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The Search for Effective EFA Policies: The Role of Private Schools for Low- income Children

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**THE SEARCH FOR EFFECTIVE EFA POLICIES:
THE ROLE OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS FOR LOW-INCOME
CHILDREN**

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Acronyms

AKF	Aga Kahn Foundation
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
BECE	Basic Education Certificate Examination
BEP	Basic Education Project
BOG	Board of Governors
BOS	School Operational Funding Subsidy
BSNP	National Education Standards Body
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
DBE	Decentralizing Basic Education
DEO	District Education Officer
DFID	Department for International Development
EFA	Education for All
EMAK	Education for Marginalized Children in Kenya
FINNIDA	Finnish International Development Agency
FPE	Free Primary Education
GCT	General Consumption Tax
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	Gross Enrollment Rate
GES	Ghana Education Service
GH¢	Ghanaian Cedis
GoG	Government of Ghana
GoI	Government of Indonesia
GoJ	Government of Jamaica
GMC	Grey Matters Capital
GNAPS	Ghana National Association of Private Schools
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IFLS	Indonesia Family Life Survey
JAS	Joint Assistance Strategy
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JISA	Jamaica Independent Schools Association
JMD	Jamaican Dollar
JSLC	Jamaica Survey of Living Standards
KCPE	Kenyan Certificate of Primary Education
KESSP	Kenya Education Sector Support Programme
KISA	Kenya Independent Schools Association
KMA	Kingston Metropolitan Area
Ksh	Kenyan Shillings
LAPIS	Learning Assistance Program for Islamic Schools
M-CRIL	Micro-Credit International
MGSCSS	Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services
MIGA	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency

MOE	Ministry of Education
MOEJ	Ministry of Education (Jamaica)
MONE	Ministry of National Education
MORA	Ministry of Religious Affairs
MSS	Minimum Service Standards
MT	Madrasah Tsanawiyah
MVC	Most Vulnerable Children
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development
NYUBE	Nine-Year Universal Basic Education
OPIC	Overseas Private Investment Corporation
PATH	Programme for Advancement through Health and Education
PEDP	Primary Education Development Programme
PEF	Punjab Education Foundation
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PPRS	Promotion of Private Schools in Rural Areas of Sindh
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
ROSE	Reform of Secondary Education
RPL	Recognition of Prior Learning
SACCO	Savings and Credit Cooperative Society
SES	Socio-economic Status
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SIP	School Improvement Plan
TAMONGSCO	Tanzania Association of Managers and Owners of Non-Government Schools
TAPA	Tanzania Parents Association
TEA	Tanzania Education Authority
TETP	Tanzania Education and Training Policy
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
URT	Government of Tanzania
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WEF	World Education Forum

A Note on Terminology

The term meta-analysis is often used to refer specifically to the statistical technique of combining results from experiments (or quasi-experiments) in order to produce a composite (weighted) effect size. However, this definition does not apply to all situations. In fact, the meta-analysis referred to in the following report falls under the broader umbrella of a systematic review of the literature, policies, and practices concerning the issue of low-cost private schools in developing countries. The aggregation comes in the form of cross-country analyses, conclusions, and recommendations.

Purposes, Methods and Constraints

Commissioned by USAID/Washington, the purpose of this meta-analysis is to review the literature on affordable private schools and, through country case studies, assess issues concerning them. These include financial sustainability, the surrounding regulatory environment, the degree to which non-government schools accommodate children of the poor, and the quality of non-government school output. The team conducting the project was expected to assess the general policy framework, propose an effective policy framework, and provide recommendations for USAID and other donor engagement. The Vanderbilt team was asked to develop a research methodology and implement the approach.

Initially, the team conducted an exhaustive literature search of all books, articles and reports on low-cost private schools in developing countries. Combined with interviews and conversations with some of the field's foremost scholars, this led to the development of a case study information protocol for interviews with government officials, lending institutions, service providers, parents, development agencies and school officials (see appendix). Although time constraints often precluded the team from asking all intended questions, the protocol was used to standardize information collected across countries.

After developing the protocol, USAID/Washington selected the three case study countries of Kenya, Indonesia and Jamaica with the assistance of their respective USAID country offices. Additionally, USAID added Ghana, Pakistan and Tanzania to the list of case study countries. Since these were not part of the original terms of reference, the Vanderbilt team did not visit these countries directly but instead it supervised teams working on the ground. Despite strong efforts by the Vanderbilt team and those working in Ghana, Pakistan and Tanzania, the late addition of these case study countries ultimately led to inconsistencies in the information collected and reported across countries.

Prior to visiting each case study country, the Vanderbilt team contacted the local USAID offices to obtain a comprehensive list of organizations and government officials who work in the private education sector. Interviews with as many officials as possible were then scheduled and conducted via phone (if officials were traveling) or in person. These interviews often resulted in the provision of information about other organizations/officials with whom it was necessary to speak. Additionally, these interviews (particularly with Ministry of Education officials) were used to obtain lists of public and private schools to conduct school site visits. However, unregistered schools rarely appear on government lists of primary schools. Consequently, data collection on unregistered schools would be highly beneficial and could significantly improve our understanding of the prevalence of low-cost private schools across countries.

While there is no universally accepted definition of low-cost private schools in the literature (which has an impact on the generalizability of studies on the sector), a definition was created to standardize across all case study countries. Thus, low-cost private schools were defined as those with tuition rates less than 50% of the minimum wage. Accordingly, only schools meeting this definition were in the sampling frame for school visits (and interviews). Furthermore, the focus of this study was on low-cost schools at the primary level. While the team visited some junior secondary schools in Indonesia due to a complex primary/junior-secondary educational context, the intended purpose of this project was to assess the impact of low-cost private primary schools on Education for All (see Background section for in-depth explanation of Education for All). Although monetary restrictions (and often incomplete data) prevented the team from using an expansive, random sampling procedure, the team worked with ministry officials and local USAID offices to design a sampling plan that would allow for the most representative sample of schools possible (e.g., geography, religion, tuition) given the time and monetary restraints.

Finally, as noted throughout the report, selection bias arises as a concern whenever researchers examine schooling choices/opportunities. This is especially true when comparing educational outcomes between students attending public and private schools. Due to the very nature of the private education sector, it is expected that students in private schools will likely differ from their public school counterparts. This results from both the parental motivation that removes them from the public sector, as well as the selection process followed by the private schools themselves. While analytic techniques can be employed to account for selection bias, few of the studies examining low-cost private school outcomes actually do so. This is a significant limitation of the existing literature.

Executive Summary

Purpose

This report provides the background and history of the Education-For-All discussions and, in particular, the degree to which development strategies should rely exclusively on the provision of schooling by public authorities. It summarizes the debates over non-government schools and the controversies that non-government schools sometimes generate. Two main questions surround this work: Why would poor families pay for basic education when free education is available? Moreover, what approach should local and international public agencies take regarding non-government schools?

Rapid Expansion of Low-cost Private Sector

In this report we explain the reasons that non-government schools are expanding, even in environments where there is publicly provided schooling free of private cost. We describe incidents where public supply and public school quality are inadequate. We also illustrate the importance of ‘differentiated demand’. This includes the general wish of many families that their children be educated under the auspices of a faith or a curricular philosophy. It also includes the view of families that their children deserve individual attention and that the education experience should be psychologically healthy. Lastly, we provide examples of non-government schools that provide free or highly subsidized opportunities for orphans, street children and others who are excluded from government schools.

Range of International Activities

In the report, we review the international activities of public and private agencies. These include bilateral and multilateral, and, on occasion, for-profit organizations. We summarize their activities and highlight some innovative examples. These include examples in many countries drawn from the literature and from many agencies in the country case studies. For instance, the innovative activities include the work of *Gray Matters Capital*, which sponsors both non-profit and for-profit (lending) activities to support affordable private schools for the poor.

Balancing the Regulatory Environment

We provide a review of non-government school regulations and conclude that, while it is common for governments to protect the interests of citizens, current regulatory structures for non-government schools are often counter-productive and in many cases constrain innovation. We ask how to strike the right balance between requiring that government protect its citizens and the equally important responsibility of allowing educational innovation and opportunity. We

conclude with a guiding principle that governments have the following four regulatory requirements with respect to non-government schools: (i) safety of school structures; (ii) national curriculum objectives; (iii) opportunity for students to take national examinations and compete for entry into higher education and selective training programs; and (iv) publication and dissemination of non-government school enrollment levels and results. Since other regulations, including the tendency to control tuition levels, teacher certification, pedagogy, and operating hours, do not enhance access to, or quality of, schooling, we recommend that the government withdraw from the common tendency to regulate in these areas. We explain the reasons for this conclusion and offer a variety of ideas on how governments and development assistance agencies can play a constructive role in the development of non-government schools. We suggest that non-government schools, for the most part, should be expected to manage themselves. Although we recognize the numerous innovative programs to subsidize non-government schools, such as in India and Chile, we do not recommend a general program of publicly financed vouchers. What we do recommend are ways to make it easier for non-government schools to finance and manage themselves more effectively and for families to access better, more accurate, and more systematic information on non-government school performance.

Financial Sustainability at Risk

Financial sustainability is a continuing problem for non-government schools. In the report, we describe these problems and offer a set of suggestions to increase the likelihood that non-government schools can prosper without placing demands on public finance or diverting development assistance from furthering government education priorities.

Commonality of Low-cost Private Schools

Private schools for middle class and wealthy families exist in every country; notably, we also find that in every country there are non-government schools that accommodate children from very poor families. Some are operated by charities or churches; others are open to children who have no other opportunity, and still others are targeted to wealthy families but provide scholarships and fellowships to those who cannot afford regular tuitions. Included in our recommendations is how governments might approach the public good responsibilities of high tuition non-government schools. We also find a significant misconception and/or lack of awareness of low-cost private schools among high-level officials and well-positioned members of the public. All recognize the existence of high tuition and high-quality private schools, but few are aware of the existence or commonality of private schools for the poor.

Need for Statistics and Analyses

In the report, we discuss the importance of helping governments gather statistics on non-government schools, analyzing those statistics, and reporting to the public on non-government school performance results. We offer a set of research questions we believe to be particularly important to pursue. We recommend a program in which USAID and other development assistance agencies would assist UNESCO in its effort to cover non-government schools in its normal reports and the role of non-government schools in attaining the objectives of Education-for-all.

Recommendations

In this report, we also offer a set of recommendations to USAID. In countries where there are already programs involving cash transfers to poor families who send children to public schools, these should be extended to poor children in non-public schools. We suggest that some publicly-financed programs be expanded on very specific grounds such as inadequate public supply, specialized learning or target group needs (orphans, street children, or high-ability children of the poor, etc.). We also suggest that USAID's basic guideline be to help non-government schools better manage themselves through better information (such as publicly accessible systems of rating), viable capital markets, less onerous regulation, assistance to professional associations, and improving the skills of school managers.

Case-study Analyses

Following the report we provide a description of the non-government school system in each selected country—Indonesia, Pakistan, Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania and Jamaica. This includes a description of each school visited and a bibliography of the literature on non-government schools, organized by region.

Constraints

We faced significant constraints in producing this report. Limited budgetary resources prevented survey work on the ground prior to country visits. Visits were limited to two or three weeks. The absence of private school information prevented us from conducting random samples; instead, case illustrations had to be determined after a country visit had commenced. Case study countries shifted in response to interest and demand from local USAID offices. Three additional countries (Ghana, Tanzania and Pakistan) were added and studied indirectly through separately contracted teams. Nevertheless, we have pulled together the needed information from other studies, from our own observations, and from the indirect observations of contracted teams to address the questions above. .

Conclusion

In conclusion, we assert that non-government schools serving the poor are a universal phenomenon but are not always recognized as such. Instead of being ignored, they should be treated as an integral part of achieving the objectives of basic Education-for-All.

II. Background

Education for All

History

On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The General Assembly stated in the preamble of this groundbreaking document that it was to be used as “a common standard of achievement for all people and all nations” (United Nations, 1948, p. 72). The first mention of education in the body of the document was in Article 26, which stated, “everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory.” (p. 76) It further noted, however, “parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children” (p. 76). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a whole, and these two passages in particular, paved the way for both the Education for All (EFA) movement, as well as the current debate on public versus private provision of basic educational needs and services.

More than 40 years after the adoption of the UDHR, international agencies, NGOs and government officials came together in Jomtien, Thailand for the World Conference on Education for All. Motivated by the fact that more than 100 million children worldwide had no access to primary schooling and an estimated 960 million adults across the globe were illiterate, attendees at this conference adopted the World Declaration on Education for All—which proclaimed education as a fundamental human right and stated that basic education was to be provided to all children, youth and adults. Ultimately, the declaration pledged that by the year 2000 all countries should have achieved universal access to quality education. Unlike the UDHR, however, this world declaration made no mention of the provision of *free* education for all. In fact, Article VII stated, “new and revitalized partnerships at all levels will be necessary” (World Economic Forum, 2000, p. 76). More specifically, it stated that these partnerships should include “partnerships between government and non-governmental organizations, the private sector, local communities, religious groups, and families” (p. 76).

At the end of the 1990s, by which time all countries were to have universalized basic education, the estimated number of children without access to education had grown to 113 million and the number of illiterate adults was still a substantial 880 million. This is not to say, however, that no progress had been made. Many countries had made significant gains in primary enrollment rates throughout the decade and important commitments to basic education had been made by the international community (such as the World Summit for Children (1990), the World Conference on Special Needs Education: Access and Quality (1994) and the International Conference on Child Labour (1997)). Still, a large gap stubbornly persisted between the ambitious commitments of many countries and their actual enrollment and literacy rates. With this in mind, governments

and organizations met once again at the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal (2000), to reaffirm the vision set by the World Declaration on Education for All. The Dakar Framework for Action established six new goals for meeting the basic educational needs of all children, youth and adults around the world by 2015. Perhaps most interesting of those was goal two, which aimed to ensure “that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality” (WEF, 2000, p. 15). Furthermore, this most recent declaration of Education for All stated, “for the millions of children living in poverty, who suffer multiple disadvantages, there must be an unequivocal commitment that education be free of tuition and other fees” (p. 15). While this proclamation reaffirmed the views expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (i.e., free primary education), it represented a departure from the original EFA goals established in Jomtien. Along with the fifth and sixth goals proposed in the Dakar Framework (eliminating gender disparities by 2005 and achieving gender equality by 2015, and improving all aspects of the quality of education, respectively), this new Education for All proclamation lies at the heart of the current debate on the role of private basic education in developing countries.

