination policies and programmes for poor people?

In practice, we found some evidence related to questions 1 and 2 and very little on question 3. Almost all evidence on question 4 related to education and training, although there is some limited evidence that increasing political representation of marginalised groups can result in improved services to those groups, with positive effects on children. Typically, contextual factors are not discussed in quantitative studies based on analysis of existing datasets and most studies give insufficient details on policy design or implementation to be able to answer question 5 or 6.

Annex 2: Methodology

This annex brings together the methodological information about the search conducted for this review – following a brief introduction. Section A2.1 give the keywords used, Section A2.2 the handsearch locations and Section A2.3 definitions used by the research team during the search.

The literature search combined searches in a range of locations and was designed so that key programmes and policies were picked up and recorded at all stages of the search and could be handsearched to look for any further available information about their impact.

Searches were conducted using

- Google
- Google Scholar
- Pub Med
- Econ Lit
- IBSS
- ERIC
- Sociological Abstracts

We conducted forward and backward snowballing on the documents found during the first stage of the search process, conducted handsearching (Section A2.2) and considered the relevant international human rights reports from selected countries. Recommendations for experts and programmes known by the research team were also added.

Studies were added to an EPPI Reviewer database based on the inclusion criteria in Table A1. Inclusion decisions were made by one researcher and papers were assessed during two levels of screening by the paper’s authors. Uploaded studies were coding to capture basis information about the study and the type of research design used.

Table A1: Inclusion criteria

Language	Is the study in English, French or Spanish	If not exclude ...
Publication type	Is the paper a Masters thesis?	If yes exclude (for PhD thesis code as such and search for shorter research articles from it later)
Location	Does the study take place in a LMIC	If not exclude
Time	Was the study published after 2000	If not exclude
Focus	Does the study discuss an anti-discrimination policy or intervention in health, education, social protection, labour markets or political participation? Does it discuss a large-scale policy or programme or a pilot study	If not exclude
Design	Is the paper a research study, evaluation or analysis paper?	If unsure, include
Outcomes	Does the study look at impact on an excluded group? Does the study assess changes among excluded groups in any of <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • income/consumption poverty • multidimensional deprivation • social inclusion • access to services or information • experience of work • representation • empowerment • subjective well-being or feelings of inclusion/exclusion 	If not exclude

A.2.1 Search keyword grids

Broad search

Education	Child*		Poor*	Exclude US, Europe, America if needed
Health	Youth	"Anti-discrimination"		Try regional terms if locating evidence is difficult
Labour Markets	Girl OR boy	"Social discrimination"		Africa, Asia, Latin, Caribbean, Pacific
Social Protection	Disability "disability AND (mental OR physical OR intellectual)"	"Affirmative action"		
	"Mental Disorder"			
	"Mental Health"			
	Ethnic			
	"(Caste or Tribe)"			
	Religio*			
	Marginalised			
	Displaced			
	Migrant			
	Refugee			
	"(Isolate* OR Rural)"			
	Women			
	LGBT			
	"men who have sex with men"			
	(Health OR illness OR health disorder (Health AND Stigma)			
	Old/elder/age/age*			

Thematic search grids

Programme type		Target group/or group experiencing change	Type of study/evidence words	Outcome areas	Focus on LMICs
Education	Scholarship	Child*	Experiment	Access	Exclude US, Europe, America if needed
	Cash transfer	Youth	Evaluat*	Income	Try regional terms if locating evidence is difficult
	Feed/food	Girl/boy	Outcome	Consumption	Africa, Asia, Latin, Caribbean, Pacific

