

IDA and Gender: Working Toward Greater Equality

Beginning in the 1980s, the World Bank made progress in integrating gender issues into its operations, particularly in education. Between fiscal years 1990 and 2005, the World Bank lent more than US\$5.5 billion for girls' education programs. Supported by the World Bank and other donors, IDA countries made substantial progress in education outcomes. Between 1991 and 2006, girls' enrollment in primary school increased from 85 to 102 percent and from 35 to 47 percent in secondary school. These improvements helped reduce the gap between girls' and boys' school primary and secondary enrollment from 25 to 11 percentage points between 1991 and 2006.

In 2001, in response to a request from IDA donors, the World Bank adopted a strategy to be more inclusive of gender issues in its operations, including its IDA-funded activities. In 2006, 51 percent of all World Bank assistance for IDA countries included aspects of gender issues in project design.¹ Gender coverage was higher in the socially oriented operations (69 percent), including health and education, compared to economic operations (33 percent).

At a glance

- The World Bank is the world's largest provider of external funding for education. Between 1990 and 2005, the Bank lent more than US\$5.5 billion for girls' education programs. Due in large part to these efforts, IDA countries made substantial progress in education outcomes: between 1991 and 2006, girls' enrollment in primary school increased from 85 to 102 percent and from 35 to 47 percent in secondary school.
- The World Bank's Gender Action Plan, launched in 2007, is helping to strengthen the penetration of gender issues in Bank operations in the economic sectors; focusing on five key markets and sectors: land, labor, agriculture, private sector development and finance, and infrastructure.
- The majority of initiatives under the Plan are carried out in IDA countries. Eighty-nine of 149 Gender Action Plan initiatives (60 percent) target IDA countries, amounting to US\$11.9 million. By June 2009, the Plan was funding activities in 44 IDA countries.

1. Rynestad, H. and Gisela Garcia. 2008. "Gender Action Plan Baseline review of the World Bank Portfolio", Gender and Development Group, World Bank, Washington D.C.

Subsequent years saw an intensification of efforts to integrate gender issues across other sectors. The World Bank Gender Action Plan—*Gender Equality as Smart Economics*—was a landmark and helped deepen the penetration of gender issues in World Bank operations in the economic sectors. The Gender Action Plan is guiding the World Bank’s gender equality work until 2011, with most of the operations under the plan occurring in IDA countries. The Plan seeks to strengthen the gender focus of World Bank Group lending and non-lending operations, focusing on five key sectors and markets: land; labor; agriculture; private sector development and finance; and on infrastructure, which underpins access to all markets. As this push to integrate gender into economic sectors began just over two years ago, results of these efforts are only beginning to emerge.

Between fiscal years 2006 and 2008, following the introduction of the Gender Action Plan, gender coverage in IDA project design increased in both in the social and economic sectors, but the increase in economic sectors exceeded that in the social and related sectors. The pre-existing gap between the economic and social sectors remained unchanged, however.

- In 2008, gender coverage in project design was at 41 percent for the economic sectors, compared to 77 percent for the social sectors.
- Within the economic sectors, the largest increase was seen in the agriculture and rural development portfolio (from 47 percent in 2006 to 73 percent in 2008) and in the private sector development portfolio (from no coverage at all in 2006 to 36 percent in 2008).



IMPACT

Education

IDA has supported a wide range of demand and supply-based programs to increase girls’ access to education through the Girls’ Education, and the Education for All Fast Track initiatives. World Bank-financed education projects incorporate a variety of activities including: training and hiring more female teachers; building and improving school sanitary facilities; and providing a clean water source for girls who need to carry water home after school. To help close the gender gap in education, the World Bank has supported scholarship programs in IDA countries that provide incentives to keep girls in school. An example is the “Bangladesh Female Secondary School Assistance Program” financed by

IDA, which supported a government program to improve access to secondary education for girls by providing tuition stipends. The project covered 119 of Bangladesh’s 480 sub-districts. A key innovation was the transfer of stipends directly from banks to individual girls’ bank accounts. Girls’ secondary enrollment in Bangladesh as a percentage of total enrollment, increased from 33 percent in 1991 to about 56 percent in 2005; Secondary School Certificate pass rates for girls in the project area increased from 39 percent in 2001 to 58 percent in 2006.² The stipend program has played a key role in bringing about this rapid increase in girls’ schooling.