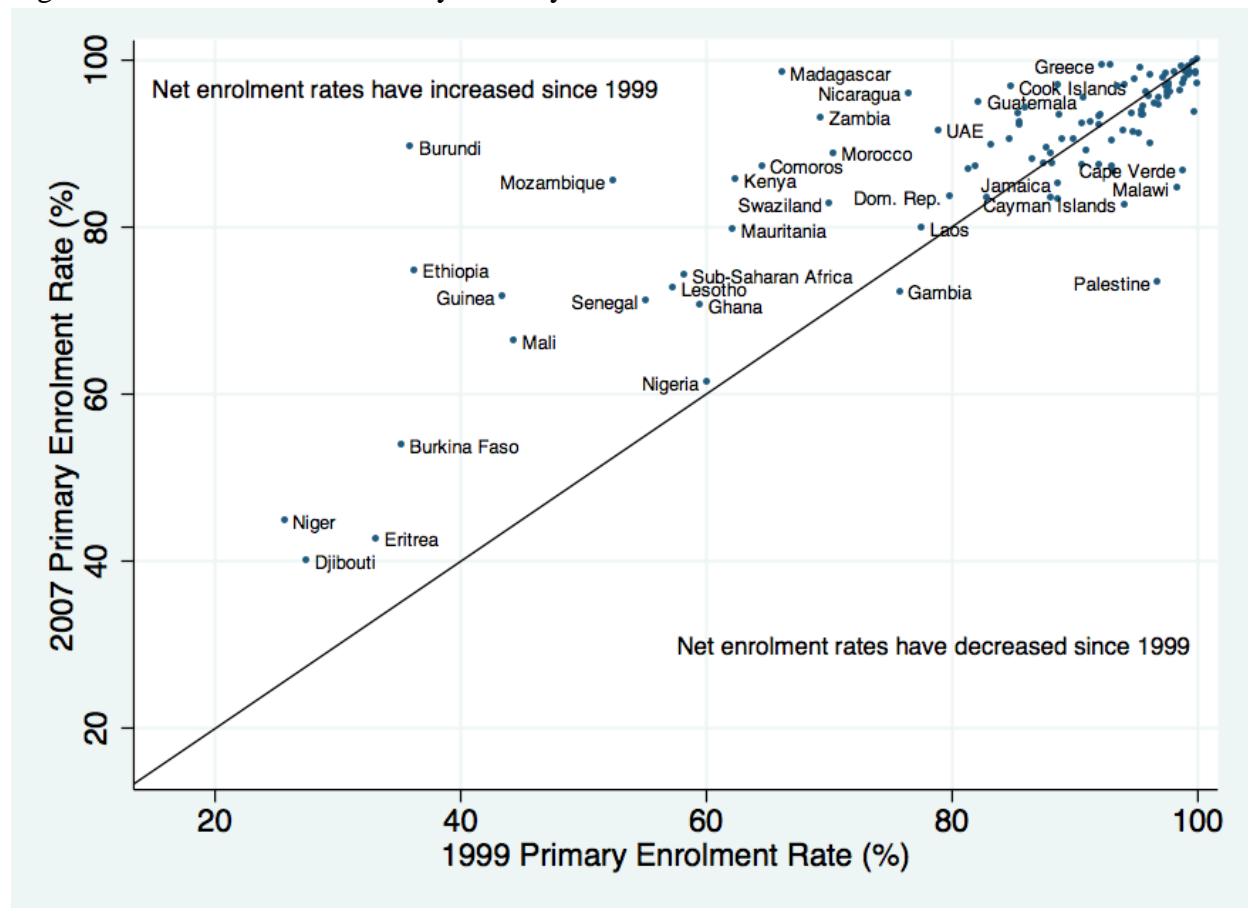
Problems and Difficulties

While the first 10 years after the World Declaration on Education for All are sometimes referred to as the ‘lost decade’, during the period following the second declaration of EFA (Dakar 2000) the world has witnessed a considerable number of success stories. World literacy rates have steadily improved, the number of out-of-school youths has dropped and the world has been moving closer to gender parity. Several countries have already been able to meet their universal basic education goals, while others are still on track to meet the goal by 2015. The efforts of some governments, aid organizations, NGOs, teachers and families have been truly remarkable and their impacts cannot be overstated. This does not mean, however, that all countries have been making progress nor does it mean that EFA is without its problems and difficulties.

In the most recent EFA Global Monitoring Report, UNESCO accordingly notes, “while much has been achieved over the past decade, many of the world’s poorest countries are not on track to meet the 2015 targets” (UNESCO, 2010a, p.4). Figure 1 (below) illustrates that while many countries have made progress in primary net enrollment rates over the past decade, some countries actually had higher enrollment rates in 1999 than in 2007. Furthermore, of the 10 countries with 2007 primary net enrollment rates below 70%, four of them have actually seen decreased enrollments since the Dakar Framework. Although low enrollment rates are an obvious point of concern in and of themselves, the extent of the problem is exacerbated by the fact that there is a general inverse relationship between enrollment and gender parity. As Figure 2 (below) shows, countries with lower enrollment rates are also likely to experience greater gender disparity. While this relationship is not perfect, the general trend is apparent and is of concern to many South Asian, Middle Eastern and African countries.

Although these figures are drawn from UNESCO monitoring reports and do not provide labels for all case study countries, the most obvious case studies of interest appear to be Tanzania, Kenya and Ghana (from Figure 1) and Pakistan (and to some extent, Ghana) from Figure 2. In the cases of Tanzania, Kenya and Ghana, all three countries have net enrollment rates that significantly increased between 1999 and 2007, with Tanzania showing the strongest impact (nearly doubling its efforts from about 50% to nearly 100% net primary enrollment). Although Pakistan is not labeled in Figure 1, the results in Figure 2 show that the country has one of the lowest gender parity indexes in the world, concomitant with about a 65% net enrollment ratio in 2007. Ghana appeared to be somewhat of a unique case in which net enrollment was low (below 75%) but gender parity was high.

Figure 1: Net Enrollment Rates by Country



Source: UNESCO Statistics

support/funding; 3) The recent global economic crisis¹ and 4) The prevalence of failed states and post-conflict circumstances.

The global economic crisis has affected low-income countries in two distinct ways: while national economies have suffered, international food prices have been on the rise—affecting countries at both the national and individual levels. For example, in addition to families having less money to spend on schooling, UNESCO (2010a) estimates that sub-Saharan Africa's loss in available finances could be twice the level of aid to basic education in the region and could ultimately decrease per-pupil spending in primary schools by 10% (as compared with 2010 pre-crisis projections). As for donor funding, commitments to basic education nearly doubled between 2000 and 2004 but then decreased in 2005 (UNESCO, 2008). By 2006 they were nearly up to 2004 levels before decreasing by more than one-fifth in 2007 (UNESCO, 2010a). Furthermore, UNESCO claims that aid to education is not being targeted to those most in need. Finally, national spending on education has varied greatly by country (with the poorest countries still providing significantly less money to basic education than wealthier countries, both in aggregate terms as well as in percentages of GDP).

Although national spending on education increased in a majority of countries after the declaration of EFA in Dakar, 40 of 105 countries with available data actually experienced *a decrease in the share of national spending* between 1999 and 2006 (UNESCO, 2009). Combined with the fact that aid commitments have been decreasing, this lack of government support (i.e., funding) for basic education has caused some researchers, donors and educational experts to call into question the ability of poor nations to provide free, high quality basic education to all children, youth and adults (even with the international assistance). This is where the low-fee private education sector in a number of developing countries (e.g., Ghana, Jamaica, Kenya, etc.) has been filling the gap.

British professor and researcher James Tooley is one of the biggest advocates of the use of low-fee private schools to help developing countries make progress toward reaching the EFA goals of high-quality universal primary education and gender equality by 2015 (2004). He claims that:

Government schools cannot provide quality education for all. If the goal of education for all is to be achieved, the private sector must be encouraged and not squeezed out. Development agencies need to wake up to this because large-scale government education leads to failure on a large scale that can cause serious harm to the poor. (p. 4)

¹ Additionally, some have raised concerns about the unrealistic nature of the EFA goals. By setting such high standards without taking into account the magnitude of the problem in some countries, it is not unreasonable to assume that certain countries may be unable to meet their goals despite a concerted effort. As a matter of fact, far-reaching goals may actually increase problems in the public sector (if the initial focus is placed on access without sufficient focus being placed on quality).

Tooley's recent research in China, Ghana, Kenya, India, and Nigeria suggests that private schools are serving the poor in developing countries. We now examine non-government schools in low-income countries and the roles they currently play in assisting countries to reach their EFA goals. [Note: We have chosen to use the term "non-government schools" due to the connotation that "private" often has with regard to being elite and/or for-profit. However, the terms non-government, private, independent and preparatory (in the case of Jamaica) are used interchangeably throughout this report.]

Non-Government Schools

History

At one time or another, non-government schools have played a role in nearly every country's educational history. Throughout the world, schools not controlled (or operated) by the government provided the first formal educational opportunities for children—whether begun by individuals, the private sector or religious organizations.² However, these were often elite private schools, only accessible to the country's wealthiest citizens.³ The visible nature of elite private schools has given rise to the common misconception that all non-government schools are for the wealthy, thus making the mere possibility of low-fee private schools in developing countries seem paradoxical to some. In the modern education age, however, when nearly all nations have accepted that education is a basic human right that should be made available to all, 'private schools for the poor' have become a distinct reality in nearly all developing countries.

Governmental Support

In Bhutan, Cameroon, Chile, Colombia, Haiti, Aruba, and Trinidad and Tobago, among others, governments appear to have fully accepted that the private sector is necessary and that it can fulfill a role that the public system cannot (or will not)⁴. Perhaps best known is the large-scale Chilean voucher program in which the government provides per-pupil vouchers for students to attend private schools (both those owned by private franchises and those independently owned) (Arenas, 2004; Elacqua et al, 2009; Hsieh & Urquiola, 2006; McEwan & Carnoy, 2000; Somers et al, 2004). There is a smaller scale, more selective voucher program in Cameroon, where the government provides per-student subsidies to faith-based private schools, although not to secular private schools, which assists faith-based schools in targeting lower-income students (Backiny-Yetna & Wodon, 2009a). In 2009, India adopted The Right to Education Law, which requires that 25% of the first grade places in non-government schools be offered to children from low-

² In many cases, religious and community organizations were one in the same.

³ This is true of the case study countries described in later sections of this report. One exception to this generalization has come in the form of religious schooling.

⁴ In cases such as Haiti, Aruba, and Trinidad and Tobago, private primary enrollment rates are upwards of 70-80%.

income families. The government promises to reimburse the cost of tuition for these low-income students. About 10%⁵ of India's children in lower primary and about 25% in upper primary attend non-government schools (Ahmed and Govinda, 2010, p. 372).

Taking a less direct approach, the government of Bhutan conducted extensive school mapping in order to assess the public system's shortcomings and subsequently worked with communities to set up non-government schools to account for the under-supply of public school spaces (Bray, 2002; Kitaev, 2004). In Trinidad and Tobago, the government has taken to purchasing seats in private schools in order to meet excess demand for education (Kitaev, 2004). After an eight-year voucher program that served 125,000 low-income students, the Colombian government instituted a similar plan of purchasing private school seats—although the country's newest approach has consisted of the government contracting out to 'concessionary schools' (privately run) that are required to accept any student from the lowest two socio-economic strata (Angrist et al, 2002; Bettinger, 2005; Cox & Jimenez, 1990; Uribe et al, 2006; Villa & Duarte, 2005).

At the other end of the spectrum are countries like Barbados, Mauritius, Nepal and Uzbekistan. All of these countries (in addition to several other transitional economies) have governments that strongly believe the delivery of education to their nation's children is the sole responsibility of the state.⁶ The most extreme of these is Nepal, where the non-government education system has faced extreme adversity from the Maoist movement, often in the form of demonstrations in Kathmandu (Caddell, 2007).

Expansion of Non-government Schools

The majority of developing countries in the world fall somewhere between these two categories—with government support and regulatory measures ranging from clearly delineated and strictly enforced to non-existent. While the relative size, support and impact of low-fee private schools vary by country, there are two seemingly ubiquitous reasons for the rise of the sector in developing countries. The first reason, alluded to in the previous section, is that inadequate or uneven distribution of government finance leads to demand for schooling that non-government schools can fill (Colclough, 1997). The second reason is low quality and/or inefficient public education. In other words, non-government schools have proliferated in developing countries in order to meet excess demand resulting from an insufficient supply of public school spaces and/or to provide alternatives to a failing public education system. While

⁵ This figure is likely to change with the Right to Education Act, which stipulates that 25% of seats in primary school are to be reserved in private schools.

⁶ A state may provide public education in three ways: through common content and performance standards, through financing and through delivery. Many parents feel the need to have their children attend schools associated with a church or mosque. The tradition of having public education delivered by non-sectarian institutions is the norm in the U.S. but not other industrialized democracies where it is normal for churches to deliver public schooling. In Swaziland and Lesotho, for instance, have full enrollment in basic education delivered by schools managed by churches.

private schools have traditionally been used by wealthy families as alternatives to the public system, in the past few decades this same trend has been seen for low-income families as well.

Phillipson (2008) provides additional reasons. He suggests that low-cost private education has increased in developing countries in recent years due, in part, to an oversupply of teachers, hidden costs in government schools, high private tuition (in high-fee schools), a preferable language of instruction, poor public performance (i.e., academic achievement) and religious preference. In addition, Tooley (2009) claims that low-cost private schools are likely to provide lower teacher absenteeism (due to increased accountability to parents and school owners), more engaged teachers (due to more local recruitment), smaller class sizes and more individualized attention. Although there is evidence in the literature and from our fieldwork in each of our case studies to support the claims by both Phillipson and Tooley, low-cost non-government schools are not without their problems and controversies (discussed in the following section).

Categories of Schools

Chakrabarti and Peterson (2009) propose a four-cell model to describe the range of public and private school categories. This includes public schools where the state finances and delivers education; government tuition schools that are publicly financed but private managed; vouchers, charter, concession schools; and private schools where the government neither finances nor delivers education. See Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Categories of Public/Private Education Relationships

		Management	
		Public	Private
Funding	Public	Category 1	Category 2
		Public Schools	Vouchers, Charters, Concession Schools
	Private	Category 3	Category 4
		Government Tuition Schools	Private Schools

Source: Chakrabarti, Rajashri and Peterson, Paul. E. 2009, “Perspectives in Public-Private Partnerships in Education,” p. 4. [Note: Categories two and four have been highlighted because they are the two categories on which the report focuses.] While the majority of case study

schools fall under category 4, those in Indonesia most appropriately fit in category 2 (as they are partially-publicly funded but privately run).]⁷

Debates and Controversies

Lewin puts forth four arguments against the use of non-government schools to achieve universal basic education. The first concerns the fact that basic education is a human right that only states can deliver. The argument holds that for-profit institutions have no essential interest in delivering education services to the poor and non-profit charities cannot deliver services on a national scale without relying on a public subsidy, essentially making them a public responsibility even if the state contracts for the service delivery. This argument holds that states have the moral and legal responsibility to protect minorities, promote equity and diminish exclusion (Lewin, 2007, p. 42).

Second, if non-subsidized providers in low-income communities depend on community revenue, including tuition, they are essentially drawing down the community's wealth. The availability of income to support non-government schools is much more limited in low-income countries than in high-income countries, among other things because of the differences in the age dependency ratios. Relative to GDP/capita, teacher salaries in low-income countries may be six times than those in high-income countries. Additionally, available domestic revenue is only 15% of GDP compared to 40% in wealthy countries. This suggests that the social cost of basic education is significantly higher in low-income countries; hence, arguments for non-government schools in high-income countries cannot easily be applied in low-income countries (Lewin, 2007, p. 43). Ultimately, as Watkins (2004) puts it, "Should the world's poorest people really be expected to choose between health and the education of their children? And what is the market rationale to suggest that such choices make sense for the rest of society?" (p. 9).

Third, the claims of greater efficiency, lower cost, higher quality and higher relevance in the non-government sector can only be true under certain conditions. These include "informed choice, transparent accountability, adequate regulation and an effective legal framework," and these rarely, if ever pertain to the reality of the poorest households in developing countries (Lewin, 2007, P.44). The lack of informed choice, in particular, is especially troubling. Opponents of non-government schooling claim that without sufficient information low-cost private schools will simply be taking advantage of poor parents (Probe, 1999; Watkins, 2004).

Fourth, he alleges that there is no OECD or rapidly developing country that has depended on non-government provision to achieve universal attendance in basic education. This is because basic education has a wide range of externalities, which are naturally provided through state involvement. (Lewin, 2007, p. 44)

⁷ Among the private schools for the poor we found the following categories: (i) affiliated with either a local or (ii) an international church; with either (iii) local or a (iv) non-sectarian international charity, or associated with either a (v) local or (vi) an international for-profit enterprise.

There are two additional arguments against the use of non-government schools that are raised in the literature. One such argument is that relying on non-government schools can undermine the public education system. Parents often choose to enroll their children in non-government schools because of shortcomings in the public system. While this may prove to be an appropriate (short-term) fix for the students who move, “failure to address the challenge through increased public investment and improvements in service delivery will inevitably undermine public education.” (Watkins, 2004, p. 10)

Finally, even low-cost private schools will never be able to accommodate the poorest households (Probe, 1999; Rose & Adedabu, 2007; Srivastava & Walford, 2007; Watkins, 2004)

We have kept these important arguments in mind throughout our work in Jamaica, Kenya, Indonesia, Pakistan, Tanzania and Ghana, and feel that they are compelling—for the most part. However, through our fieldwork we have found evidence that both supports and belies these concerns. Ultimately, we offer some suggestions in response that we will discuss at the end of the report.

III. Cross-Country Analyses⁸

Demand for low-cost private schools

Hypothesis: The demand for low-cost private primary schools has risen during the past decade because of inadequacies in the public sector.