Programme type		Target group/or group experiencing change	Type of study/evidence words	Outcome areas	Focus on LMICs
	"Catch up"	Disability "disability AND (mental OR physical OR intellectual)"	Impact	Expenditure	
	"Non-formal"	"Mental Disorder"	Pilot	Poverty	
	Skills	"Mental Health"	Trial	Assets	
	"fee waiver"	Ethnic	Participatory	Work	
	"fee exemption"	"(Caste or Tribe)"	Cohort/Panel/Case	Wage*	
	Legislation	Religio*	Analysis	Empowerment	
	Teacher training	Marginalised		Exclusion	
	Community	Displaced		Discrimination	
	Curricul* (looking for more sensitive curriculum development or other changes in the curriculum)	Migrant		School completion	
	Language	Refugee		Attendance	
	Budget	"(Isolate* OR Rural)"		Enrolment	
	Planning	Women		"Years of schooling"	
	Policy	LGBT		"Perception (discrimination OR exclusion OR inclusion)"	
		"men who have sex with men"		Stigma	
		(Health OR illness OR health disorder (Health AND Stigma)		Well-being	
		Old/elder/age/ age*			
		Indigenous			

More specific search looking for evidence and research papers that will pass the inclusion screening criteria (use education in all of these searches to try and keep the results on target)

Programme type		Target group/or group experiencing change	Type of study/evidence words	Outcome areas	Focus on LMICs
"Health"	Legislation/Law	Child*	Experiment	Income	Exclude US, Europe, America if needed
Physical Health	Planning	Youth	Evaluat*	Consumption	Try regional terms if locating evidence is difficult
Mental Health	Campaign	Girl OR boy	Outcome	Poverty	Africa, Asia, Latin, Caribbean, Pacific
	Insurance	Disability "disability AND (mental OR physical OR intellectual)"	Impact	Assets	
	Universal	"Mental Disorder"	Pilot	Expenditure	
	Voucher	"Mental Health"	Trial	Access	
	Services	Ethnic	Participatory	Service quality/experience of care	
	Health Check	"(Caste or Tribe)"	Cohort/Panel/Case	Infant mortality	
	Vaccination	Religio*	Analysis	Child mortality	
	Education/ training	Marginalised	Experiment	Nutrition	
	Systems	Displaced		Immunisation	
	Funding	Migrant		Knowledge	
	Awareness	Refugee		Empowerment	
	Training	"(Isolate* OR Rural)"		Exclusion	
		Women		Discrimination	
		LGBT		Stigma	
		"men who have sex with men"		"Perception (discrimination OR exclusion OR inclusion)"	
		(Health OR illness OR health disorder (Health AND Stigma)		Well-being	
		Old/elder/age/age*			
		Indigenous			

Programme type		Target group/or group experiencing change	Type of study/evidence words	Outcome areas	Focus on LMICs
"Labour market"	Skill* train* (1)	Child*	Experiment	Income	Exclude US, Europe, America if needed
	"Job training" (1)	Youth	Evaluat*	Consumption	Try regional terms if locating evidence is difficult

Programme type		Target group/or group experiencing change	Type of study/evidence words	Outcome areas	Focus on LMICs
	"Small business promotion" (2)	Girl OR boy	Outcome	Poverty	Africa, Asia, Latin, Caribbean, Pacific
	"Enterprise promotion" (2)	Disability "disability AND (mental OR physical OR intellectual)"	Impact	Assets	
	Job search/job centres/access (3) (dropped 17/09/15)	"Mental Disorder"	Pilot	Expenditure	
	Labour rights/(4)	"Mental Health"	Trial	Work	
	Maternity (5) (dropped 17/09/15)	Ethnic	Participatory	Wage*	
	Legislation (5)	"(Caste or Tribe)"	Cohort/Panel/Case	Empowerment	
	Workplace benefits (4)	Religio*	Analysis	Exclusion	
	Union/organised labour (6) (dropped 17/09/15)	Marginalised	Intervention	Discrimination	
	Distortion (5)	Displaced *	Pilot	Working hours	
	"labour market reform" (5)	Migrant		Knowledge	
	Labour standards (4)	Refugee		Employment	
		"(Isolate* OR Rural)"		"Labour force participation"	
		Women		Formal work	
		LGBT		Casual work/ Informal work	
		"men who have sex with men"		"working conditions"	
		(Health OR illness OR health disorder (dropped 17/09/2015) (Health AND Stigma)		Environments/ labour standards/ access/inclusion	
		Old/elder/age/ age*		"Perception (discrimination OR exclusion OR inclusion)"	
		Indigenous		Stigma	
		Sexism		Decent work	
				Access	