2. World Bank, Factsheet of the Bangladesh’ Female Secondary School Assistant project I and II. Available at: <http://sitere-sources.worldbank.org/NEWS/Resources/Bangladesh-education-text.pdf>

In Pakistan, where only 22 percent of girls have completed primary level schooling as compared to 47 percent of boys, the Punjab government, with assistance from the World Bank³, implemented the “Girls’ Stipend Program” which provided cash stipends to families to ensure their daughters attend school. As a result, girls’ enrollment in secondary schools in the 15 poorest districts in Punjab, targeted by the project, increased by 36.5 percent between 2003 and 2005.⁴

Similarly, a new conditional cash transfer scheme in Yemen targets girls in grades 4-9 to encourage girls’ enrollment and retention in schools. Girls are eligible to get the transfer for each year of successful completion of a grade, for maintaining an attendance rate of at least 80 percent, and for obtaining passing grades. In addition, to encourage better learning, an achievement bonus will be given to students achieving overall 70 percent or more in the final examination in grades 6 and 9. The cash transfer program in Yemen is unique as it aims to measure learning outcomes of the beneficiaries in addition to the usual considerations of regular attendance in school and maintaining a passing grade.

Health

The Multi-country HIV/AIDS Program Operations in Africa has focused particular attention on addressing gender dynamics in its response to the pandemic, with operations in a series

of countries.⁵ In Chad, IDA funds a project to reduce the transmission and socioeconomic impact of HIV/AIDS by supporting education and income-generating activities for women. In Rwanda, IDA has financed rural access to AIDS care and some 5,000 poor patients, mainly women, benefit from antiretroviral therapy, around 60 percent of those in need. In Africa, IDA generally has financed services to prevent mother-to-child HIV transmission for more than 1.5 million women, and helped distribute 1.3 billion male condoms and 4 million female condoms.

IDA has also supported innovative reproductive health and family planning programs in high-fertility countries, although this is an area where more work is needed (see the section on Key Challenges). In Malawi, the “Population and Family Planning Project” (1999-2004) used a community-based distribution approach to family planning to help raise contraceptive use in three high-fertility pilot areas. Public sector community-based distribution agents provided family planning counseling and contraceptives and referred clients for long-term or permanent methods. Information, education, and communication activities aimed to generate demand. The proportion of contraceptive users relying on these community-base distribution agents as their source rose from one percent to 24 percent and contraceptive use rose by twice as much in the pilot districts as in the three matched control districts.⁶ Similarly, in Madagascar, the Second Health Program Support

3. The Bank has supported this program since 2004 through a series of four Punjab Education Development Policy Credits.

4. Chaudhury, Nazmul and Dilip Parajuli, 2006, “Conditional cash transfers and female schooling: the impact of the female school stipend program on public school enrollments in Punjab, Pakistan”, Impact Evaluation Series No. 9, Policy Research Working Paper No. 4102, World Bank, Washington D.C.

5. Görgens-Albino, M., N. N. Mohammad, D. Blankhart, and O. Odutolu, 2007. *The Africa Multi-Country AIDS Program 2000-2006: Results of the World Bank’s Response to a Development Crisis*, World Bank, Washington, D.C.

6. Elmendorf, A. Edward, and Flora Nankhuni. Forthcoming. “Evaluation of the World Bank’s Support for Health, Nutrition and Population: Malawi Case Study.” IEG Working Paper. IEG, Washington, DC.

Project (1999-2007) financed training and contraceptives, with a particular focus on a new, long-duration implantable contraceptive that is easily inserted and especially convenient in rural and remote areas. The number of locations offering family planning services increased by 45 percent from 2003 to 2007, and the contraceptive prevalence rate rose from 9.7 to 24 percent.⁷

In 2008, the World Bank's International Finance Corporation (IFC) and IDA engaged in the "Yemen Safe Motherhood Voucher Program", an innovative project that aims to provide sustainable maternal health services to women. The project will implement a sustainable safe motherhood voucher program to provide a 'mother-baby package' of 12 services (as defined by the World Health Organization) targeted at poor women of reproductive age (15-49) in Sana'a. Services include antenatal and postnatal care (with birth attendance by skilled birth attendants) and complicated care services. The goal is to achieve 37,500 safe child birth deliveries attended by skilled birth attendants among the target population over the project period.