Private schooling across the globe is on the rise. According to UNESCO statistics, approximately 16% of the world’s primary school students were enrolled in private schools in 2000—by 2009 this number rose to more than 20%. The case studies presented in the appendix provide explanations of the reasons for the rise of a low-cost private primary school sector in a variety of countries. Although the specific reasons are often unique to each country, an underlying theme runs through all of the cases. Simply put, the demand for private education comes from the inability of the public sector to meet demand. The reasons for that can be: 1) an insufficient supply of public school spaces; 2) low-quality public schooling; or 3) a public education system that fails to meet the diverse, differentiated needs of its students, which may include parental demand for teaching in an international language, a religious emphasis or smaller classes and more personalized teaching.⁹ In four of the six case study countries (Ghana, Indonesia, Pakistan and Kenya), inadequate supply of public schools (or public school seats) proved to be one of the most prominent reasons for the increased demand for low-cost private education. In addition to inadequate supply, there were a number of other reasons for the proliferation of low-cost schools—the most commonly reported of which are noted in Table 1 (below).

Table 1: Demand for Low-Cost Private Schools (by Case-study Country)

Country	Insufficient Supply of Public Spaces	Additional reasons for increased low-cost private school sector (Perceived quality cited in all countries)
JAMAICA	X ¹⁰	Individualized attention, small classrooms, safety Public school problems such as overcrowding, violence, insufficient attention paid to slow learners.
GHANA	X	Teacher absenteeism, teacher engagement, distance, safety, overcrowding in public schools, English language instruction
TANZANIA		Religion, educational provision for AIDS orphans, overcrowding in public schools, English language instruction
INDONESIA	X	Religion, only option for students with low test scores in lower

⁸ See Appendix I for table of basic statistics from six case study countries.

⁹ Many parents feel the need to have their children attend schools associated with a church or mosque. The tradition of having public education delivered by non-sectarian institutions is the norm in the U.S. but not other industrialized democracies. Swaziland and Lesotho, for instance, have full enrollment in basic education delivered by schools managed by churches.

¹⁰ While near universal primary enrollment has negated this issue at the primary level, there is an insufficient supply of public spaces in Jamaica at the secondary level.

		secondary, local/community support
PAKISTAN	X	Religion, girls' education, distance, student/teacher ratios, teacher absenteeism, English language instruction
KENYA	X	Hidden public school costs, student/teacher ratios, poor academic achievement in public schools, religion, community support

Inadequate Public Supply

Ghana has experienced large increases in the number of private primary schools, as well as in the private sector's share of primary enrollments in recent years. While some have claimed that these schools are an urban phenomenon, Tooley (2005) found that many low-cost private schools had been established in rural areas, where public schools were few and far between. A similar situation has arisen in Indonesia. Although private schools can be found throughout the country, those that serve low-income populations are often established in remote areas in order to meet demand. An extreme example from our fieldwork was a Baduy school started in West Java that we reached only after a five-hour walk through the mountains—the nearest public school was more than 10 kilometers away. Furthermore, at the junior-secondary level, low-cost private schools have been established in order to provide educational opportunities for those students with low primary exit examination scores, who are unable to secure spaces in public schools.

Despite the prohibition of private education in the 1970s, there has been recent rapid growth of the private sector in Pakistan. The majority of this growth has occurred in rural areas and among the country's poorest households. While the government has made great strides toward increased educational coverage, low-cost private schools have been necessary in order to address the needs of children who still do not have a viable public school option.

In Kenya, insufficient supply is the overriding reason for the rise in low-cost private schools in the country. Although this phenomenon is found in rural areas (where infrastructure, roads and public services are limited), the most significant impact arises from the urban slums. Due in large part to property rights issues, public schooling options are woefully inadequate for the number of school-age children in some of the continent's largest slums. With a strong desire for education, many individual proprietors and small community organizations have banded together to establish low-cost primary schools that are easily accessible to even the youngest children—whose parents are often unwilling to allow them to travel the distances necessary to reach the nearest public school. Even those old enough to take the trip are often greeted by educational institutions that are severely over-crowded. These independently owned low-fee schools therefore address a very important need in the lives of many poor Kenyans.

In addition to the case-study countries, increased demand for low-cost schools has been impacted by the inadequate supply of public school spaces throughout the world. For example, Uganda, Kenya's neighbor to the west, has seen significant increases in the private sector because of

insufficient supply in the public sector (Kisira, 2008). In West Africa, Nigeria has experienced large increases in unrecognized private schools, for much the same reason as its East African counterparts (Rose & Adedabu, 2007; Tooley et al, 2005; Umar, 2008). Outside Africa, the Philippines has seen a similar trend—although recent increases in public school spaces have actually led to a reduction in the overall share of private school students in the country (Jimenez & Sawada, 2001). In Thailand, short public supply has also influenced growth in the low-cost private sector, especially at the secondary school level (Pinyakong et al, 2007). Much the same can be said about the private education sector in rural China (Tooley, 2009).

Finally, as in Kenya, inadequacies in government funding for education have led to greater community involvement in education (financing and otherwise). This has resulted in increased demand for (and eventual supply of) low-cost private schools in Chad, Malawi, Vietnam, Cambodia and Bhutan, among others (Bray, 1997).

As can be seen from these examples, a country's inability to provide an adequate supply of public school spaces often leads to increased demand for low-cost private schooling alternatives. This is not, however, the only reason for increased demand for private education. Other reasons (several of which are noted in Table 7, above) are discussed in the following sections.

Low-Quality Public Schooling

In recent years, Jamaica has reached near universal primary enrollment and there are few concerns about an insufficient supply of public school spaces. The quality of these spaces, however, is not so certain. Much of the demand for low-cost private schools in Jamaica comes from parents who are dissatisfied with an ineffective public education system. School owners and parents both regularly noted that private schools were able to provide smaller classes and more individualized attention than the public schools, which was especially important for students who were reported as being 'forgotten' or 'left behind' in the public system. In addition to slow-learners getting lost in the public system, parents often noted that crime and violence had become the norm in public schools and that low-cost private schools provided a safer, more nurturing learning environment for their children. By focusing on students likely to be 'forgotten' in the public system, low-cost private schools often target the most at-risk youth with their services. This is a similar approach to the one taken in South Africa, where providing private educational opportunities to those at-risk for gang involvement has become an important niche in the demand-driven system (Chisholm, 2004; Fiske & Ladd, 2004; Reschovsky, 2006).

In Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania and Pakistan parents perceived private schools to be of higher quality than public schools. Citing issues such as poor national examination scores, over-crowding, high teacher absenteeism, and unengaged teachers, parents often worked to scrape together small amounts of money so they could remove their children from the public school system. This is a common thread throughout the research in nearly every country with a thriving low-cost private

education sector. Teacher absenteeism, for example, has been found to be a serious problem in Zambia (Das et. al, 2007) and India (Dufalo and Hanna, 2005), as well as Pakistan (Andrabi et al, 2008; Das et. al 2006). In India low-quality public schooling is also driving private demand. Shah and Veetil (2006) note that “the continuing decline of the quality of the state education system has led, by default, to one of the highest levels of privatization of education in the developing world. The proportion of students in private schools in urban areas of many states in India is higher than that in any developed country.” (p. 3)

Differentiated Demand

Historically the most prominent aspect of differentiated demand in education has been religion. Nearly all countries have religiously affiliated private schools that provide an additional focus on religion that cannot often be met by the public sector. In Indonesia, for example, the branch of the ministry that oversees more than 90% of private schools in the country is the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA). Although schools under MORA are required to follow the national curriculum, they are allowed to supplement it with additional religious instruction. Religion, therefore, is one of the main reasons why the low-cost private sector in Indonesia is relatively large.

In both Pakistan and Tanzania, parental preference for greater emphasis on religion in schools has increased the demand for low-cost schooling options.¹¹ Not surprisingly, religion has played a major role in the expansion of low-cost private education throughout the world. Several other examples include Venezuela (Allcott & Ortega, 2009), Sierra Leone (Wodon & Ying, 2009), Democratic Republic of Congo (Backiny-Yetna & Wodon, 2009b), Bangladesh (ADB, 2003; Asadullah, 2009; Bano, 2007), India (Jodhka & Bora, 2009) and Nigeria (Reichmuth, 1989; Roberts et al, 2009).

One important distinction between differentiated demand and the two previous impetuses for demand (inadequate supply and low-quality public schooling) is that differentiated demand on its own does not necessarily provide evidence that the public sector is not actually meeting its goals. Accordingly, Wolff et al (2005) offer that expansion of the private education sector should not be seen as mutually exclusive to a thriving public education sector. They make this claim in reference to Latin America, where private schools play a large role in the provision of education throughout the region. For example, as a region, private education accounts for 26% of preschool, 16% of primary and 25% of secondary enrollments. By country, the private primary share was, as of 2005: Argentina 20%, Chile 40%, Colombia 19%, Guatemala 13%, Peru 15%, and Venezuela 19%. The demand that led to these large private school shares is driven by differentiated demand, as well as an inadequate supply of high-quality public schooling options.

¹¹ Recently it has been argued that the role of organized religion in development has been seriously under-estimated in development economics. Nowhere is this more evident than in the education sector (Marshall, 2010).

Outstanding Issues

An additional driving force of the demand for low-cost private schooling is gender inequality. This is not to say that public schools cannot effectively reduce the gender gaps (access and achievement) in developing countries but in times of need, alternative options are sometimes beneficial. Of the case study countries, Pakistan has recently implemented the most female-focused initiatives for schooling. While Aslam (2007) points to the inadequacies in the public system for dealing with gender parity concerns, Andrabi et al (2008) provide evidence that private schooling can be used to address some of these issues. Other recent female-focused private initiatives and research include the stipend program for girls in Bangladesh (Raynor & Wesson, 2006), a scholarship program in Cambodia (Filmer & Schady, 2008) and studies in Nigeria (Lincove, 2009) and India (Srivastava, 2005), which found that parents believe low-fee private schools present the best opportunities for their daughters.

Another point worth mentioning is that public schools are not always free—and not always less expensive than low-cost private schooling options. One of the reasons that private schools first developed in Kenya was the high costs associated with public schools—and even with free primary education, the public system has fees (e.g., uniforms, examinations, even desks and chairs in some instances). In China, private education grew in the early 1980s due to the rising costs of public schooling—mostly through the establishment of unregistered/unrecognized private schools (Deng, 1997; Lin, 1999). More than twenty years later when James Tooley began his research in the Gansu province of China, public school cost was still an important factor in parents' decisions to enroll their children in private schools (Tooley, 2009).

Finally, the role of the government in the expansion of private schooling cannot be overlooked. In Nepal, for example, there has been demand for private schooling but it has been difficult to implement due to significant government opposition (Caddell, 2007). Similarly, in Nigeria the government has been found to intimidate, rather than support, private schools (Phillipson, 2008). Barbados, Mauritius and many of the transitional economies (including Belarus, Uzbekistan and Moldova) have also faced government obstacles when private actors have attempted to expand the country's low-cost private education sector (Kitaev, 2004). Additionally, while private education has been expanding rapidly in parts of Malawi, the central government has been seeking to maintain control over the education sector, which has made the expansion more difficult (Rose, 2005).

On the other hand, the government of Bhutan has used school-mapping as a needs assessment tool before supporting communities with the establishment of local, private schools (Bray, 2002). Similarly, in Cote D'Ivoire the government has fully supported a public subsidization program for private schools (Sakellariou & Patrinos, 2004). Arguably the most interesting situation exists in Madagascar, where the government has raised fees in the public sector to increase revenues

for public schools—but contrary to the government’s intentions, the increased fees have actually caused increased demand for low-cost private schools in the country (Glick & Sahn, 2005).

In conclusion, ultimately the demand for low-cost private schools has grown in nearly all developing countries. The majority of this growth has resulted from inadequacies in the public sector (i.e., insufficient supply, low-quality public provision, and/or differentiated demand).

Degree to which Non-government Schools Accommodate Low-income Children

Hypothesis: Non-government schools can accommodate low-income children. A common misconception about private schools is that they are only for the wealthy. This study has provided significant evidence to the contrary. In all six case study countries, as well as in many developing countries across the globe, private schools have begun to pay increased attention to low-income children in recent years. The question remains, however, whether they are succeeding.

Case study evidence from all six countries shows that private schools enrolled children from low-income families. In Jamaica, for example, 10 to 11% of students from the lowest two economic quintiles were enrolled in private schools by 2007—and the overall proportion of private primary school students in the country has been increasing. Low tuition rates and subsidized fees for the extremely poor have fueled this demand. For example, average monthly fees in unregistered private schools in Ghana were found to be approximately 12% of the minimum wage (while those in registered schools were approximately 20% of the minimum wage). In order to put these figures into perspective, Akaguri (2010) offers that poor households in Ghana spend approximately 16% of the minimum wage on public education, thus making unregistered private schools the more economical alternative.

In Pakistan, tuition rates in rural areas are low—typically less than the average daily wage of an unskilled worker. Furthermore, nearly 10% of the country’s poorest households enrolled children in private schools by the turn of the century. This is likely to have increased with such initiatives as the 2006 Education Voucher Scheme, which enrolled 10,000 students by mid-2008 (Salman, 2010). In both Pakistan and Nepal, Save the Children (2002) found that “there are a multitude of private schools catering to lower income groups, both in urban and rural areas” (p. 4). However, Andrabi et al (2007) found in their study of Punjab schools that “private schools choose to locate in richer villages and richer settlements within villages, limiting access for poor households” (p. ii).

The Indonesian private junior-secondary sector has developed, at least in part, for the purpose of accommodating those students unable to find a space in a public school (due to poor exam

scores) or because no public secondary school served a particular town or village. By design, this sector disproportionately enrolls low-income children due to their more limited primary schooling opportunities with regard to quality. Low-cost private schools in Kenya are nearly ubiquitous. During our fieldwork, we found that there were more low-cost private schools than anyone was aware. With their low school fees, private schools were able to accommodate some of the lowest-income households—even in poor areas. Because many of these schools do not own the land on which they reside, they are not registered with the Ministry of Education, which limits the available data on their numbers and enrollments.¹² A similar issue exists in India, where the unaided sector of the private education system is the one that serves low-income students, and is made up of many unrecognized schools (Mehrotra & Panchamukhi, 2007).

In Latin America and the Caribbean, there are several countries where affordable private schools for low-income students are viable options. These include Peru, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Paraguay, Mexico, and Ecuador (Faulhaber, 2008). Additionally, in Argentina, just over 8% of students from the lowest income quintile were enrolled in private school as of 2005 (Morduchowicz, 2005). In Bolivia, Psacharopolous et al (1997) ultimately concluded that there is a “remarkable willingness of households in a poor country to pay for private education for their children” (p. 404).

Reaching those Most in Need

Despite these successes, one of the main arguments against the use of non-government schools to achieve universal basic education is that these schools will never actually be able to reach the poorest families—arguably those most in need of educational reform (Probe, 1999; Rose & Adelabu, 2007; Srivastava & Walford, 2007; Watkins, 2004). This concern is heightened by the fact that private schools (no matter how low their tuition) reserve the right to select and expel students, which is often not accorded to their public school counterparts. While it is unlikely that parents with exceptionally low, or no, income would be able to afford tuition fees at even the lowest-cost private schools, private education is often touted by proponents as more efficient than the public system, which allows for the implementation of innovative initiatives to accommodate those who cannot afford the fees on their own. Specifically, loans, scholarships and vouchers can be used to increase access to private schools for low-income children (Wolff et al, 2005). To some extent, one or more of these approaches can be found in nearly all countries with a thriving low-cost private school sector.

In Ghana, for example, Tooley and Dixon (2006) found that approximately 5% of students in Ga were offered concessionary spaces in private schools. Additionally, 23 of 26 schools visited for the Ghana Report noted that a proportion of their students attended for free. Ultimately, in

¹² While the land requirement precludes private school owners from registering schools with the Ministry of Education, land issues have also had a limiting role in the number of public schools that have been established in slum areas.

Ghana, with the largest cost in private schools coming from school feeding programs, simply covering lunch costs could greatly increase the reach of low-cost private schools.¹³

In an effort to ensure that all students have the ability to enroll in private schools if they should so choose, the Government of Indonesia instituted a plan to relieve all poor students of fees by offering school operational funds (BOS) to private schools. In practice, some schools are unable to cover all their costs with BOS funds and therefore end up charging fees or asking for donations despite the regulations.¹⁴ However, these schools almost invariably allow students to enroll even if they cannot afford to pay any fees or make any donations.