Programme type		Target group/or group experiencing change	Type of study/evidence words	Outcome areas	Focus on LMICs
"Social Protection"	Pension/social pensions/contributory pensions	Child*	Experiment	Access	Exclude US Europe, America if needed
	Cash transfer/Conditional cash transfer	Youth	Evaluat*	Income	Try regional terms if locating evidence is difficult
	Social Insurance	Girl/boy	Outcome	Consumption	Africa, Asia, Latin, Caribbean, Pacific
	"health insurance"	Disability "disability AND (mental OR physical OR intellectual)"	Impact	Poverty	
	"social assistance"	"Mental Disorder"	Pilot	Expenditure	
	In kind transfers	"Mental Health"	Trial	Assets	
	Public works programme	Ethnic	Participatory	Work	
	Public employment programme	"(Caste or Tribe)"	Cohort/Panel/Case	Wage*	
	Universal benefit	Religio*	Analysis	Empowerment	
	Unemployment insurance	Marginalised	Experiment	Exclusion	
	Disaster insurance	Displaced		Discrimination	
	Funeral assistance/insurance	Migrant		"Perception (discrimination OR exclusion OR inclusion)"	
	Asset transfer	Refugee		Stigma	
	Subsid*	"(Isolate* OR Rural)"		Well-being	
		Women			
		LGBT			
		"men who have sex with men"			
		(Health OR illness OR health disorder (Health AND Stigma)			
		Old/elder/age/ age*			
		Indigenous			
		Sexism			
		Xenophobia			
		"Tribal Group"			

A.2.2 Handsearch locations

Organisations

<p>Africa Platform for Social Protection http://africapsp.org/ Asian Development Bank – work in exclusion Better evaluation network Bolivian Union of Child and Adolescent Workers Bridge social movements guide BTI index CARISMA and PANCAP – Caribbean work on attitudes towards PLWHIV Centre for Social Protection CESCR Commonwealth Plan of Action for Youth Empowerment Commonwealth Youth Development Index Commonwealth Youth Programme CRC Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean Effective States and Inclusive Development Research Centre European Centre for Minority Issues European Council on Refugees and Exiles From Protection to Production Geneva-based employment research centre?? Find out GESS – Social Security in Africa – Overview GESS – STEP Portugal Programme Global Applied Disability Research and Information Network on Employment and Training http://www.gladnet.org/mail.cfm?pageID=7 Global union federation Public Services International http://mobile.opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/123456789/7062#.VgEOI32Uqlp http://pdba.georgetown.edu/IndigenousPeoples/ngos.html#int http://socialprotection-humanrights.org/key-issues/social-protection-systems/family-and-child-benefits/ http://www.ascleiden.nl/content/webdossiers/social-protection-africa http://www.mdgfund.org http://www.youth-employment-inventory.org/inventory/view/663/ Human Rights Watch IDEA IDEA</p>	<p>JPAL evaluation database Lancet series on global mental health – Latin American Network of Non-Governmental Organizations of Persons with Disabilities and their Families http://www.riadis.org/en Latin American Studies Association Leonard Cheshire international work Migrants Rights Network Migration Policy Group, Brussels, Belgium Migration Policy Institute, US Minority Rights Group International National Network for the Rights of Persons with Disabilities http://www.redi.org.ar/ New Tactics in Human Rights programme NOW 7 Research projects on social protection interventions in Sub-Saharan Africa Organisation of American States Organisations and Programmes Oxford Policy Management Pacific islands forum secretariat Poverty Action Impact evaluation database Quota Project Raising Her Voice Refugee Net Refugees International, USA Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons Right to Education Project Rights Watch Self Employed Women’s Association – India Sex Work Law Map Social Assistance in Developing Countries Database Version 5.0 (2010) Social Protection in Africa Social security country profiles Social Security Programs Throughout the World: Africa 2011 Southern African Migration Project The Refugee Council, UK</p>
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<p>IDS Sexuality, poverty and law centre ILO – also search the global social protection floor initiative ILO Global Business and Disability Network http://www.businessanddisability.org/ Incheon Strategy in Asia and the Pacific Indian Institute of Dalit Studies Inter American Development Bank – work on minorities Inter Parliamentary Union Inter-Parliamentary Union Inter-Regional Inequality Facility Inter-Regional Inequality Facility INTERIGHTS Commonwealth and International Case-law Database International Centre for Migration and Health International Food Policy research institute International Network on Displacement and Resettlement International Online Resource Centre on Disability and Inclusion International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth International Trade Union Congress International work group on indigenous affairs</p>	<p>UN OHCHR UN permanent forum on indigenous issues UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education UN Women evaluation database UNDP UNESCO evaluation database and right to education database UNGEI UNICEF (Regional Office) Eastern and Southern Africa Social Policy UNICEF evaluation database United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples UNSRID US Committee for Refugees WHO disability resources World Bank – open knowledge repository and evaluation repository World Health Organisation www.idea.int Young Lives Youth Employment Inventory</p>
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National and regional legislation and policy