Agriculture and Rural Development

IDA investments and collaboration with governments enable women to access land and secure tenure rights. An IDA pilot project in north central Vietnam has instituted an approach to land titling that gives both women and men rights to use land. As Vietnam transitions from collectives to smaller family farms, this land titling project has increased opportunities for rural families to

use their most productive asset—their land—to generate income, and has promoted a gender-responsive, low-cost, and decentralized method of land titling.

Similarly, in Ethiopia, the World Bank is supporting the US\$20 million "Sustainable Land Management Project" (2008-2013), a nationwide program that includes efforts to expand land-registration and certification. The project is partly the result of a Gender Action Plan-funded study of an Ethiopian program that issued 20 million land use certificates to about 6 million households. The study found evidence that issuing land certificates had a positive impact on women. Merely by providing space for both spouses' pictures on the certificate, women's registration for land ownership jointly with men increased significantly. Almost all women respondents with joint certificates reported having improved their economic and social status. More than 80 percent of respondents indicated that the certification reduced conflicts and encouraged them to plant trees and lease out their land.

IDA investments also ensure women's participation in agricultural production and processing. In Bangladesh, the "National Agricultural Technology Project" (2008-2013) contains a Gender-Inclusive Strategy that includes capacity-building programs such as: training researchers to identify and respond to women's technology requirements; gender-sensitive training for all the project functionaries at the national, district and sub-district levels, including the contractual partners; equipping the NGOs in conducting gender analysis and identifying opportunities for support; developing a cadre of women agriculture workers from among the local farming communities/self help groups/NGOs;

7. World Bank, 2009, *Improving Effectiveness and Outcomes for the Poor in Health, Nutrition, and Population: An Evaluation of World Bank Group Support Since 1997*, Independent Evaluation Group, Washington, DC: World Bank, p. 138.

and providing technology adoption and marketing support to the women's groups.

Labor Markets

The World Bank increasingly provides technical assistance and engages in policy discussions with IDA country governments to identify possible policy levers to increase women's participation in the labor market and to enhance job quality. For example, in Senegal, World Bank analysis indicated that women's strong presence in the informal sector—particularly in low-capital intensive and low-productivity activities—was linked to their lack of access to education, a formidable obstacle to better-paid occupations in the formal sector. This resulted in the incorporation of policy reforms into the World Bank's policy work with the Senegalese government. Similarly in Bolivia, a World Bank study identified constraints faced by female-owned businesses to becoming larger and more productive. It concluded with gender-differentiated policy recommendations, which are being widely disseminated through a video internally and externally.

The World Bank also integrates gender into active labor market initiatives including public

works programs, initiatives supporting self-employment, and enterprise development and skills training efforts. For example, in East Timor the “Emergency National Workfare Support Project” (currently in the pipeline) will ensure that the benefits of the project accrue to both women and men. A study also is underway to devise incentives to ensure the participation of women and promote the participation of women in community decision-making processes. A new initiative in IDA countries targets adolescent girls and young women to increase the quality of labor supply and employment (see Box 1).

Private Sector Development

To further advance women's economic empowerment, IDA investments improve women's access to credit, promote gender responsiveness in private sector operations, and encourage private sector development strategies.

In Madagascar, the “Microfinance Project” (1999-2007) aimed to increase financial services to low-income populations included a sub-component with innovative programs designed to ensure women's participation. The project supported a special outreach

Box 1. Adolescent Girls Initiative

Too many girls are stalled between school and finding work: of girls 15 and 19 years old, 42 percent in South Asia and 26 percent in Sub-Saharan Africa neither study nor work for pay. Too many girls become adolescent mothers, frequently forcing them to abandon school and face a lifetime of lower earnings.