Private schools in Kenya, Jamaica and Tanzania were also found to provide concessions and/or scholarships to those unable to afford school fees. In Jamaica, these concessions are most likely to be provided by schools with external funding assistance, such as churches or other religious organizations. In both Kenya and Tanzania, scholarships from low-cost private schools are regularly provided to AIDS orphans. In Kenya, repurposing of fees is also a common practice. For example, a number of schools from our fieldwork were found to accept a certain number of free students for every few fee-paying students they were able to enroll.¹⁵

Beyond the case study countries, Tooley and Dixon (2005) found during their research in India that while the schools they visited often had low tuitions, they still offered scholarships or concessionary spaces to those most in need. Offering a slightly different approach, Kisira (2008) notes that in Uganda, parents can pay for private schools in kind (such as by maize), which increases the ability of households with low and/or inconsistent income to afford private schools.

Vouchers and Alternative Models

In addition to scholarships and subsidies, some governments have implemented voucher programs to help low-income students attend private schools. The most well known example is Chile, which boasts the largest voucher program in the developing world. While this program has been used to provide many poor students with the means to enroll in schools that they could not otherwise afford, the fact that the size of the vouchers does not vary by SES makes them regressive—ultimately limiting their potential impact (Peirano & Vargas, 2005). A similar scenario exists in Cote d'Ivoire, where subsidies are provided to students at a rate that is negotiated with schools, though they are loosely tied to the number of students enrolled. Since sponsorship qualifications are based on test scores, those in the highest economic quintile were

¹³ These costs could be born by the government, the local community or aid organizations, depending on what type of scheme is implemented.

¹⁴ Asking for community donations occurred in some rural schools visited during our fieldwork, while some urban schools that served more working class children were found to charge fees.

¹⁵ Although the range of concessions and scholarships varied, nearly all schools visited in the case study countries provided concessionary or reduced-fee spaces to students most in need.

found to receive a subsidy more than twice that of students in the lowest economic quintile (Sakellariou & Patrinos, 2004). Voucher programs have also been implemented in Colombia and Cameroon. The well-documented PACES program in Colombia has been found to have produced mixed results, with some researchers concluding that the application process limited the voucher's ability to be extended to the poorest students in voucher cities (Angrist et al, 2002; Uribe et al, 2006). For example, Kremer (2002) notes that many of the voucher recipients in Colombia were planning to enroll in private school regardless. As for Cameroon, the government provided per-student subsidies to faith-based private schools for enrolling low-income students (Backiny-Yetna & Wodon, 2009). Bangladesh implemented a restricted subsidy program at the secondary level, where the government subsidies were used to cover approximately 80% of teachers' salaries in non-government schools (Gauri & Vawda, 2004). The aim of the program was that by reducing the burden on schools they would be able to enroll more low-income students. There are no available data, however, on the ultimate impact of this program.

One of the more innovative approaches taken in recent years involves a slight departure from the voucher system. Some governments have taken to purchasing private school spaces. We discovered this in Jamaica, for example. This has also occurred in both the Philippines, where the government has purchased places in low-income private schools (Patrinos, 2006), and in Trinidad and Tobago (Kitaev, 2004). Finally, the Colombian government purchased private school seats briefly after the completion of the PACES voucher program—although the government's newest approach is to contract out to 'concessionary schools'. These private schools are to be run by successful educational management organizations and are required to accept all interested students from the lowest two socio-economic quintiles (Villa & Duarte, 2005). They have been found to have lower dropout rates than similar public schools. In fact, public schools located near them have lower dropout rates than public schools located further away, which provides evidence of the positive externalities of competition. School test scores in these 'concession schools' are equal to or higher than test scores in public schools (Barrera-Osorio 2009, p. 195).

In conclusion, there is evidence of private schools accommodating low-income children from all countries studied. Through concessionary spaces for AIDS orphans and street children, scholarships for girls, cross-subsidization policies and alternative frameworks, private schools have often been able to provide educational opportunities to children from the neediest of backgrounds, some of whom have been turned away from the public system.

International Institutional Activities

Because non-government schools span a variety of purposes – altruistic, alternative philosophies, sectarian, and profit-seeking – multilateral and bilateral agencies dispensing official development

assistance constitute only part of the spectrum of potential institutions involved. In addition to USAID, DFID, the World Bank, the regional development banks and the IFC¹⁶ (see Table 2), they include charitable foundations such as the Islamic Foundation (Ghana), the IDP Foundation (Ghana), the Aga Khan Foundation and Dignitas (Kenya). There are also profit-seeking institutions of two kinds. One is local, such as an individual who opens a school or a series of schools as a family business. The other is a larger, sometimes international company, which may open a chain of schools. One example is Bridge International Academies (Kenya). With adequate credit worthiness, private banks may also be involved although the barriers, particularly for the smaller, family-owned companies, are considerable (see below).

Neither bilateral nor multilateral donors, whose principal partners are governments, have been heavily involved with non-government schools for the poor. The norm there is to seek the objectives of basic education through the public sector. Resistance from governments is also evident. Governments are sometimes slow to recognize their limitations and the contribution of institutions not directly in their control. Governments resist such involvement for several reasons. They may be handicapped by their relationship with teacher unions, which are often opposed to non-government schools because they are not unionized. They may see non-government schools as presenting a barrier to their own strategies. They may be uncomfortable with the educational heterogeneity that non-government schools represent. Alternatively, they may be unduly influenced by the need to monopolize power and authority.

In instances where there is donor activity and assistance, it often involves the extension of an ongoing government program to some non-government schools. This is the case in Kenya with the World Bank's KESSP, which may provide some textbooks to non-government schools; in Jamaica with IDB's PATH, which may extend cash transfers to low-income families of children in non-government schools; and in Indonesia with the Decentralized Basic Education Program providing teacher professional development and management training to both public and private schools, and with the World Bank's ROSE II, which may assist development plans in non-government schools. However, direct support to the non-government sector has been growing. It can be seen with USAID in Ghana building the capacity of private school administrators, AusAID in Indonesia assisting private schools in applying for accreditation, and with the World Bank, FINNIDA and NORAD supporting Tanzanian secondary education (with a variety of projects in support of non-government education).

Extending assistance intended for the poor attending public schools to the poor attending private schools is a natural extension of original motives and purposes. The program infrastructure is already present and often successful, and the objectives and definitions for reaching the poor are already field-tested. The administrative costs are low and the impact, relative to costs, are high. This first approach should gradually become the standard operating procedure for development

¹⁶ The International Finance Corporation is a branch of the World Bank that loans to the private sector.

assistance agencies and government ministries. Given the novelty of its institutional mechanisms the second approach involves more risk but holds the potential for greater long-term impact on the sector's development and the achievement of basic Education for All. It should be undertaken with caution but with frequency.

Private Lending/Support

Some unusual activities are generated by institutions that loan to the private sector such as the IFC and by charitable institutions such as the Aga Khan Foundation and Dignitas (Kenya), as well as the USAID DCA credit guarantee with Opportunity International for private primary schools in Ghana. Always consistent with government regulations and priorities, the mechanisms of their assistance are independent of governmental administration. This can provide fertile ground for innovation and effectiveness. The Punjab Education Foundation (PEF¹⁷) in Pakistan, for instance, provides fee subsidies to private primary school students and bonuses to private primary school teachers. The Aga Khan Foundation (Kenya) may include private schools in their ongoing program to assist marginalized children. Dignitas (Kenya) assists low-income private schools in poor urban areas with textbooks, school lunches, furniture, and school supplies. The IDP Foundation (Ghana) provides development assistance to more than 120 poor, non-government schools through its Rising Schools Program.

For-profit Institutions

The most unorthodox activities, however, may stem not from charities or donor agencies but from for-profit institutions, which concentrate on schools for the poor. This includes Bridge International Academies,¹⁸ which builds, staffs, equips and carefully manages a fast-growing collection of schools for the poor in Kenya (see section on Kenya), with ambitions to expand into four other East African countries. If growth continues at its current pace, by 2015 Bridge International Academies may be responsible for 1,800 schools and the education of close to a million low-income African children. These also include the work in India on the School Ratings Project of Micro-Credit International (M-CRIL), which has developed a system of rating private schools where the schools pay for their evaluations and where the profits help subsidize low-income private schools that wish to be included. Schools use the rating system to attract new families and to provide evidence of creditworthiness when seeking to borrow from a bank for their development. The goal of the rating system is to help parents make informed decisions, help regulators and investors assess individual schools, and give schools a clear path to improvement.¹⁹ This category of institutional activity also includes the India School Finance

¹⁷ The PEF, however, is a government supported institution.

¹⁸ <http://www.omidyar.com/portfolio/bridge-international-academies>

¹⁹ Ratings are awarded for (i) governance and strategy, (ii) learning environment, (iii) academic achievement, (iv) parental engagement, (v) financial systems, and (vi) financial performance. All ratings are public information.

Company,²⁰ which specializes in extending loans to affordable private schools. It also includes Enterprising Schools (<http://www.enterprisingschools.com>), which disseminates information to investors and private providers,²¹ private investors such as R.F. Chandler of Singapore (<http://www.rfchandler.com/the-organization-rfchandler/ground-business>), Beyond Profit, which is applying ‘bottom of the pyramid’ concepts to private education for the poor (<http://beyondprofit.com/private-education-for-the-poor/?dhiti=1>), and the ISSUU and other digital publishers whose impact on the poor in developing countries is only beginning to be adequately understood (http://issuu.com/enorwood/docs/steal_this_idea).

Table 2: International Institutional Activities

	Multilateral	Bilateral	Lending to Private Sector	Charitable	For-Profit
Jamaica	IDB (PATH ²² & HCPPII ²³) World Bank (ROSE II ²⁴)	USAID (BEP ²⁵)			
Ghana		USAID (GES Support & Capacity Building)	IFC (Capacity Building ²⁶) Private Banks ²⁷	Islamic Foundation ²⁸ E-Toys Blue Alliance Meet Africa Tomorrow Stars	
Tanzania ²⁹	World Bank	FINNIDA SIDA NORAD			

²⁰ <http://www.isfc.in/background.html>

²¹ Enterprising Schools has a new sector strategy paper of importance:

<http://enterprisingschools.com/discussions/other/enterprising-schools-announces02011-strategy-0>

²² Programme for Advancement through Health and Education may be extended to support cash transfers to low-income families of private school students.

²³ The Human Capital Protection Program II is a new program that may be used to extend the PATH funding.

²⁴ Reform of Secondary Education assists school improvement plans in some private secondary schools

²⁵ Basic Ed. Program may extend coverage to private schools for special needs students

²⁶ Capacity building refers to the training of school managers, teachers.

²⁷ All five private banks interviewed provide lending services to qualifying private schools

²⁸ Charities provide assistance to specific schools on a small scale

²⁹ Donor activities in Tanzania have thus far focused on private secondary education

	Multilateral	Bilateral	Lending to Private Sector	Charitable	For-Profit
Indonesia	UNICEF (DBE ³⁰)	AusAID (LAPIS ³¹) USAID (DBE)		Save the Children ³² (DBE)	
Pakistan				PEF ³³ Open Society Institute ³⁴	
Kenya	World Bank (KESSP ³⁵)		IFC ³⁶	AKF ³⁷ Dignitas ³⁸ CfBT ³⁹	Bridge International Academies ⁴⁰

Many of the problems that arise in assisting private schools for the poor are shared across institutional categories. They include:

- a lack of management experience (many directors are new to the profession and have little business experience)
- inadequate financing (tuitions are usually the sole source of finance; there are few opportunities to borrow or to invest in new capital infrastructure)
- multiple purposes of assistance (religious, street children or orphans, etc.)
- reliance on a single, charismatic leader (often the founder is uniquely important to a school's success)
- inter-school segmentation – what makes for success in one instance is not easily generalized

³⁰ Decentralizing Basic Education is a joint effort that provides some assistance (including teacher professional development) to private schools

³¹ Learning Assistance Program for Islamic Schools (helps them meet accreditation standards)

³² As a USAID contractor.

³³ Fee subsidies to private primary school students; bonuses to private primary school teachers

³⁴ The Open Society Institute of the George Soros Foundation provided technical assistance to the PEF for their survey and design of the Education Voucher Scheme.

³⁵ Kenya Education Sector Support Programme II may provide some textbooks low-tuition private schools.

³⁶ Commissioned Grey Matters Capital to study low tuition private schools

³⁷ Aga Khan Foundation may incorporate 50 private schools in their on-going program to assist marginalized children

³⁸ Assists low-tuition private schools in the slums surrounding Nairobi

³⁹ CfBT Education Trust will provide assistance to schools for accreditation

⁴⁰ Private equity-owned company which establishes low-tuition private schools for the poor; goal is to own 1,800 schools by 2015.

These issues raise a series of problems for banks, whether private or public, in becoming involved. The solution may lie in expanding the precedent of USAID programs in Ghana to strengthen the abilities of non-government schools to manage themselves collectively. This includes: (i) the use of rating systems (see above), (ii) institutions that specialize in lending to them (see above) and (iii) the professionalization of groups that represent their interests (the associations of independent schools in Kenya, Ghana, and Jamaica, for instance). With assistance these associations may be able to accredit, inspect, and professionalize private school management in more effective ways than the government and perhaps more effectively than individual private schools can do on their own.⁴¹

In conclusion, although bilateral and multilateral aid organizations implement projects that support private schools, few (if any) have private-specific programming. In other words, these programs are intended to support government schools but are not always restrictive in nature (thus allowing some support to spread to the non-government sector when donor agencies believe the non-government sector provides necessary and beneficial educational opportunities). The majority of support for low-cost private schools, however, has been provided by charitable foundations and profit-seeking institutions, many of which have applied innovative approaches to the expansion and long-term sustainability of the sector.

Regulatory Environment

Hypothesis: Non-government schools have the opportunity to operate more efficiently because they are relatively free of administrative restrictions and, hence, can be more flexible.

Is it true that non-government schools are free of government regulations, and if not, what regulatory restrictions pertain to them? It is natural that the public would be concerned with the educational environment in non-government schools for the poor. The students are citizens and their welfare is important. Hence, all governments have rules and regulations pertaining to the establishment, operations and results of non-government schools. That said it is also true that the virtues of non-government schools include the flexibility to experiment and provide education in a manner free of the standardization of large and bureaucratic systems. We believe that the ideal is one of balance between the need to protect and the need for flexibility.

Regulatory Variety

Although the need for balance is common across countries, the solution is far from standard. For instance, the requirements that a non-government school must meet to open in Tanzania include

⁴¹ For instance, the Tanzania Association of Managers and Owners of Non-Government Schools and Colleges (TAMONGSCO) has formed a Savings and Credit Society (SACCO). There is, however, a gap in the literature on the success of programs managed by associations of private schools.

a declaration of ownership, a mission statement, a completed application, a certificate from the DEO engineering office, a certificate from the DEO health office, proof of land ownership, approval of architectural plans, and a report from the school inspector's office (see Table 3 below). When it is operational, the Tanzanian government also places limits on class size, teacher qualifications, student/teacher ratios, teaching and learning materials, the number of school days per year, student registration, curriculum, and the examination of results. Tuition restrictions are placed on non-government schools in Pakistan, Indonesia and Ghana. Requirements for land ownership are also evident in Kenya and Pakistan. Rules on teacher qualifications exist in Ghana, Tanzania, Jamaica, Pakistan and Kenya. In all six countries, private schools are required to follow the national (or government approved) curriculum.

Sometimes non-government schools are the recipients of public support. In Indonesia, the government provides schools with operational funding, which is often used to pay the salaries of teachers in non-government schools. In the case of Jamaica, the government provides occasional support for professional development of school proprietors and teachers. In Kenya, the government provides occasional support with government textbooks.

Regulatory Concerns

Four problems exist regarding the regulatory environment of non-government schools for the poor, whereby the regulations are either:

- (i) unnecessarily numerous: where the number and variety of regulations would prevent private schools operations were they to be followed (example: Tanzania)
- (ii) unnecessarily restrictive in content: where a single regulation can prevent operations (example: the requirement to own land in Kenya)
- (iii) unenforced: where the regulations are simply on paper and cannot be monitored (example: Ghana), or
- (iv) used as an opportunity for graft and corruption: where the regulations serve as a means for public officials to 'collect rent,' implying that when they are enforced it is for the private gain of the government inspector. (example: the general rule)

Instances of all four problems were discovered, although not all four were found in every country. We will later offer suggestions on how to reduce the risk of these problems (see section on conclusions and recommendations), but it is clear that the regulatory environment of non-government schools is a major dilemma requiring government attention. This is also an area where donors might be able to offer technical assistance, such as how the AusAID LAPIS project assists private Islamic schools in applying for accreditation.