Afghanistan	Let us Learn initiative in Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Nepal	Jamaica	National Youth Strategy
Argentina	Programa Familias	Jamaica	Path (conditional cash transfer)
Argentina	Universal child allowance	Jordan	10% quota for women in decentralisation
Argentina	Programa Familias	Kenya	Persons with Disabilities Act
Argentina	Universal child allowance	Kenya	National Cohesion and Integration Act
Bangladesh	Female Secondary Stipend Programme	Kenya	Employment Act, Children Act, Universities Act all have provisions to reduce discrimination (ERT, 2012)
Bangladesh	Basic Education for Hard-to-Reach Urban Working Children	Kenya	Policy of promoting inclusion of disabled children in schools, Persons with Disabilities Act
Bangladesh	Maternal Voucher	Kenya	HSNO
Bangladesh	Female Secondary School Assistance Project	Kenya	Affirmative action for women at university level

Bangladesh	Domestic Violence Act 2010	Kenya	Allowing oral evidence in land tribunals (move towards substantive equality for marginalised group)
Bangladesh	Prevention of Cruelty to Women and Children Act	Kenya	HSNO
Bangladesh	Acid Crime Control Act	Kenya	Affirmative action for women at university level
Bangladesh	Child Marriage Restraint Act	Kenya	Allowing oral evidence in land tribunals (move towards substantive equality for marginalised group)
Bangladesh	Dowry Prohibition Act	Kenyan	Persons with Disabilities Act 2003
Belize	Boost (conditional cash transfer)	Korea	Mother's School
Bolivia	Bolivia quotas act of 1997 - then in 2004	Lesotho	Food & Cash Transfer
Bolivia	Beca Futuro	Lesotho	Food & Cash Transfer
Bolivia	Law 045 Against Racism and All Forms of Discrimination,	Liberia	Economic Empowerment for Adolescent Girls
Bolivia	1994 Bolivian National Education Reform (mandates bilingual teaching)	Liberia	Economic Empowerment for Adolescent Girls
Bolivia	Bilingual Literacy and Reproductive Health	Malawi	National employment and labour policy
Bolivia	Beca Futuro	Malawi	FACT (Concern); Mchinji (UNICEF)
Bolivia	Law 045 Against Racism and All Forms of Discrimination	Malawi	Dowa Emergency Cash Transfers
Bolivia	1994 Bolivian National Education Reform (mandates bilingual teaching)	Malawi	FACT (Concern); Mchinji (UNICEF)
Bolivia	Bilingual Literacy and Reproductive Health	Malawi	Dowa Emergency Cash Transfers (cash transfer)
Bosnia-Herzegovina	USAID Political Processes Support - programme increases women's political participation at the local and national level to develop a cadre of women leaders in the community by providing training on how to run for office and engage in politics. This project helped establish the first-ever Women's Caucus in the Federation of BiH Parliament in 2014.	Malaysia	New Economic Policy
Bosnia-Herzegovina	PRO-Future project helps women victims of war and other trauma to heal, raise self-esteem and become leaders in reconciliation processes in their communities. The project provides training - on social	Mexico	Progres, Oportunidades