For the progress in education to bring its full benefits, the World Bank launched the Adolescent Girls Initiative in October 2008, which aims to promote the school-to-work transition through pilot activities that are tested and then expanded or replicated if successful. This initiative will help women aged 16 to 24 complete their education, build skills that match market demand, find mentors and jobs, and will offer incentives to potential employers to hire, retain, and train young women. The first activities for training providers were launched in Liberia in 2009, with an aim to train up to 3,000 girls over the project's three-year cycle. Similar projects are being designed in four other IDA countries to have hosted preparatory Bank missions: Afghanistan, Nepal, Rwanda and Sudan.

program to increase women's membership in financial cooperatives from 15% to 35% as women in rural Madagascar happened to be among the poorest and faced more obstacles to access financial services. By 2006, women's membership increased to 51 percent, exceeding the project target of 35 percent. A similar outreach initiative is being tried in Afghanistan. The "Expanding Microfinance Outreach and Improving Sustainability Project" (2008-2010) aims at expanding outreach of financial services to meet the needs and demands of many poor Afghans, especially women. Funding will be provided to the microfinance service provider organizations as loan funds for on-lending to microfinance clients, targeting women borrowers. In addition, the project will monitor the impact of credit on income and family decision-making of women borrowers.

Special measures targeting women were also included in the US\$20 million "Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise Development Project" (2008-2013) in Nicaragua that aims to improve the competitiveness of these businesses and to stimulate the overall business climate. The project provides matching grants to small and medium-sized enterprises for investment activities on a competitive basis and promotes their access to financial services. The project will ease formalization procedures for women-owned enterprises—largely informal—and offer registered access to services such as tax breaks and export permits. In addition, female managers will be encouraged to apply for matching grants. Measures to specifically address women-owned enterprises will include: competitive rounds to target key clusters dominated by women; a governing principle that in case of two proposals being equal in quality, the proposal that is presented by a woman-owned company will be

preferred; and quotas for awards allocated to women-owned enterprises in specific rounds.

In India, the "Chhattisgarh District Rural Poverty Project" (2003-2010) aims to improve economic opportunities for the poor and vulnerable, especially women. It has formed approximately 20,000 Common Interest Groups and efforts are underway in making such groups into attractive business partners both technically and managerially by helping to develop and market their products, and to access finance and information. The project is establishing linkages between women's interest groups and potential partners such as NGOs, government ministries and the private sector, so that these women's groups can become more attractive and effective business partners.

IDA activities also address gender issues in extractive industries where gender bias exists in the distribution of risks and benefits. The risks include potential environmental damage and social harm, which often fall more heavily on women. Meanwhile the benefits, such as employment and compensation, accrue mostly to men. In Papua New Guinea, the World Bank has organized a series of workshops to increase women's organization and influence in the mining sector, which later led to the drafting of a five year action plan for women in mining areas. The "Second Mining Technical Assistance Project" (2008-2013) includes a component to support for women and youth in mining and oil and gas communities, including implementation of the action plan, training, and access to a small grants program for projects that will be available to women in extractive industry communities. In Tanzania, the recently approved "Sustainable Management of Mineral Resources Project" (2009-2014) aims to address gender bias

Box 2. Lao PDR Rural Electrification Project

While households headed by women represent only eight percent of all households in Lao PDR, they account for 43 percent of poor households. Funding from the World Bank and Australia's AusAID allowed Electricité du Laos to test a revolving fund to subsidize household connection costs with an interest-free loan for the connection costs, thus enabling the poorest households to access electricity. Benefiting from gender-informed design and participatory methods, the Power to the Poor pilot project came up with a scheme where households repay loans through the regular monthly billing process from the savings incurred on traditional fuels (estimated to more than double monthly electricity bill costs). Connection rates in the 20 pilot villages increased from 78 percent to 95 percent overall, and from 63 percent to 90 percent for households headed by women. The power company has rolled out the project to three other provinces and targets 1,800 more connections by the end of 2009 and 8,000 by end of 2010. Assuming an average of 5.2 members per family, this project has the potential to reach 50,000 direct beneficiaries by the end of 2010. Opportunities are being sought to replicate the model in other countries.

in both small scale and large scale mining by creating opportunities for dialogue, by bringing together mining sector stakeholders to discuss how key gender issues could be integrated into the sector's policy and legal reforms, and by highlighting the factors that might inhibit the economic empowerment of women.

Infrastructure

Infrastructure in both rural and urban areas benefits poor men and women. But lack of adequate physical facilities (such as roads, utility supply systems, communication systems, water and waste disposal systems) and the scarcity of services flowing from those facilities typically results in a far greater time burden on women than on men because of a gender-based division of household of labor.