Table 3: Regulatory Environments⁴²

Country	Regulation	Monitoring	Support
Jamaica	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -National curriculum (or MOE approved) -National examinations -Registration with MOE -Length of school year/week/day (minimum) -Teacher qualifications⁴³ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Private Schools Unit -Inspections -Admission register -Log book -Attendance register -Student and staff records -Financial audits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Policy related training -Teacher registration -Professional development for school proprietor -Teacher positions⁴⁴ -Student placement⁴⁵
Ghana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Tuition limit -Curriculum -Student/teacher ratio -Physical facilities (toilets, etc.) -Teacher Training -Teacher licensing -Teacher PD -Working conditions⁴⁶ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Yearly inspection -Yearly external audit -GES registration (free) -Registration with General's office (not free) 	
Tanzania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Requirements to establish -Ownership declaration -Mission statement -Completed application -DEO engineer certificate -DEO health certificate -Land ownership -Architectural approval -Inspection report Other requirements -Class size limits -Teacher qualifications -Student/teacher ratios -School building regulations -Teaching and learning materials -Number of school days/yr. -Examinations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inspection 	

⁴² With unclear regulatory policies in several of the study countries (and inconsistent reports on monitoring and support activities), this framework provides an illustrative, if not complete, picture of the regulatory environments in each of the six case study countries.

⁴³ Regulations for establishing and registering private schools are stipulated in the Ministry of Education's Independent Schools Section (1992)

⁴⁴ Occasional to schools for special needs children; position cost is fungible across all teacher positions.

⁴⁵ Where there is no place in a government school, the cost of some places in private secondary schools are covered by the government.

⁴⁶ Regulations as stipulated by the Tanzania Education and Training Policy separate from article V of the Education Act no. 10.

Country	Regulation	Monitoring	Support
	-Student registration		
Indonesia	-Regulations are the same for public and private schools: accreditation and registration -Administrative authority ⁴⁷ -Tuition ⁴⁸	-Inspection -Financial audits	-School operational funds (BOS) -Teacher salaries ⁴⁹ -Textbooks ⁵⁰
Pakistan	-Provincial ordinance -Provincial Directorate -Class size -Tuition increase maximum -Facilities (staffroom, playground, library) -1/3 'trained' teachers -Academic calendar -Curriculum ⁵¹ -Government textbooks ⁵² -School registration -Student registers -teacher pay = 4 x tuition ⁵³	-Financial records -Admission and graduation records -Teacher salaries -School fees and expenses (including yearly tuition increase) -Inspection	
Kenya	-Public health inspection report -School inspector report ⁵⁴ -Minutes of DEO board meeting ⁵⁵ -Certificate of 'business name' -District manager approval application -Names and certificates of school managers -Minimum size of school land -Proof of land ownership	-School inspection	-Textbooks ⁵⁶

⁴⁷ Non-religious private schools are governed by the Ministry of National Education, while private religious schools are governed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs

⁴⁸ Interviews with high-level ministry officials resulted in contradictory answers to whether or not private schools are allowed to charge tuition. The most consistent finding was that schools are unable to charge fees to low-income students if they are receiving school operational funding (BOS) from the government.

⁴⁹ Although not the intention of the government, teacher salaries in the majority of private schools come from BOS funding. Additionally, civil servants are sometimes placed in private schools.

⁵⁰ Provision of textbooks was not consistent among schools

⁵¹ High-fee private schools (registered with the Cambridge Board) are exempt from this requirement

⁵² Considered to be of low quality and often replaced by privately printed textbooks

⁵³ Teacher pay is required to be no less than four times the tuition/student

⁵⁴ Schools successful at attaining registration may register with the department of basic education, the department of adult education or non-formal education within the Ministry of Education or through the Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services (which then makes them subject to business taxes.

⁵⁵ Refers to the meeting at which the school's registration was discussed

⁵⁶ Occasionally government textbooks are shared with low-cost private schools

In conclusion, regulatory environments vary greatly by country. While this is not an inherent problem, the range of regulations can be problematic. For example, overly restrictive and poorly enforced regulations present a danger to the well-being of the private sector. Ultimately, a balance must be achieved between ensuring safety and educational opportunities and enabling private sector flexibility.

Financial Sustainability

Hypothesis: Non-government schools are not financially sustainable.

Without a public source of income, are non-government schools likely to continue operating? In theory, private schools can obtain income from tuition fees, the school proprietor (and his/her family), an institutional sponsor, an endowment or the government. In reality, private schools for the poor have only the first and at times the second from which to draw. Economic theory would suggest that increased demand would cause schools to act like businesses and raise tuition levels to maximize income/profits. This does not appear to be the case in any of the countries in which private schools serve the poor. Some schools drew on the pension of the founder or from the founder's profits from commercial activity, providing evidence that these schools were acting more like charities or philanthropic institutions. For instance, in more than half the schools visited in Jamaica, the school director either declined pay altogether or received a salary lower than the teachers. This was common in Kenya as well. In almost every school, some of the students could pay less than the tuition rate and often nothing at all. Such students were allowed to remain enrolled, with their cost covered by cross-subsidization from those who could pay. In Tanzania, school income was supplemented by student activities in baking or agriculture. In Indonesia, the private school sector, though poor, was healthier financially because of regular contributions by the public sector.⁵⁷ See Table 4 below.

Table 4: Income and Taxation (Case-study Countries)

Country	Sources of Income	Taxation
Jamaica	Tuition ⁵⁸ Owner (family) ⁵⁹ Local Charities	Subject to All Business/Employment Taxes GCT Waiver (expected) ⁶⁰
Ghana	Tuition Owner (family) Local Charities	

⁵⁷ Indonesia may have adapted its policy of public subsidization of non-government schools from the Netherlands where over 80% of the students attend private schools financed by the state.

⁵⁸ For the purposes of this table, tuition includes all tuition and other school fees charged to parents.

⁵⁹ Over 50% of the directors interviewed in Jamaica had salaries lower than their teachers. This finding was not particular to Jamaica, however—all case study countries had schools with similar situations.

⁶⁰ A waiver to the General Consumption Tax is the norm for public schools but not for private schools.

Country	Sources of Income	Taxation
Tanzania	Tuition Owner (family) Self-generated Income ⁶¹	All Income Taxed ⁶²
Indonesia	BOS per-pupil Grant ⁶³ Tuition ⁶⁴ GoI Certification Fund ⁶⁵ Self-generated Income	
Pakistan	Special Government Programs ⁶⁶ Tuition ⁶⁷	
Kenya	Tuition Owner (family) Charity Self-generated Income	Some Taxed as Businesses Property Ownership Required

Due to their inconsistent incomes, the dependence on tuition from low-income families inevitably places private schools at constant risk of bankruptcy⁶⁸. Although not witnessed in the case study schools, this risk puts pressure on school directors that may lead them to seek short-term loans to cover operating expenses at high rates of interest—many of which would be taken without contributing to school infrastructure.

Taxation

The tax structure in some countries poses another threat to financial sustainability. There is often little distinction between a for-profit enterprise and a non-profit enterprise. Typical education legislation will permit the high-end private schools, often established originally by the Anglican or Catholic churches, to be declared single non-profit institutions, but low-income private schools (still non-profit) are often treated as if they were the same as a textile mill or a bottling company.⁶⁹ In Tanzania, for instance, all school fees are taxed as if they are profits. In Jamaica, private schools were supposed to receive a waiver from the General Consumption Tax (like a

⁶¹ Across countries, this included activities such as farming, baking and other school fundraisers (e.g. movie night or community theatre).

⁶² Tanzania Revenue Authority treats private schools as businesses.

⁶³ In public schools the BOS grant is allocated to operating costs (teaching materials, teacher upgrading etc.) while in private schools it is allocated to teacher salaries with the operating costs covered from other sources.

⁶⁴ Formally tuition is prohibited; informally it exists (though it is uncommon).

⁶⁵ This is part of the government's effort to ensure that all public and private school teachers are certified within the next few years.

⁶⁶ Public Private Partnerships (defunct), Nation Education Policy (defunct), and the PPRS (Promotion of Private Schools in Rural Areas of Sindh). The PPRS subsidizes families of low-income children in private schools.

⁶⁷ Requirement that teachers are paid no less than 4 times the per/student fee. If tuition is low teachers cannot be adequately compensated; if tuition fee is high, students will be unable to pay.

⁶⁸ Although few schools legally declare bankruptcy, the closing of schools is often a proxy for it.

⁶⁹ There was confusion and/or discrepancies (surrounding tax structure) among school and government officials in all case study countries.

value added tax), but none of the principals interviewed were aware of their waiver, hence all paid a GCT as if they were private businesses.

In conclusion, ultimately low-cost private schools in five of the six case study countries rely heavily on tuition (the exception being Indonesia). Combined with inconsistent government and donor support, and concerns about taxation, many low-cost private schools in these countries are likely at risk with regard to long-term financial sustainability. This concern is further compounded by the inability of schools to provide sufficient collateral for obtaining private loans.

Quality of Output

Hypothesis: Non-government schools serving the poor outperform government schools. One of the main underlying reasons for the expansion of low-cost private schools in developing countries is the poor quality of public schools. In order for parents to decide to spend their income on private schools, there must be an assumption on their part that private schools will provide higher-quality services and better educational opportunities to their children (assuming that the private school is, in fact, more expensive than a public school). While perceived quality is important, what evidence exists regarding the quality of outputs in the private sector chosen over the government system?⁷⁰

Case Study Results

Although data are lacking in Jamaica, there is some evidence regarding the quality of educational outputs in low-cost preparatory schools. With smaller class sizes and more individualized attention but less qualified teachers, the private schools visited for our fieldwork boasted high passage rates on national examinations, which were at least on a par with their nearby public school counterparts.⁷¹ We also found similar results in Ghana in terms of data constraints, class size, teacher qualifications and national examination scores. While exam rates in some low-cost private schools were found to be higher than in public schools, fewer than half the private schools visited for the Ghana Report actually administered the Basic Education Certificate Examination. That raises concerns about the quality of these schools. However, based on work conducted in the Ga district, Tooley and Dixon (2005) found that raw test scores for private school students (in both registered and unregistered schools) were higher than their public school counterparts in mathematics, English and religious/moral education. It is important to note, however, that raw test scores can be illustrative but do not account for the fact that there are likely to be differences between those who choose to enroll in private schools and those who decide to remain in the (failing) public system. Tooley and Dixon offer that there is forthcoming

⁷⁰ In addition to concerns about reliable data, nearly all of the studies discussed throughout this section are subject to selection bias issues.

⁷¹ This was true for Jamaica, Ghana and Kenya. Results were less consistent for the other case study countries.

work that uses a Heckman selection procedure to account for selection bias but results are not yet available.⁷²

As for Tanzania, studies have shown that private schools as a whole have produced positive achievements but none of this evidence provides information about the low-cost sector of interest (Cox & Jimenez, 1990; Lassibille & Tan, 2001; Tan and Sumra, 2000). In fact, anecdotal evidence from the Tanzania Report shows that the private school effect is accounted for by wealthy private schools, while low-cost private schools are actually of poor quality. Similarly, in Indonesia, low-fee schools for the poor sometimes provide greater access than the public sector but concerns are often raised about their quality (King, 1997). The results of empirical studies over the past 15 years have been mixed. Although many studies have shown that public schools yield high-quality inputs (such as teacher training, textbooks, etc.), this has not always resulted in public school advantages with regard to outputs (Newhouse & Beegle, 2006; Strauss et al, 2004; World Bank, 1998). For example, a recent Decentralizing Basic Education study found that private schools were able to provide achievement results that were similar to public schools, with fewer resources and less qualified teachers (DBE, 2010). These findings supported previous results obtained by James et al (1996), as well as Bedi and Garg (2000). However, contradictory evidence was found in analyses conducted by Fahmi (2009a) and Newhouse and Beegle (2006), both of which provided evidence for the relative achievement gains in public schools.⁷³

In Pakistan, several studies have been conducted to assess the state of private education, which found that lower teacher absenteeism and smaller class sizes were some of their greatest assets (Alderman et al, 2001; Andrabi et al, 2008). As far as school output is concerned, Das et al (2006) found private school students had higher test score results in mathematics, Urdu and English (after accounting for observable characteristics). Additionally, Asadullah (2009) found that private school students had future earnings advantages over public school students. Despite these findings, however, a Save the Children study ultimately concluded that while parents perceive private schools to be of higher quality than government schools, “on balance, children in private education institutions in Nepal and Pakistan are not provided with the quality of education as defined within the CRC⁷⁴” (Save the Children, 2002, p. 8).

⁷² Although somewhat unclear in the article, it appears that Tooley and Dixon use intelligence test results as their excluded variable in the first stage of the selection procedure. While a more appropriate approach to dealing with selection bias issues in this context may actually be to use something such as distance from school as an instrumental variable, data constraints are likely to make this infeasible. Either way, the results of analyses using proper correction techniques would provide useful information regarding the true quality of low-cost private school outputs.

⁷³ Better quality of private schools is said to lie in the better accountability between family and school administration and the flexibility of private schools to acquire and shed high and low performing teachers. We discuss these factors later in the paper.

⁷⁴ Convention on the Rights of the Child. For an explanation of the CRC’s measures of educational quality, see CRC Article 29.

Much like the results in each of the five previously discussed case study countries, the findings in Kenya point to a mixed quality of output measures in low-income private schools. These mixed results likely result from the balance between purportedly higher-quality inputs (such as smaller class sizes and lower teacher absenteeism) and lower-quality inputs (such as infrastructure and teacher qualifications). Tooley and Dixon (2005) ultimately found that private school students from slums in Kenya scored better in math and Kiswahili than their public school counterparts but performed more poorly in English. Accordingly, based on our field research (conceding a limited sample), we found that low-cost private schools regularly boasted of Kenyan Certificate of Primary Education exam passage rates at levels equal to (or better than) the public schools that were opted out. Preliminary evidence on Bridge International Academy schools also points to higher reading scores for private school students. Earlier work by Mark Bray, however, found that private schools in Kenya were of inferior quality (although this was mostly in terms of teachers and facilities) (Bray, 1997).

Beyond the Case Studies

In addition to examining the case study countries, research has been conducted in a variety of other countries to assess the quality of low-cost private schools. Not surprisingly, private education systems in some countries have fared better than others, although many have achieved mixed results.

Low-quality private sector

At one end of the spectrum are countries whose low-cost private sector has been found to produce low-quality outputs (traditionally measured by test scores). For example, Bray (1997) found that (similar to Kenya,) inferior private school quality was apparent in Chad, Bhutan, Botswana, and Malawi. Rose (2005) further offers that limited government control over education privatization in Malawi has resulted in “the mushrooming of low-cost, low-quality unregistered schools” (p. 164)⁷⁵. In the case of Bangladesh, Gauri & Vawda (2004) found that the quasi-voucher system (discussed previously) was unsuccessful, with low completion rates, low promotion rates, under-trained teachers, and a lack of supplies.

High-quality private sector

At the other end of the spectrum are systems found to produce favorable results for their students, such as Madagascar, where the private system provides more efficient student outcomes after controlling for background characteristics (Lassibille & Tan, 2003)⁷⁶. In Ghana, India and Nigeria, Tooley and Dixon found achievement gains for private school students when compared with similar public school students. In India, Tooley and Dixon (2005b) found that private schools had lower teacher absenteeism and ultimately concluded that there were significant gains in math, English and Hindi for private, unaided students, even after accounting

⁷⁵ Measures include teacher qualifications and exam passage rates. The strongest findings were for community day secondary schools.

⁷⁶ No correction for selection bias.

for a range of background characteristics. Similar results were found in Nigeria for math, English and social studies.⁷⁷

Mixed results for academic achievement

Research has also shown that private schools in many Latin American and Caribbean countries are providing better educational opportunities to students than public schools (Faulhaber, 2008; Somers et al, 2004). Specifically, Alcott & Ortega (2009) found that the Fe y Alegria private school system in Venezuela has provided higher quality education than the public system, especially for those at the bottom of the achievement distribution. A study that was conducted using data from the early 1990s found that private schools provided higher quality outputs (i.e., lower repetition rates) in Bolivia, than did the public system (Psacharopoulos et al, 1997). Using labor earnings data from Peru in 1997 and 2000, Calónico & Nopo (2007) found higher returns from private education, although they also found that there was greater variability in the private system (which could be accounted for by either extremely high earnings potentials for those at the top of the spectrum or extremely low earnings from those at the bottom—the latter of which could undercut the positive impact attributed to private schools for low-income students).