	justice, peace building, advocacy, etc. – for women through Associations of Parent–Student Councils. The new knowledge empowers these women to organize, initiate and engage in dialogue and advocacy campaigns to promote reconciliation in the community.		
Brazil	Law 11340 (The Maria da Penha Law)	Mexico	Bilingual Literacy for Life
Brazil	Bolsa Familia,	Mongolia	Child Money Programme
Brazil	Bolsa Escola	Morocco	Means of Socio-economic Empowerment and Integration for Women
Brazil	Brazil, Gender and Race – United for Equal Opportunities	Morocco	Means of Socioeconomic Empowerment and Integration for Women
Brazil	National Documentation Programme for Rural Women Worker	Mozambique	GAPVU/PSA (government)
Brazil	National Affirmative Action Programme (2002)	Mozambique	Food Subsidy Programme; Promoting Women’s Literacy in Angola and Mozambique
Brazil	National Human Rights Programme (2002)	Mozambique	GAPVU/PSA (government)
Brazil	In August 2012, Brazil passed the most extensive affirmative action law in the Americas, and possibly the world, requiring that 50% of public university seats be allocated to low-income and Afro-Brazilian students (Walsh, 2014)	Mozambique	Food Subsidy Programme (cash transfer); Promoting Women’s Literacy in Angola and Mozambique
Brazil	National Plan for Women’s Policies	Namibia	Affirmative action act, BEE, Transformational Economic and Social Empowerment Framework
Brazil	Bolsa Familia,	Namibia	Affirmative action act, Black economic empowerment, Transformational Economic and Social Empowerment Framework
Brazil	Bolsa Escola	Nepal	Provisions for quotas for women in public service
Brazil	Brazil, Gender and Race – United for Equal Opportunities	Nepal	Domestic Violence (Crime and Punishment) Act 2009
Brazil	National Documentation Programme for Rural Women Worker	Nicaragua	Red de Protección Social

Brazil	National Affirmative Action Programme (2002)	Nigeria	Vision HIV awareness
Brazil	National Human Rights Program (2002)	Nigeria	Mother and Child Education Programme
Brazil	2012 affirmative action law	Nigeria	Vision HIV awareness
Brazil	National Plan for Women's Policies	Nigeria	Mother and Child Education Programme
Cambodia	Community Self-prevention Against Trafficking of Women and Children	Pakistan	Adult Female Functional Literacy Programme
Cambodia	Cambodia Education Sector Support Project	Pakistan	Mobile-Based Post Literacy Programme
Chile	AUGE programme. Example of 'social guarantee' programme – guarantee of access to basic services for all	Palestine	Early Childhood, Family and Community Education Programme
Chile	Chile Solidario	Panama	Red de Oportunidades
Chile	Universal voucher system– education	Peru	Casa Maternal
Chile	Bono Trabajador Activo-	Peru	Formación Empresarial de la Juventud, Calificación de Jóvenes Creadores de Microempresas
Chile	Chile Solidario	Philippines	Anti-Violence against Women and their Children Act 2004
Chile	Universal voucher system – education	Philippines	Rape Victims Assistance Act 1998
Chile	Bono Trabajador Activo-	Philippines	Anti-Rape Law 1997
China	Compulsory Education Law (2006)	Philippines	Anti-Sexual Harassment Act of 1995
Colombia	Familias en Acción Program	Philippines	Supporting Maternal and Child Health Improvement and Building Literate Environment Mindanao Project
Colombia	Programa Avancemos	Regional	Latin America: Labour Market Information System
Colombia	Jóvenes en Acción	Regional	Africa: Regional Programme for Youth Employment and Social Cohesion
Colombia	1991 Constitution – the first in South America to oblige	Regional	Global Jobs Pact