The World Bank also increasingly considers gender issues in the design of IDA infrastructure projects. In Dhaka, Bangladesh a survey of commuters and pedestrians was used to influence the "Clean Air and Sustainable Environment Project" (2009-2014) to focus on improving the mobility and safety of urban residents and workers. The survey

was designed to identify gender aspects of transport and mobility patterns and needs, and to establish how gender-related differences make women more vulnerable in terms of exposure to air pollution and safety. As a result, the government staggered school and office timing for reducing traffic congestion and provided women-only buses during peak office hours.

The "Niger Basin Water Resources Development and Sustainable Ecosystems Management Project" (2007-2013) involves women in the overall management of the basin. The project will also promote the work opportunities for women, whose livelihoods directly depend on the resources of the river shed. The Bank's Gender Action Plan supported the integration of gender considerations in an IDA-funded "Rural Electrification Project" (2006-2010) in Lao PDR, which helped increase the connection rate of poor households headed by women (Box 2).

Another example of a promising approach to introduce gender aspects into energy projects is a pilot project in southern Bangladesh to deliver low-cost renewable energy services. The project trained women to manage a

Box 3. Good Practice Examples of Gender-Inclusive Policy and Analytical Work

Country Assistance Strategies

The **Mauritania** Country Assistance Strategy discusses gender impacts of sector policies, and notes progress in education, health, access to property, and political participation. Areas where disparities remain a challenge are identified such as access to basic services and finance, and participation in the formal labor market. The strategy refers to gender-related initiatives undertaken by other agencies and focuses its efforts on girls' education and women's participation in policy-making and access to employment and economic activities. Gender and growth linkages will be reviewed in the Country Economic Memorandum, among other actions that will be taken to address gender concerns in the World Bank's programs.

Poverty Assessments

Gender issues are analyzed in detail in the **Bangladesh** Poverty Assessment, with a particular focus on women in the labor market. The assessment examines the poverty impacts of improving women's education outcomes and changes in their labor market participation, and looks at linkages across sectors. Based on this analysis the report recommends a focus on higher education for women, better enforcement of existing laws, and the creation of support systems to facilitate women's participation in the labor force.

Other Economic and Sector Work

The **Vietnam** Development Policy Review examines the policy implications of the different experiences of men and women in Vietnam. While women and men have similar employment rates, women are more likely to purchase voluntary health insurance and, as migrant workers, are more likely to have lower paying, non-contracted work. Women make up the majority of the disabled and aging populations.

Source: Nedolast, S. 2008. "PREM Assessment of Gender in Country Strategies and Diagnostics". World Bank, Washington D.C.

co-operatively-owned micro-enterprise that manufactures and sells energy products such as battery-operated lamps, batteries, battery-charging facilities, diesel-operated small-scale (micro-grid) electrification, and solar home systems. Within two years, over 1,200 households, shops, and boats started using battery-operated lamps, and 300 business owners were on micro-grid services. These lamps and micro-grid services improved the quality of indoor air and lighting and household and business security, enhanced productivity, and increased incomes by 30 percent. Shops were able to keep longer hours, and children spent more time on school work at home.⁸ The project was introduced to other regions

8. World Bank, 2002. Promising Approaches to Engendering Development, Number 1, August. Available at: <http://sitere-sources.worldbank.org/INTGENDER/Resources/electricity.pdf>.

in 2002, and lessons from this initiative were incorporated into the "Rural and Renewable Electrification Project in Bangladesh" (2002-2009), which is jointly funded by IDA and the Global Environment Facility.

Progress in integrating gender into statistics and analytical work

The World Bank's analytical work is increasingly more gender-aware. Country diagnostic works, such as Poverty Assessments, address gender concerns and include gender-responsive policy recommendations (Box 3).

Statistics disaggregated by gender at the country level, as well as project outcomes, are tracked in a variety of ways, including the GenderStats electronic database. This

database includes the most recent sex-disaggregated statistics and data on population, health, education, employment, political participation, and programs and policies for most countries in the world drawn from national statistics, United Nations databases and World Bank surveys. A recently published *Little Data Book on Gender* has key gender indicators for each country, and will be updated every year.

With funding under the Gender Action Plan, the World Bank has stepped up its work on gender-disaggregated statistics. The Plan funds strategic activities to improve gender-relevant and sex-disaggregated data, statistics, and indicators, and their availability and use in IDA countries. This includes, for example, the development of a software platform to facilitate a better understanding of the gender dimensions of poverty. The World Bank's efforts in the area of gender-disaggregated statistics also involve helping countries collect, report, analyze and use gender-relevant data.