Two of the largest and most thoroughly studied programs in the region (the Chilean and Colombian voucher programs) have both achieved mixed results regarding the quality of outputs. In Chile, for example, while some researchers have found that the voucher system had positive impacts on test scores and pre-college examinations (August and Valenzuela 2003; Gallegos 2004; Sapelli 2003; Sapelli and Vial 2002), others found that there was no impact on test scores, repetition rates, or secondary school enrollment rates (McEwan and Carnoy, 2000; Hsieh and Urquiola 2006). As for Colombia, while Angrist et al (2002) found standardized test score gains for voucher recipients and Angrist et al (2006) found that voucher recipients were more likely to take the college entrance exam, Angrist et al (2006) also found no significant difference between college entrance exam results of those receiving vouchers and those who did not receive them.

In conclusion, ultimately while the perceived quality of private schooling is high (which is the underlying assumption on which the majority of school choices is based), there are mixed empirical results with regard to the quality of low-cost private school outputs (and inputs). No countries have shown unidirectional findings for private school quality, while the majority (including our case study countries) has shown that empirical approaches and sampling play a large role in the ultimate outcomes of studies on school quality. Without high-quality studies that make corrections for selection bias issues, it is difficult to make any significant claims about the sector in the aggregate, except to say that the current results are mixed.

⁷⁷ Prior concerns raised about selection bias are relevant to these findings as well.

Successful Initiatives and Models

Based on the mixed results regarding the quality of outputs relative to public schools, as well as the degree to which private schools accommodate low-income students, it is difficult to point to an exemplary initiative or model that effectively maximizes both of these criteria. This is not to say that private schooling has not expanded access to basic schooling or that promising approaches have not been developed. Each of the case study countries provides some evidence of private schooling initiatives or models that, if implemented correctly, could be used to assist countries in meeting their EFA goals. It is assumed that the context of origin is an important criterion of success and that transferring that elsewhere involves risk. However, with that understanding the most innovative and/or promising initiatives are discussed below.

Cross-subsidization

One productive strategy that was implemented in several schools in Kenya involves the re-purposing of funds. In order to maximize access to private schooling for those who are most in need, some Kenyan schools adopted the practice of enrolling one or two students at no charge for every three or four fee-paying students enrolled. In theory, this is an innovative way of expanding access. The danger with this practice is that most of these schools rely fully on tuition and fees for all school costs and are therefore jeopardizing their eventual financial sustainability. With additional funding support⁷⁸, however, a model such as this could prove extremely successful.

School-in-a-box

Additionally in Kenya, work is being done by Bridge International Academies, a private equity-owned company that seeks to provide high-quality, low-cost private primary education. Bridge International's goal is to educate 'at scale, 'with a focus on sustainability and accountability to parents and communities. The company has employed a franchise approach to the development of it is calling "school in-a-box," which costs under \$4/month per student. The package includes a scripted curriculum, teacher/management training and all necessary educational facilities/materials. The process of starting a school begins with the purchase of land (generally untitled land in slums),⁷⁹ followed by the building of a school, which costs approximately \$2,000 per classroom, 'fully-loaded'. Bridge International Academies has approximately 100 employees

⁷⁸ While funding support such as vouchers could undermine the market benefits of private schooling, support for marginalized families with children in non-government as well as government schools (such as school feeding and textbook programs in low tuition schools) could prove beneficial.

⁷⁹ In many cases, they do not gain clear title to the land, but with the permission of local community leaders and municipal authorities, they agree to operate the school without clear title. They reduce the risk of expropriation by diversifying the locations of their school, by maintaining good relations with political leaders and by registering with two agencies that insure against political risk: the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) of the World Bank Group and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) of the U.S.

(95% of whom are Kenyan citizens), including those involved in real estate, school construction, and pedagogy. Bridge International recruits and trains a local school manager, as well as local teachers, all of whom must have at least completed secondary education. The manager has a ‘performance contract’ in the sense that he or she may begin with a salary of \$1,000/year and may, with good performance over many years, end up with a salary six times the original level. After training, schools open for operation. The entire process can take as little as five months from the procurement of land to the opening of the school. Much of the support and financial measures are centralized, with payments to schools and teachers occurring mostly via mobile phone.⁸⁰

While the concept of “school in-a-box” is not new, several aspects of Bridge’s approach seem promising. First is the assistance provided to schools in poor areas regarding land ownership/purchasing. In a country rife with property rights issues, it is important to make sure that all measures have been taken to ensure a school’s legitimacy. While the issue happens to be land in Kenya, the idea is transferable. In other words, programs that focus on the “big picture” by providing services that go beyond the doors of the schoolhouse have the potential to be useful to the low-cost private sector. Bridge International provides such services in the form of management training as well. The fact that it can provide such services for as little as \$4/month per student is an added bonus. Ultimately, the success of this program has yet to be determined (and Bridge International has its fair share of challenges) but the approach appears promising.

Scholarship programs

In Pakistan, the pilot program established in the Balochistan Province proved beneficial for increasing access to girls’ education—which is something that is greatly needed in many countries in order for them to attain their EFA goals. By providing scholarships to all girls’ schools that have been established through local efforts, the Balochistan project ultimately showed that overcoming the obstacle of access to education for girls from low-income families is not an insurmountable task. While this project focused specifically on girls, scholarship programs have been found to be successful in other settings (with other student populations) as well. In Tanzania and Kenya, for example, low-cost private schools have been able to enroll AIDS orphans who were unable to afford public schools due to the hidden costs in the public system. Similar scholarships have been provided to street children in Kenya, as well as low-income students in Jamaica, Ghana, India and many Latin American countries (Tooley & Dixon, 2005b; Wolf & Navarro, 2005).

⁸⁰ All data transfers between school managers and Bridge International are conducted via specially encoded SMS texts.

Voucher reform

Similar in concept to these scholarship programs are the voucher programs established in a number of developing countries, including Chile, Colombia, Cameroon, Cambodia and Pakistan. Two of these programs (Chile and Colombia) have been well documented and analyzed for effectiveness. While the findings of these analyses point to mixed results, the intended purpose of the programs still appears to have great potential for success if designed and implemented effectively. If the private education sector in a country is proven more efficient than the public sector, it seems reasonable to assume that providing vouchers to low-income students could provide them with greater educational opportunities while ultimately reducing the cost to society. Voucher programs also have drawbacks (including complicated transportation and information dissemination issues) but they are worth noting here as potentially viable options that have shown in certain settings (including Chile and Colombia) to provide benefits to voucher recipients. For those concerned about the quality of private schools that participate in voucher programs (when compared with those that opt out), a scheme such as the Concessionary Schools in Colombia might be more fitting. In that program, private schooling organizations with proven records of success vie for government funding that is used to educate low-income children in communities where the schools are established. Providing evidence of the effectiveness of such an approach, Barrera-Osorio (2009) found that the concessions schools have experienced lower dropout rates and equivalent (or higher) test scores than similar public schools.

In conclusion, several successful initiatives have been discussed in this section: cross-subsidization, “school-in-a-box,” scholarship programs, and vouchers and concessionary schools. However, all of these programs have shortcomings. While these programs and models can be beneficial in developing alternative financing schemes for low-cost private schools, there is currently no simple solution or silver bullet available to address financial sustainability and quality concerns currently facing much of the low-cost private sector in the majority of developing countries.

IV. Major Conclusions

Substantive Conclusions

Policy Framework

The following table (Table 5) provides a simplified policy framework from which many of our conclusions and recommendations are drawn⁸¹. What is most apparent in the table is the unique nature of the private education system in Indonesia. Although both the Ministry of National Education (MONE) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) register both public and private schools, the regulations for the two types of schools are identical. While some may be concerned about the impact this has on the efficiency and flexibility of the private sector, the fact that the majority of funding for private schools in Indonesia still comes from government sources shows that the Indonesian context is unique among the case study countries and conclusions about the framework cannot be compared across the other five countries studied.

While all case study countries have unnecessarily numerous and restrictive policies/regulations regarding private schools, the two that appear most in need of immediate reform are Ghana and Pakistan. Having tuition fee limits (or fee increase limits) completely undermines the inherent benefit of a private education sector. If schools are unable to set their own fees based on market forces, the financial sustainability of the sector is put in peril. However, because teacher certification has not been associated with better teaching and learning, regulations governing teacher certification works counter to the need for flexibility and efficiency in the non-government sector.

Although the Kenyan government has adopted recent policies to improve the non-government education sector, by restricting certain programming (such as the Most Vulnerable Child grants) for public school students the government is limiting the ultimate impact of the private sector. Since the government appears aware of the need for non-government support, it must be willing to treat low-income private schools as complementary to the public sector. Taxation policies in Kenya (as well as in several other countries), also run counter to the government's claims that the non-government sector is important. Furthermore, land ownership requirements preclude private schools in the country from registering as schools with the Ministry of Education.

Ultimately, Jamaica appears to have the policies most conducive to expansion of a successful low-cost private education sector, based on the government's recognition of and support for the sector. These efforts will be significantly strengthened by the passage of a new policy on independent schools.⁸² This does not mean, however, that all policies are working in favor of the

⁸¹ Many recommendations in the table are country-specific and cannot be aggregated to overall recommendations.

⁸² This policy is described, in detail, in the Jamaican case study section in the appendix.

private sector. For example, taxation of non-profit schools and overly burdensome regulations (without any government support) are imposing constraints on the private sector that have proven difficult to overcome. Without changes to these policies, the government’s strong efforts to encourage the low-cost preparatory sector in the country could ultimately prove unsuccessful.

Table 5: Policy Framework by Case Study Country⁸³

Country	Policies in Place	Private School Constraints	Specific Actions Needed
Ghana	-Free and fee-paid registration ⁸⁴ -Government oversight and inspection of all private schools	-Tuition fee limit -Certification of all teachers ⁸⁵ -Strict government regulations (class size, facilities, curriculum, inspections, etc.) with lack of support	-Policy review of the non-government school sector -Provision of teaching/learning materials to be regulated ⁸⁶ -Extension of GES ⁸⁷ awards/recognition to teachers in low-cost private schools
Indonesia	-Regulations identical for public and private schools ⁸⁸	-Teacher certification/salaries -Inefficient staffing due to teaching regulations ⁸⁹ -Insufficient funding combined with constraints on school fees.	-Professional development for private school teachers at district level -Increased capacity of teacher training institutions at Islamic Universities -Accreditation support to go with regulations -Increased BOS for those serving low-income students -Relaxation of teacher and staffing regulations to increase efficiency -Regular reports on results from both MOE and MORA-associated schools

⁸³ All bulleted items in this table are described in detail in their respective case study write-ups in the appendix.

⁸⁴ All schools are required to register with both the Ghana Education Service (GES) and the Registrar Generals Office. The former is a free registration, while the latter is for licensure (or accreditation) and requires a fee.

⁸⁵ Private school teachers are expected to obtain the same certification as government school teachers, which is an unnecessary constraint on the performance of the non-government sector.

⁸⁶ The current provision is inconsistent.

⁸⁷ Extension of the awards in public schools by the Ghana Education Service to teachers in non-government schools.

⁸⁸ National Education System Law (20/2003)

⁸⁹ This refers specifically to the fact that teachers are expected to teach only one subject (at one grade level), forcing private schools to hire many part-time teachers.

Country	Policies in Place	Private School Constraints	Specific Actions Needed
Jamaica	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Required registration with MOE -Supervision and monitoring by MOE -Subject to MOE regulations -Little government support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -High regulations with no support -Difficulty in hiring trained teachers -Taxation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Supervision and monitoring by JISA -Private school rating system -Clearly defined sanctions -PATH assistance to low income students in private schools -GCT tax relief
Kenya	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Policy for alternative provision of basic education -Kenya Education Sector Support Program (MVC handbook) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Land ownership -Registration requirements -Taxation -Poor categorization -Inconsistent support from government and donors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Central listing of schools -MVC cash transfers extended to private school students -Legal distinction between for- and not for profit for taxation purposes -Free registration for temporary license -Annual statistical report on non-government schools -Requirement that high tuition schools provide scholarship to low income students
Pakistan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Highly regulated by provincial ordinances -Concessions to private schools (land, tax exemption, gas/electric rates)⁹⁰ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Lack of knowledge about policies/programs -Highly regulated (class size, fee increase limits, facilities, teacher certification, academic calendar, curriculum, etc.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Increased dissemination of information on policies (concessions) -Government insured lending in rural areas -Stipends to female students extended to private schools -Requirement that non-government schools (including faith-based schools) report sources of income -Requirement that non-government schools teach the national curriculum and have a license to operate -Annual report distributed on the performance of non-government (including faith-based) schools

⁹⁰ National Education Policy 1998-2010

Country	Policies in Place	Private School Constraints	Specific Actions Needed
Tanzania	-Establishment and registration procedures (application) -Regulations (class size, teacher qualifications, facilities, school days, records, etc.)	-Highly regulated with little support -Complicated (and expensive) application and registration procedures	-Direct assistance to schools serving AIDS orphans (unable to attend public schools) -Cash transfers for low-income students attending private schools -Simplified application process and/or registration procedures

Accommodation of Low-income Students

It is accurate to associate private schools with wealthier families. In every country, this association is valid, but in no country is it adequate. In every country we studied and those covered by the extensive literature, low-income families were found trying to place their children in non-government schools. Surprisingly, the difference in cost between a free public school and a low-tuition private school is modest (or even negligible) in some countries, while the difference in output can at times be substantial. For instance, as reported above in Ghana, the cost of sending a child to an unregistered private school is 12% of the minimum wage. The cost at a registered private school is 20% of the minimum wage. The cost of sending a child to a free public school (where the private cost of uniforms, etc. is still significant) is 16% of the minimum wage. In this instance, it may be less expensive for a low-income family to send its child to an unregistered private school, and it may be more cost-effective to send its child to a registered private school.

While the cost-effectiveness for low-income families is certainly an important motivation, it is not necessarily the only one.⁹¹ In three of the countries we studied (Tanzania, Jamaica, and Kenya), non-government schools often carried concessionary spaces—those occupied by children from families that could not pay the full tuition, or, in many cases, any tuition at all.⁹² In Jamaica and Kenya, like at a high-cost university in North America, tuition is often used to cross-subsidize those who cannot pay and the schools themselves operate as miniature social service agencies. The fact that this is so common suggests that education policy experts need to alter their understanding of the definition of a private school. While many in fact operate on behalf of more wealthy families, others commonly do the opposite.

⁹¹ Cost-effectiveness is irrelevant to those without a choice (i.e. orphans, street children, and those who depend upon places financed by charity).

⁹² This also includes those without families at all, such as street children and AIDS orphans.

Our findings in Kenya regarding the variety of non-government schools for the poor may be instructive to other countries as well. We found six different categories of these schools:⁹³

- 1) Those operated by churches or mosques (i.e., religious organizations)
- 2) Those operated by individual private proprietors (or community groups)
- 3) Those operated by NGOs⁹⁴
- 4) Those registered with the Ministry of Education, Directorate for Non-formal Education for out of school youth
- 5) Charities registered with the Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services for street children
- 6) Those operating under temporary or provisional licenses

The key here is that non-government schools are not uniform and that well-informed policies must be designed to take into account the heterogeneity of these different categories.

Financial Sustainability

Private schools that accommodate low-income families are inevitably at risk of financial failure. They depend heavily on tuition or income from the founder (pensions, church donations, etc.). They often must accept tuition in kind (a family's farm produce or labor). They are often overly dependent on a single charismatic founder. Because they are fiscally a major risk, banks and other lending institutions are reluctant to engage them in long-term planning or investment. In addition, they sometimes face a tax and regulatory structure that is administratively counter-productive to fiscal stability. Although potentially more extreme than some countries might be willing to implement, the Indonesian model of providing all private schools with operational funding could be used to alleviate some of the fiscal concerns of low-cost private schools.

Regulatory Environments

While it is natural to seek to protect children attending non-government schools, the number and variety of regulations are commonly overly cumbersome, unnecessarily restrictive, unenforced, and used as an opportunity to collect 'rents' (bribes). The requirement that a school must own land prevents hundreds of thousands of children in Nairobi's Mathare slum from gaining access to school. The requirement that teachers must be licensed⁹⁵ or that classes must be of a certain

⁹³ While categories four and five are more specific to the Kenyan context, they signify schools in other countries that are registered with the Ministry of Education (category four) or with another ministry within the government (category five). In this way, these six categories can be applied to nearly all case-study countries, as well as those covered by the literature.