Colombia	Law of Equal Opportunities proposed in 2012 (was without decision in 2014 at time of writing).	Romania	Guaranteed seat in parliament for all minorities
Colombia	Hogares Comunitarios de Bienestar	Rwanda	Mutuelles de Santé
Ecuador	Bono de Desarrollo Humano	Rwanda	Mutuelles de Santé
Ecuador	Affirmative action is a provision of the 2009 Constitution	Senegal	Agence d'Exécution des Travaux d'Intérêt Public contre le Sous-emploi (public works)
Ecuador	Bono Solidario – name changed in 2003 to Bono de Desarrollo Humano (BDH)	Senegal	Agence d'Exécution des Travaux d'Intérêt Public contre le Sous-emploi (public works)
El Salvador	Red Solidaria	Serbia	Strategy for Prevention and Protection against discrimination – adopted 2013 with an action plan 2013–2018
Ethiopia	PSNP (government + donors	Serbia	National Minorities Council
Ethiopia	Alternative Basic Education Centres provide mobile schooling and libraries for pastoralist children	Serbia	Council for the Improvement of the Status of Roma and the Implementation of the Decade of Roma Inclusion
Ethiopia	Integrated Women's Empowerment Programme	Serbia	Decade of Roma Inclusion
Ethiopia	PSNP (government + donors	South Africa	Employment Equality Act
Ethiopia	Alternative Basic Education Centres provide mobile schooling and libraries for pastoralist children	South Africa	Child Support Grant (government)
Ethiopia	Integrated Women's Empowerment Programme	South Africa	Employment Incentive Tax Bill
Ghana	LEAP Ghana	South Africa	One Love Campaign
Ghana	Social pension, destitute allowance (government)	South Africa	HIV Counselling and Testing Campaign
Ghana	National Health Insurance Scheme	South Africa	National Disability Strategy
Ghana	Essential Health Intervention Project (GEHIP)	South Africa	South African Transformation Agenda
Ghana	LEAP Ghana	South Africa	Employment Equity Act 1998
Ghana	Social pension, destitute allowance (government)	South Africa	Curriculum 2005
Ghana	National Health Insurance Scheme	South Africa	Child Support Grant (government)
Ghana	Essential Health Intervention Project (GEHIP)	South Africa	Employment Incentive Tax Bill

Guatemala	Bilingual education	South Africa	One Love Campaign
Honduras	Programa de Asignación Familiar	South Africa	HIV Counselling and Testing Campaign
India	Andhra Pradesh Indira Kranthi Pathakam	South Africa	National Disability Strategy
India	Anti-stigma project in India targeting hospital managers, who use checklist of indicators to determine how well their hospital serves people living with HIV and identify ways to improve	South Africa	South African Transformation Agenda
India	Child Labour Prevention and Regulation Act	South Africa	Employment Equity Act 1998
India	India: Saakshar Bharat Mission	South Africa	Curriculum 2005
India	Integrated Child Development Services	Sri Lanka	Affirmative Action
India	Kerala People's Campaign for the Ninth Plan	Swaziland	Cash & Food Transfers (Save the Children)
India	Khabar Lahariya (News Waves)	Swaziland	Cash & Food Transfers (Save the Children)
India	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act	Taiwan	Gender Equity in Education Law 2004
India	Mahila Samakhyia women's empowerment programme	Tanzania	Green Start family planning programme
India	National Health Mission (2005) and National Urban Health Mission (2013)	Tanzania	Affirmative action for women at university level
India	Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan	Tanzania	Green Start family planning programme
India	Rashtriya Swathya Bima Yojana	Tanzania	Affirmative action for women at university level
India	Reservation of posts in government jobs and higher education for SCs, STs and OBCs	Thailand	Universal Health Insurance Programme
India	Reservations for women at village council level	Timor-Leste	Regulation No. 2002/5 on the establishment of a Labour Code for East Timor
India	Right to Education Quota	Turkey	Family Literacy Programmes
India	Saakshar Bharat Mission	Turkey	Functional Adult Literacy and Women's Support Programme