Key Challenges Moving Forward

Historically, the IDA portfolio has been more responsive to gender concerns than the loan portfolio at the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, perhaps because of women's well-documented role in contributing to poverty alleviation and family well-being in poor countries. Moving forward, the IDA portfolio faces **four** particular challenges to increase benefits for women and girls:

Improving gender coverage in project design, supervision and monitoring. While there has been some progress in the last two years, there is still considerable room for

improving gender coverage in project design, particularly in the economic sectors. In addition, IDA project supervision and monitoring of gender coverage remains very poor. The main issue appears no longer to be one of raising awareness of the benefits of gender considerations in IDA, but of improving quality standards—including at entry—in monitoring, in evaluation, and in analytical work. These challenges will not be met without strengthening the World Bank's capacity for undertaking these tasks in developing countries, and creating mechanisms that facilitate and incentivize this strengthening within the World Bank.

Sustaining gains in the economic sectors. By increasing investments in gender equality and improving their quality, IDA can help sustain the gains of the Gender Action Plan beyond its closing date in December 2010. In its two-year existence, the Plan has supported an increase of World Bank investment for women's economic empowerment. By using seed money as incentive, applying competitive calls for proposals, and generating an analytically-solid development rationale for women's economic empowerment, a large number of World Bank activities now address gender issues, perhaps suggesting a promising way to sustainably raise levels of attention to gender equality in operations in the World Bank and other organizations. A serious challenge remains, however, in how to safeguard these gains in the economic sectors after the close of the Gender Action Plan in December 2010, when associated resources will no longer be available as incentives.

Intensifying work on population and reproductive health. By increasing investments in reproductive and maternal health, IDA can help low-income countries reach the fifth Mil-

lennium Development Goal. High population growth and high maternal mortality remain challenges in many developing countries, the majority in Sub-Saharan Africa. Maternal mortality is declining by only about one percent annually, a fifth of the rate needed to achieve the fifth Millennium Development Goal of reducing it by three quarters by 2015. Maternal mortality remains extremely high in Africa, where the average woman faces a nearly one percent risk of dying from pregnancy and childbirth. Very high fertility repeatedly exposes women to these high risks. About 536,000 women die annually worldwide from complications of pregnancy and childbirth; the mortality rate in Africa is about 900 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births.⁹ A new report from the Independent Evaluation Group calls on the World Bank Group to renew its commitment to outcomes in health, nutrition and population for the poor. The report notes that Bank support for population and reproductive health programs has significantly declined as a percentage of overall health aid, from about 30 percent in 1994 to 12 percent in 2008.¹⁰ Going forward,

a priority for the World Bank is to step up its support to reproductive health with maternal health as a key target in its health programs. Expanded IDA capacity for health, nutrition, and population support is critical to achieving these objectives.

Using IDA to focus on women’s role in helping mitigate long-term negative effects of the global economic crisis. In helping countries cope with the current financial crisis, IDA must support the design of policy responses that put money in women’s hands in poor households. Evidence suggests that resources controlled by women have large development payoffs—both in terms of mitigating current hardships and preventing future ones. By expanding economic opportunities for poor women through public works and other safety nets, agriculture, infrastructure, and financial sector operations, IDA can help prevent the more serious, permanent negative effects of the crisis on this and the next generation.

July 2009.

<http://www.worldbank.org/ida>

9. World Bank, 2008, *Global Monitoring Report*. Washington, DC.

10. While official global development aid for health soared from US\$2.9 billion in 1995 to US\$14.1 billion in 2007, roughly a five-fold increase in 12 years, aid for population and reproductive health had increased much more modestly during the same period, from US\$901 million in 1995 to US\$1.9 billion in 2007. In the 35 highest-fertility countries in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, aid for women’s family planning and reproductive programs started at US\$150 million in 1995 and increased to US\$432 million in 2007, while overall aid for health in these 35 countries went from US\$915 million in 1995 to US\$4.9 billion in 2007. Support for population and reproductive health programs has significantly declined as a percentage of overall health aid, from about 30 percent in 1994 to 12 percent in 2008. Source: World Bank, 2009, *Improving Effectiveness and Outcomes for the Poor in Health, Nutrition, and Population An Evaluation of World Bank Group Support Since 1997*, Independent Evaluation Group, Washington, DC: World Bank.