⁹⁴ This category includes schools operated by unofficial 'organizations'—such as informal groups of individuals from a community.

⁹⁵ The question of whether teacher certification is a meaningful indicator of teacher quality is an open one in both OECD and non-OECD countries. Public schools are restricted in flexibility when salaries are associated with a teaching certificate. One characteristic of an effective non-government school is the flexibility to judge which teachers to employ on the basis of individual character and performance independent of their license.

size unnecessarily restricts a school's creativity and flexibility. Upper limits on tuition restrict a school's ability to cross-subsidize. Requirements that governments annually inspect or audit, strains the credibility of the state's role.⁹⁶ Whenever adherence to official regulations becomes managerially impossible, the level of graft and corruption increases. In other words, improper and unrealistic regulations create dishonesty and disrespect for the agency ostensibly responsible for the protection of children.

On the other hand, a completely 'free market' in primary and secondary education would be neither justified nor feasible; regulations are required. The key question is how to regulate effectively without placing counter-productive constraints on flexibility and creativity, the essential elements in the non-government school sector.⁹⁷ We offer suggestions in the section below on recommendations.

Quality of Non-government School Output

As described above (page 74-77), we find mixed evidence on whether the quality of outputs by non-government schools for the poor is better than other categories of schools. In some instances, the low-cost private sector has been found to produce outputs of poor quality, whereas in other instances the low-cost private sector's output has far exceeded that of government schools. It is therefore impossible to generalize regarding the superiority of non-government schools. However, some characteristics appear to be the norm in non-government schools that we studied. The non-government schools we visited were able to offer religious as well as intellectual support. They were often very personal institutions, with administrators familiar with each child's name and personal history. We found they have small class sizes, a characteristic highly appreciated by parents; and they are able to provide individualized instruction, as well as individualized attention.⁹⁸ We also found the parents and families are highly supportive, and mention 'how close' they feel to the principal and to what the school is aiming to do. We found that teachers are treated as professionals, are expected to be present at all times; and to work far beyond the expectations of their relatively low compensation. Further, we found that teachers possess low formal quality in terms of certification but high quality in terms of dedication and

⁹⁶ It is common for a department of non-government schooling in a Ministry of Education to have two or three inspectors without means of transport who are officially responsible for the annual inspection and audit for hundreds of schools. In these instances it is common to find non-government schools that have never been inspected yet whose permission to operate rests on having passed the inspection process. Low cost private schools cannot afford certified teachers and have a hard time recruiting them because of the inability to compete with public sector salaries. However, in Kenya and Ghana low cost private schools use certified teachers because they cannot be afforded by the public sector. Low cost private schools are able to hire good teachers whether or not they are certified and pay them a sufficient salary to attract and retain them until a higher paying public sector position comes open.

⁹⁷ There is no place where this is more apparent than Jamaica, where the government's new Policy on Independent Schools is full of regulations and sanctions, without any provisions of support.

⁹⁸ The difference is important. Individualized instruction concerns the learning of the curriculum; Individualized attention concerns attention to a child's self-concept, sense of purpose, as well as the child's physical and emotional health.

effectiveness. We found considerable flexibility in the class schedule, with many schools operating in the early morning, late afternoons, weekends, and summer holidays to ensure the child's success and the parent's professional convenience.⁹⁹ Could improvements in the public sector satisfy the demand for the private sector? From an economic point of view, regardless of whether private schools are more effective (even if they are simply on a par with public schools), it would cost the government and aid agencies less to support private initiatives than it would to increase public infrastructure. As important, non-government schools provide a service that is and always will be unavailable to publicly operated schools.

In conclusion, we found that to reduce the discussion of output quality to standardized test scores might be an inadequate indicator and that regarding these other important dimensions, the non-government schools in all six countries were performing very well.¹⁰⁰

Implications

General Implications

In the introduction we mentioned six major arguments¹⁰¹ against the use of non-government schools to achieve universal basic education: (i) that basic education is a human right that only states can deliver; (ii) that non-subsidized providers depend on community revenue; (iii) that claims of greater efficiency can only be true under conditions of informed choice, accountability, and an effective regulatory framework; (iv) that no OECD country depended on non-government schooling to achieve universal basic schooling; (v) that relying on private schools can undermine the public system; and (vi) that low-cost private schools will never be able to accommodate the poorest households.

We draw our views from the analysis of the schools we visited, our survey of the published literature and our personal experience. In one case, the personal experience working on education and development spans four decades. In our view, the state will remain the basic conduit for education; it will remain the final arbiter of what children need to learn to become citizens. The state will also remain the main (though never the sole) source of education finance. Lastly, the state will remain a major though never the sole provider of schooling. On the other hand, our experience suggests that these conclusions are inadequate to summarize what should occur regarding non-government schools for the poor in the provision of Education for All.

⁹⁹ Middle and high-income families have no monopoly on the demands of daily commuting to their places of employment. Low-income families too need to spend long commuting hours and have parallel needs for the school to operate as a place for their children to remain safe and intellectually engaged until they can return home. This service is common among non-government schools.

¹⁰⁰ It is important to note, however, that non-governments schools visited in each of the six case study countries were also less likely to have amenities such as playgrounds and separate toilets for girls and boys, and were generally housed in buildings that were in more of a state of disrepair than nearby public schools.

¹⁰¹ As cited previously, these arguments have been raised by Lewin (2007), Watkins (2004) and others.

The state should provide a national curriculum because it is natural for nations to influence the behavior of future adult citizens. States might well set the standards for entry into selective public secondary and tertiary education. However, private schools should not be confined to the national curriculum since curricular experimentation is essential to educational development. As long as students in private schools pass the national examinations at the end of primary and secondary school, the balance of their curriculum should be an institutional decision. One purpose of having a national curriculum is to lower the risk of curricular extremism in non-government schools, including religious schools. The teaching of values that abrogate national standards of tolerance and empathy toward fellow citizens or political neighbors can be a significant problem and the state has the right to ensure a social consensus consistent with United Nations civic education standards.

States differ in their ability to deliver public services. The director of the country forecasting services in the Economist Intelligence Unit, for instance, categorizes states (high, moderate, low and very low) on their ability to deliver public services (Kekic, 2011, p. 90). All of the states struggling to achieve Education for All are among those categorized as being low or very low in the ability to deliver public services. With respect to human rights, we reach a different conclusion from that of Lewin (2007). We do not believe that human rights imply that the state should provide public schooling. As we have visited effective private schools serving the poor, often within countries where the public school system is not well regarded, we see nothing that guarantees that public provision of schooling will be more equitable or effective. In states that are weak in the delivery of public services we think it may be an abrogation of human rights if low-income families in low-income states are denied the freedom to seek their own educational solutions for their children. In other words, we believe a state monopoly on the delivery of a public service may be contrary to human rights, particularly when there is ample evidence of state inadequacy in that delivery. We agree with the conclusion to which Ahmed and Govinda came, “the reality is that a public system is not necessarily the most responsive to the circumstances and needs of the participants and not invariably equitable, and a democratic polity cannot banish diversity in basic education provision” (Ahmed and Govinda, 2010, p. 327).

With respect to Lewin’s argument (2007) that resources required for non-government schooling draw resources away from low-income communities, we also disagree. Revenues are fungible. Tax resources draw from communities, as do private school fees. One may argue that tax revenues can be less regressive; but it is difficult to maintain that low-income communities should be prohibited from choosing to allocate personal resources to the educational ends of their choice. Hence, we reject the notion that private schools unnecessarily draw resources away from low-income communities.

Our experience is consistent with the proposition that for non-government schools to be more efficient than government schools there must be good sources of information and an effective

regulatory framework. We agree that this condition is essential for the non-government sector to be effective. In the Recommendations section below, we will discuss how to improve the public's access to education information. In terms of regulations however, it is our experience that the framework needs considerable improvement so that it does not just serve as a barrier for private school entry (see recommendations).

As to the history of non-government schools contributing to the acquisition of universal schooling, our experience would lead us to a slightly different conclusion from Lewin (2007). Most OECD countries achieved universal education with a mixture of government and non-government schooling, and today there is no OECD country without non-government schooling. In fact, in some OECD countries, such as Japan and Korea, non-government supplementary education is the norm rather than the exception. Precedents set by the socialist states of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, where schooling was delivered solely by the government, shifted as soon as they had the opportunity. In former socialist states, non-government schooling is now a normal source of education. Hence we reject the notion that universal enrollment in OECD countries was achieved without the assistance of non-government schooling.

We agree that there are instances when relying on private schools can undermine the public education system. In many cases in Latin America, the non-government system is the normal educational venue for the wealthy and the public system the normal one for everyone else. This lowers the school's impact on social cohesion and tends to exacerbate problems of social stratification.

However, the opposite can also be true: there are instances when the non-government system—with its emphasis on individualized instruction and personal attention—can help improve the public system. We found numerous instances of non-government schools accommodating children of the very poorest component of the community. One needs to keep in mind that there are many categories of non-government schools. Those that provide education for orphans of parents who died of AIDS, managed by churches or other charitable organizations, offer schooling as a last resort to those who cannot gain access to publicly provided schooling regardless of whether it is classified as free of cost.

In essence, our experience would suggest that the non-government school sector is a permanently important contributor to Basic Education-for-All and thus has implications for each of the main institutions with Education for All objectives. We will offer specific recommendations in a later section. Here we briefly summarize the implications in this regard.

Implications and Recommendations for Donors, International Organizations and Governments

USAID should diversify the mechanisms by which it seeks to assist countries in achieving the objectives of basic Education for All. Specifically it should: (i) expand the use of Partial Credit Guarantees under its Development Credit Authority; (ii) coordinate more fully with the IFC; (iii) finance the research and evaluation projects of non-government providers; (iv) diversify its relationship away from government ministries;¹⁰² (v) work with partners to improve the capacity of international statistical bodies to monitor the development of the non-government education sector; (vi) report on the development of the non-government education sector; and (vii) integrate low tuition private education into its country strategies.

Governments should consider non-government providers of basic education essential partners to state schools and help stimulate their abilities to perform their public service. These schools should be viewed as complementary, rather than predatory, to the public education system. Specifically they should use the services of the non-governmental school associations to provide statistical, accreditation, and monitoring services.

Both bilateral and multilateral development partners should include non-government schools in their strategies and plans for basic education. Those agencies, such as the IFC, which are more at liberty to assist non-government institutions, will play a particularly critical role in the future.

Educational providers and educational service providers, domestic and international, for-profit and non-profit, are all significant actors in achieving Education for All and should be included in national planning strategies. This includes the agencies that represent their interests, such as their respective associations of private schools.

Statistical records, one of the natural responsibilities of governments, will have to expand to include data on the functions of non-government schools. In every country studied for this project, there were significant gaps in government data with regard to the number of registered and unregistered schools, as well as the proportion of students being served by low-cost private schools (many of whom are considered out-of-school youths in government statistics).

Future analytic work will need to incorporate questions of the ‘natural limits’ in the delivery of public services, and determine if the state can be expected to effectively provide individualized instruction and individualized attention. This question is not limited to states struggling to deliver basic Education for All, but includes OECD countries as well.

¹⁰² For instance this may include the use of Global Giving (<http://www.globalgiving.org/>) which gives incremental funding for many education projects and strengthens the partnership between USAID and private donors.

The struggle of the poor in Kenya to secure quality education for their children is not dramatically different from what occurs in urban Baltimore. Regardless of their impoverished circumstances, these families are able to assess the costs and benefits of placing their children in low-quality public schools, and they are anxious to find an alternative. The ‘price point’ at which they decide that the cost of ‘free public education’ is too high and the cost of some private education is worth the sacrifice is the key public policy issue of our time. It has become so common for parents to seek an alternative to public education that the development community, including USAID, may need to reassess the degree to which it can rely on the public service delivery. A more creative approach may be necessary—rather than the traditional mechanisms of support developed during previous decades.

V. Recommendations

Perhaps it is important to first state what we are not recommending. A great deal of attention has been paid to the virtues of ‘privatizing’ the delivery of education services through vouchers that might be applicable to both public and non-government schools, or, as in Indonesia, that public funding should be used to support the delivery of education through non-governmental mechanisms. We do not recommend this for two reasons. In low-income countries, the fiscal burden of extending the public economic responsibility to private schooling would not be feasible. In addition, the extension of financial support would likely be attended by additional regulatory restrictions that would lessen the flexibility and innovation of non-government schools, hence reducing their principal virtue.

We find that non-government schools serving the poor are a universal phenomenon but they are not always recognized as such. Governments sometimes ignore them, deny their contributions, or characterize them as being of low quality and impediments to national educational objectives. Our recommendation is that non-government schools serving the poor be treated as an integral part of achieving the objectives of basic Education for All. We suggest three areas—statistics, the regulatory environment and interventions—where new attention could further the goal of Education for All.

Statistics

- Non-government schools should be registered without charge¹⁰³ and included in the national education databases.
- Ministries of Education should assign specialized staff to help collect and incorporate statistics on non-government schools
- In conjunction with other development assistance agencies, USAID should help the UNESCO Institute of Statistics establish a non-government school unit to assist countries in developing accurate statistics on non-government schools. Each country should have available the number and categories of non-government schools, their enrollments, rates of completion, examination passes, and tuition levels.
- USAID should assist each of the countries in which it is operating to keep better statistics on non-government schools and to publish reports on trends regarding their quality on a regular basis.

¹⁰³ Registration may be ‘temporary’ until new schools can be accredited; but restrictions should not prevent new schools from registering.

- USAID should support Ministry staff by providing training and technical assistance in data collection, database management and statistical analyses.

Regulations Governing Non-government Schools

- Regulations are clearly justified on curriculum objectives, completion, or admissions tests for further education, and health or safety
- Other regulations should be reduced or eliminated, hence enabling maximum flexibility. This should include regulations that control tuition, regulate teacher certification, and pedagogy. Innovation depends on freedom to experiment in these areas.¹⁰⁴
- For reasons of the public interest, and because non-profit non-government schools should be free of taxation, high tuition schools should reserve a portion of their places for scholarships to children with considerable ability from low-income families.

Interventions

We can offer no single answer to the question of how to create self-sustainable low-cost private schools for the poor. The best thing to do is to be pragmatic. Countries should deliver education through a wide variety of mechanisms, public and private. USAID should diversify its relationships away from government ministries and expand its activities to include many of the associations of private schools, as well as other nongovernmental organizations, including the for-profit education sector. There are, however, specific areas of intervention that appear immediately promising:

- Where programs already exist of cash transfers or other assistance to families or children of the poor that are delivered through government schools, these should be extended to the children of the poor who attend non-government schools.
- Publicly financed programs in non-government schools should be expanded on specific grounds and justified on the basis that the public system cannot currently accommodate these specific needs. These grounds may include a lack of public supply of secondary education (e.g., Jamaica); children with specific learning needs; orphans, street children (e.g., Kenya) and children with considerable ability from low-income homes who deserve a better opportunity (e.g., Pakistan, Ghana).
- Incentives should be enhanced so non-government schools can better manage themselves. These may include better public information on school quality (through systems of rating);

¹⁰⁴ It is frequently assumed that certified teachers are of higher quality and to protect children from low quality teaching, the state has a right to require teachers in non-government schools to be certified. This is a mistake. The evidence on the effectiveness of teacher certification is at best, mixed. While the state should feel free to require certification in public schools, judgment on teacher quality in private schools should be the function of the school.

viable capital markets to improve the effectiveness of lending institutions; less onerous regulations; as well as direct training of school managers, administrators and associations that represent non-government schools.

- USAID should expand the use of Partial Credit Guarantees under its Development Credit Authority and coordinate this more fully with the IFC.

VI. Future Research Questions

While this report has explored some important issues concerning the impact of low-cost private schools in assisting countries to meet their EFA goals, there are several avenues of future research that would prove beneficial to furthering this debate. For example, while studies have been conducted in many countries to assess the quality of private schools, it is important to note that few (if any) of these studies have been successful in fully addressing concerns about *selection bias*. In order to assess the relative quality of these schools compared to their public counterparts, it is essential to account for non-observable characteristics that are likely to impact learning and achievement. Although this it is not easy, selection bias is a threat to validity in research on achievement gains of low-cost private school students, and must be accounted for when attempting to make comparisons with the public sector.