India	Sahajani Shiksha Kendra: Literacy and Education for Women's Empowerment	Uganda	Since 1996 places are reserved for disabled people and women at all tiers of government (village and local government through to parliament).
India	Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rojgar Yojana	Uganda	Small-scale mobile education for Karimajong pastoralist children
India	Swarnajayanti Gram Swarojgar Yojana	Uganda	Youth Opportunities Programme of 2006–2010
India	Tamil Nadu Vazhndhu Kaattuvom Society	Uganda	Affirmative action for women at university level
Indonesia	Socio-Economic Development	Uganda	Constitution allows for preferential policies for excluded groups to redress historical imbalances but which groups and what policies are not specified.
Indonesia	Programme for Ethnic and Mountainous Areas	Uganda	Youth Opportunities Programme of 2006–2010
Indonesia	Or Programme 135 Phase II (P135II)	Uganda	Affirmative action for women at university level
Indonesia	Gender Justice Education for Marginalised Women	Uganda	Constitution allows for preferential policies for excluded groups to redress historical imbalances but which groups and what policies are not specified
Yemen	Literacy Through Poetry	Uruguay	2013 Affirmative Action Bill
Zambia	Anti-Gender-Based Violence Act 2011	Yemen	Literacy Through Poetry

Reports to international bodies

Bolivia	UPR 2014 CESCR 2008 UNCRC 2009 ICCPR 2011/13	Malaysia	UPR 2013 UNCRC 2006
Brazil	UPR 2012 ICCPR 2005 CESCR 2009 UNCRC 2014 CRPD 2014	Namibia	UPR 2010 UNCRC 2011 CESCR2015 ICCPR 2014
China	UPR 2013 CRPD 2011 UNCRC 2012 CESCR 2014	Nepal	CESCR 2014 UNCRC 2005 CRPD 2014 ICCPR 2012

Colombia	CESCR 2009 UNCRC 2013 UPR2013 ICCPR 2010	South Africa	UPR 2012 CRPD 2013 ICCPR 2015
Ecuador	UPR 2012 CESCR 2011/2012 UNCRC 2008/09 CRPD 2014 ICCPR 2009	Sri Lanka	UPR 2012 UNCRC 2010 ICCPR 2014
Ethiopia	UPR 2014 CESCR 2011 UNCRC 2013 CRPD 2012 ICCPR 2011	Tanzania	UNCRC 2012 ICCPR 2007
India	CESCR 2008 UNCRC 2014 UPR 2012	Uganda	ICCPR 2003 UNCRC 2005 UPR 2011 CRPD 2015
Kenya	UPR 2015 UNCRC 2015 CESCR 2008 CRPD 2014 ICCPR 2012	Uruguay	UPR 2013 UNCRC 2015 ICCPR 2013

A.2.3 Definitions

Thematic terms

Anti-discrimination policies and programmes	Anti-discrimination measures are defined as laws specifying non-discrimination or positive discrimination, including international conventions and their translation into national law; programmes or policies that translate such laws into activities intended to reduce discrimination or to strengthen capacity among commonly discriminated groups (affirmative action); and public information, education or campaigns that seek to change negative perceptions of, or stigma against, specific social groups.
Extreme poverty	\$1.25 per person per day (or below national poverty lines in some cases). This basic statistical measure is based on consumption or expenditure as recorded by household surveys (Shepherd et al., 2014).
Severe poverty	\$0.70 per person per day, based on average consumption by the poor in Sub-Saharan Africa (or in some cases consumption below national food or severe poverty lines) (Shepherd et al., 2014).
Chronic poverty	Extreme poverty that persists over years or a lifetime, and that is often transmitted inter-generationally (Shepherd et al., 2014).
Poorest groups	For this review, the poorest groups are defined as people who are chronically poor, severely poor or intensely multi-dimensionally deprived.
Multidimensional deprivation/poverty	Multidimensional indicators recognise that poor people's experience of deprivation is generally broader than low income or consumption and often includes experiences such as poor health, lack of education, disempowerment, poor working conditions and the threat of violence. There are several indices or measures of multidimensional poverty. For example, OPHI's Multidimensional Poverty Index defines people as multi-dimensionally deprived if they are poor in at least three out of 10 dimensions and severely multi-dimensionally deprived if they are poor in five out of 10 dimensions. ³⁹
Stigma	Shared negative beliefs about a group of people or a practice.
Social inclusion	The process of improving the ability, opportunity and dignity of people, disadvantaged on the basis of their identity, to take part in society (World Bank, 2013c).
Child	Persons under 18 as per UNCRC definition.
Adolescent	Individuals aged 10–19. Can be defined in three stages, early (10–13 years of age), middle (14–16), late (17–19) adolescents
Young people	Those aged 15–24.
Disability	<p>There is no standard definition of disability. Persons with disabilities include those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments that in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others.</p> <p>One framework for disability is:</p> <p>Impairment: A loss or abnormality in body structure or of a physiological or psychological function.</p> <p>Activity: The nature and extent of functioning at the level of the person. Activities may be limited in nature, duration and quality.</p> <p>Participation: The nature and extent of a person's involvement in life situations in relationship to impairments, activities, health conditions and contextual factors. Participation may be restricted in nature, duration and quality. Participation is considered within seven broad domains: personal maintenance; mobility; exchange of information; social relationships; education, work, leisure and spirituality; economic life; and civic and community life.</p>

Methodological terms

RCT	'A study in which a number of similar people are randomly assigned to two (or more) groups to test a specific drug or treatment. One group (the experimental group) receives the treatment being tested, the other (the comparison or <i>control group</i>) receives an alternative treatment, a dummy treatment (<i>placebo</i>) or no treatment at all. The groups are followed up to see how effective the <i>experimental treatment</i> was. <i>Outcomes</i> are measured at specific times and any difference in response between the groups is assessed statistically. This method is also used to reduce <i>bias</i> ' http://www.nice.org.uk/website/glossary/glossary.jsp?alpha=R
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³⁹ www.ophi.org.uk/multidimensional-poverty-index/

Randomisation	Assigning participants in a research study to different groups without taking any similarities or differences between them into account. For example, it could involve using a random numbers table or a computer-generated random sequence. It means that each individual (or each group in the case of <i>cluster randomisation</i>) has the same chance of receiving each <i>intervention</i> http://www.nice.org.uk/website/glossary/glossary.jsp?alpha=R
Experimental design	Include the randomisation of participants in intervention and control groups where the independent variables (the drug, the cash transfer, the training of teachers) is controlled by the researchers.
Quasi-experimental design	Can either be where control and comparison groups are not randomly assigned by the research team or where the researchers are not able to manipulate the independent variable (e.g. where it would have been unethical to deliberately manipulate school scholarships). The research uses statistical techniques to control for the differences between subjects in the study – regression discontinuity is an example of this.
Non-experimental or observational	No control group and no manipulation of the independent variable by the researchers and there are no control and comparison groups. Observational study designs include cohort and longitudinal studies, cross-section designs. These studies often rely more on qualitative methods to collect data and can create powerful comparative research.

Analysis terms

Realist synthesis	This approach to the synthesis of evidence focuses on an understanding of the mechanisms by which an intervention works (or not) and under what conditions.
Narrative synthesis	A textual approach to evidence synthesis that relies on text to summarise and explain the findings of multiple studies. This method allows researchers to look beyond evidence of effectiveness in order to ‘tell a story’ and answer a range of questions about the evidence. http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/shm/research/nssr/research/dissemination/publications/NS_Synthesis_Guidance_v1.pdf