Additionally, this report provides evidence why low-income parents choose to enroll their children in private schools but little research has been conducted on the *differing attendance rates of low-cost private schools across countries*. Although government policies in some countries impose significant constraints on the sector, it is unclear why countries with similar policies differ in the rate of expansion of low-cost private schools. Although several reasons have been posited in this report (such as undersupply of government school spaces), these reasons are insufficient to address the differences in countries with similar basic education statistics and government expenditures on education. For example, it is possible that stable democracies and steady economic growth could be correlated with the expansion of the private education sector. Further analysis of this topic is essential to understand this sector in the aggregate.

Few studies have used families and households as the unit of analysis, yet household decision making is the key to understanding why some choose non-government schools. Household decision-making also governs why voucher programs appear so popular irrespective of the academic achievement evidence so popular among scholars. New surveys of households should be sponsored to measure this, and current household survey mechanisms should include new questions on school choice. The key questions in this research include finding out where the ‘price point’ occurs, that is, at what ‘price’ in quality will families pull their children out of public schools and seek a non-government alternative.

As noted several times in this report, the lack of comprehensive data on private schools (both registered and unregistered) is problematic for educators, researchers, aid organizations and policy makers. Governments should consider undertaking data-gathering initiatives to understand more fully the proliferation of private schools within their borders. This is especially necessary for countries with high proportions of unregistered schools.

Finally, *alternative models and financing schemes* need to be examined in depth. This is especially important in countries with public educational opportunities in short supply. Whether it is self-financing schemes (such as the rating system in India) or government-assisted programming (such as the concessionary schools in Colombia), alternative models and public-private partnerships should be tested. At stake is the long-term financial sustainability of a sub-sector that is responding to a demand that cannot be met by the public sector alone. For instance, one approach might be a randomized trial to test ‘break point’ at which families would send their children to government rather than non-government schools.

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Appendix I – Basic Case Study Statistics

Table 1: Basic Country Statistics

	Ghana	Indonesia	Jamaica	Kenya	Pakistan	Tanzania
GDP (constant 2000 US\$)	8180601366	2.58E+11	9963552608	17985175222	1.11E+11	16238615464
GDP per capita (constant 2000 US\$)	343.19	1124.06	3690.73	451.87	656.87	382.14
Population (Total)	23837261	229964723	2699617	39802015	169708303	43739051
Population Age 0-14 (% of Total)	38.42	27.01	29.43	42.81	36.93	44.70
Pupils of Official School Age (Primary)	2640088	25479799*	271013*	5420972	14405115	7754238
Pupils of Official School Age (Secondary)	1460893	16834618*	222297*	2673216	9333640	.
Children out of School (Primary)*	791961	311660	65823	1087933	7260509	32731
Primary Enrollment (% Gross)*	105.44	119.49	93.29	111.55	84.78	110.15
Primary Enrollment (% Net)*	76.53	95.70	80.23	81.52	66.13	99.34
Private Primary Enrollment (%)*	17.29	16.11	11.74	10.79	31.00	1.42
Secondary Enrollment (% Gross)*	55.16	74.38	91.24	58.33	32.91	.
Secondary Enrollment (% Net)*	47.45	68.37	77.23	49.14	32.52	.
Private Secondary Enrollment (%)*	15.97	42.89	4.48	12.00	31.00	.
Adult Literacy Rate (15+)*	65.80	.	85.90	86.50	53.70	72.60
Youth Literacy Rate (15-24)*	79.30	.	95.00	92.30	68.86	77.50

Source: UNESCO and World Bank Statistics (2010).

*2008 data

This table of basic statistics from each of the six case study countries provides an important illustration of the differences between the countries in terms of the educational and economic landscape. Most obvious from the table is the fact that Jamaica has more than three times the GDP per capita of the next highest country (Indonesia) and more than 10 times the GDP per capita of the lowest country (Ghana). However, there does not appear to be a direct correlation between economic wealth and the size of the private school sector¹⁰⁵. The issue of economic wealth and private enrollment is further complicated by the fact that (counter to intuition) there is no apparent relationship in the case study countries between GDP per capita and primary enrollment rates (gross or net). This is likely to be explained partly by distribution of income, as well as population density in urban versus rural settings. Ultimately, this table displays useful information about each of our case study countries but provides little evidence on which conclusions can be drawn about economic and education relationships.

¹⁰⁵ By removing Tanzania from the list, there is a slight negative correlation between GDP per capita and private primary enrollment rates (-0.36).

Appendix II - Case Studies

GHANA

Similar to many other sub-Saharan African countries, such as Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, and South Africa, Ghana has seen a recent trend toward an expanding private primary education sector for low-income students (Glewwe & Jacoby, 1994; Reschovsky, 2006; Tooley, 2009). Historically thought to serve only the wealthiest of families, private schools in Ghana have become a means of increased enrollment and improved access to education for some of the country's traditionally underserved populations. While the research on this topic is limited, the existing literature shows that low-fee non-government schools play an important role in the Ghanaian education system—one that has been claimed, in some instances, to provide higher quality education than the public sector.

History and Characteristics of Non-government Schools

While the first formal Ghanaian school (as opposed to those providing only religious education) was a private institution established by the British Society for Propagation of the Gospel in 1752, it was not until a century later that the ruling government passed an education act intended to “provide for the better education of the inhabitants of her Majesty’s forts and settlements on the Gold Coast” (GoG, 1852). Although an 1887 education act offered that three types of schools could be established in the country (government, assisted and non-assisted), it was the Education Act of 1961 that finally set official regulations for private schools in Ghana¹⁰⁶. However, for several decades the growth of this sector remained slow. As recently as the mid-1990s, it was reported that private schools in Ghana were “quite rare,” providing educational services to only 6% of middle school students in the country (Glewwe and Jacoby, 1994). Furthermore, Glewwe and Jacoby (1994) noted in their report on student achievement and schooling choice in Ghana that private schools “simply [did] not exist in rural areas” (p. 853). Over the next few years, however, Ghana’s private education sector saw incredibly rapid growth—with a nearly 200% increase in non-government primary enrollments between 1997 and 2000 (LaRocque, 2001).

Accordingly, by 2003/4, James Tooley encountered a very different educational landscape than the one described by Glewwe and Jacoby. In the Ga district of southern Ghana, Tooley (2005) found that nearly 65% of students were enrolled in private schools—almost a quarter of whom were enrolled in private unrecognized schools.¹⁰⁷ Ultimately, only 25% of the 799 schools found by Tooley’s researchers were government schools (see Table 2)¹⁰⁸. Furthermore, Tooley (2005)

¹⁰⁶ This information was provided in a commissioned report on low-cost private schools in Ghana, headed by Kafui Etsey—heretofore referred to as the Ghana Report.

¹⁰⁷ Unrecognized or unregistered private schools are both those that have not applied to be registered as well as those unable to meet the registration criteria (Tooley & Dixon, 2005a).

¹⁰⁸ Government schools include some church schools that were nationalized in the 1970s/80s.

noted that private schools in Ghana were not confined to urban settings, offering that “in rural Ghana, a typical private school might consist of an open-air structure” but that “to find these schools you’ll have to wander down meandering narrow paths, away from the main thoroughfares” (p. 25). Akyeampong et al (2007), on the other hand, offered that while some unrecognized schools operate in the urban periphery, “private schooling in Ghana is mainly an urban phenomenon and run mainly on for profit basis” (p. 68).

Table 2: Enrollment, Ga District, 2003-2004

Management Type	Total number of pupils	Total number of schools	Mean number of pupils in each school	Std. Deviation	% of Total number of pupils	% of Total number of schools
Government	57374	197	291.24	205.937	35.6%	25.3%
Private unregistered	24738	177	139.76	111.609	15.3%	22.7%
Private registered	79132	405	195.39	164.052	49.1%	52.0%
Total	161244	779	206.99	174.279	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Census of schools and Ga District Education Office lists.

Although the growth of the private sector is readily apparent (rural-urban debate aside), the underlying question of increased access to high-quality education for low-income students is a more difficult one to answer. One large concern about private schools for low-income students is that they would simply turn out to be “fly-by-night” institutions that take people’s money and then disappear without providing any sort of benefits to their students. Tooley (2009) found, however, that at the time of his study, the average private unrecognized school was six years old and the average private registered school was approximately nine years old. Combined with the claim that the majority of these schools were run as legitimate businesses (owned and operated by one or more proprietors), Tooley argues that the “fly-by-night” concern is largely without merit. However, this still says little about the access and equity concerns espoused by many policy makers and researchers. These concerns are addressed to the greatest extent possible in the following sections.

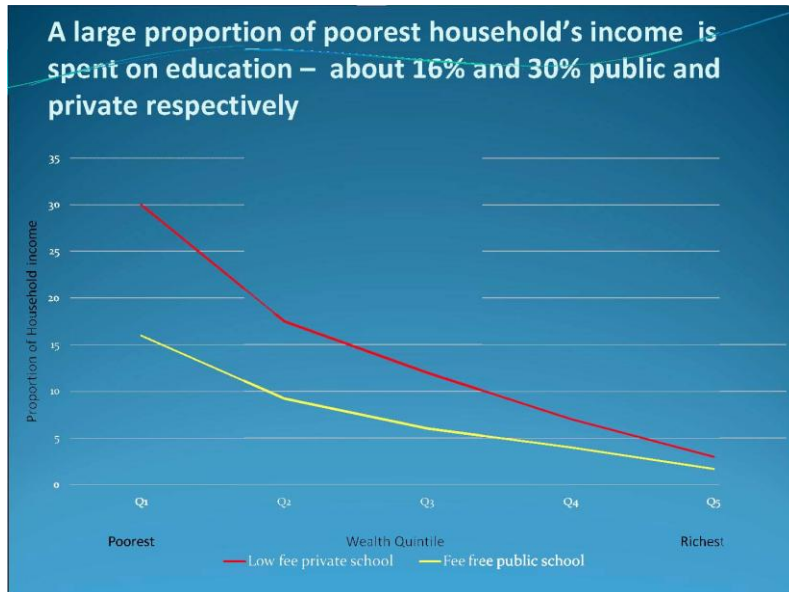
Degree to which Non-government Schools Accommodate Low Income Children

According to Tooley (2009), the mean monthly fees for unregistered and registered private schools were 33,066 and 55,225 cedis, respectively (as of 2004).¹⁰⁹ With a nation-wide minimum monthly wage of 268,800 cedis, these fees accounted for 12.3% of minimum wage for unregistered schools and 20.5% of the minimum wage per student for registered schools. It should be noted, however, that not all students were required to pay the full fees. In Ga,

¹⁰⁹ Although the conversion of this amount into US dollars is somewhat complicated, it translates to approximately \$3.25-\$5.30 per month.

approximately 5% of private school students were offered free or concessionary places (Tooley and Dixon, 2006). Additionally, Akaguri (2010) offers that while poor families may spend up to 30% of their household income on private education, public education is still far from free—with about 16% of household income going toward public schooling (See Figure 1).

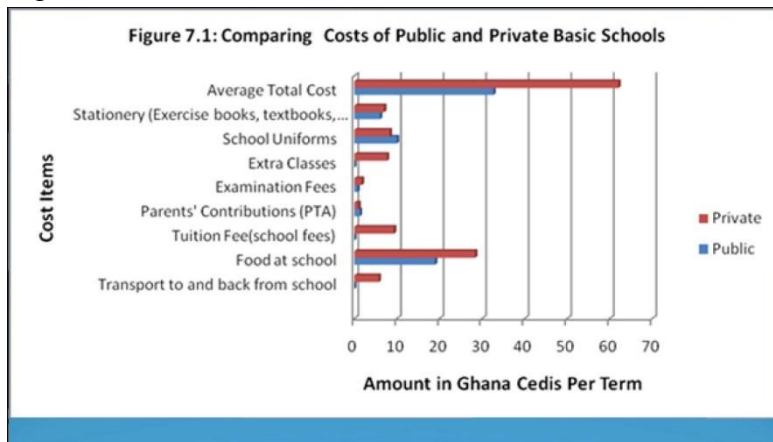
Figure 1: Proportion of Household Income for Education (by wealth quintile)



While the overall proportion of income spent on education by Ghana’s wealthiest families is obviously well below that of the poorest, the relative costs between public and private schools are similar (with private school spending approximately doubling that of public school spending, regardless of wealth). In order to see the breakdown of these costs, Akaguri (2010) provides us with Figure 2 (below). This figure shows that feeding programs make up nearly half of the overall household expenditures in both sectors and that tuition in private schools accounts for only about one-sixth of private school costs. That being said, even with low tuition fees it may prove to be a great financial burden for low-income families to enroll their children in private schools.¹¹⁰ Hence, the argument proffered by Akyeampong et al (2007) that “from an equity perspective, the increased institutional choice private schooling brings is only meaningful for those who can afford it.” (p. 69)

¹¹⁰ In other words, even if private schools charged no tuition, the household costs would still be higher than for public schools.

Figure 2: Private costs to Public and Private Schools



According to the Ghana Report, the children attending the 26 private schools visited during the study were found to be from predominantly low-income areas, with the typical backgrounds in peasant farming, fish mongering and basket weaving (among others). These types of employment often make paying school fees very difficult but many of the private schools offered concessions for students who could not afford the tuition. Furthermore, more than half the schools only charged GH¢20.00 (about \$14) or less per term, yet 23 of the 26 schools noted that they had students who attended for free.

The Regulatory Environments¹¹¹

Although the Ghanaian government has clearly established guidelines for the operation of private schools, some are not necessarily followed and others are poorly enforced. For example, all schools are required to register with both the Ghana Education Service (GES) and the Registrar Generals Office. The former is a free registration, while the latter is for licensure (or accreditation) and requires a fee. However, as noted in the work done by Tooley, there are still many unregistered private schools in Ghana. Furthermore, all teachers in Ghanaian schools (public and private) are required to have been trained in colleges of education and to have obtained a teaching certificate before being employed. The shortage of qualified (i.e., trained) teachers in the country has led to some flexibility in the enforcement of this regulation—which has, in practice, allowed for those with a senior high school certificate to teach in non-government schools.¹¹²

Registered private schools are required to use the GES's curriculum—and all schools visited for the research in the Ghana Report were found to be using it. Additionally, the government has set regulations about the amount of tuition that can be charged by private schools (up to GH¢30.00 (\$21) per term), the fact that the Director General of the GES must approve all fees,

¹¹¹ This section is based, almost entirely, on information provided in the Ghana Report.

¹¹² Teachers in public schools have also been found to have only a senior high school certificate but it is unclear as to how the enforcement between the two sectors differs.

student/teacher ratios (which should remain at or below thirty to one), as well as facilities requirements (library, separate toilets for boys and girls, and a play area are all mandatory). In reality, few of these requirements are actually followed by all registered private schools, which brings up the question of enforcement.

Inspectors are required to visit schools at least once a year and external audits are to be conducted annually. While there is no direct evidence of schools paying bribes to pass inspection, it is unclear how schools continue to pass when they do not meet the requirements set by the government.

Financial Sustainability

With little government support for all schools and only modest support from NGOs (international donors, churches, etc.) for some schools, the long-term financial sustainability of low-cost private schools in Ghana depends heavily on school owners and their ability to attract students (and collect fees). With tuition and fees as the main source of funding for nearly all private schools, those schools without outside support (or independently wealthy owners) could have long-term sustainability issues. The government has been reported to support low-cost private schools in terms of the provision of textbooks but this type of support is irregular and cannot be relied upon. The most important form of support provided to these schools comes in the form of in-service professional development—which is provided by the GES at no cost to the schools (or teachers) themselves. While this training is important and beneficial, it does not necessarily have much (if any) impact on financial sustainability. In fact, the Ghana Report notes, “one of the biggest problems facing the schools is the inability to render proper accounts and provide accurate income and expenditure figures. None of the schools was able to provide the total expenditures for the previous year.” In order to address this issue, it seems that in addition to the provision of materials and training of teachers, professional development for school owners and principals would prove to be extremely valuable for the long-term sustainability of the sector.

Quality of (Low Income) Non-government School Output

Several studies have been conducted in order to assess the academic achievement of public versus private schools but little of this work has focused on the low-fee private school sector. For example, while Quansah (2000) reports that private schools, on average, outperform public schools in both math and English, this does not tell us anything about our particular schools of interest. Etsey, Amedabe and Edjah (2006), however, conducted a study of sixty low and middle income schools (half private, half public) and found that private school achievement was significantly greater in both grade three and grade six (English and mathematics). Tooley and Dixon (2006) also report that mean test scores in both Math and English were higher among

private recognized and unrecognized schools than public schools. However, it is not clear that either of these reports fully address the selection bias issues that come with families making informed choices about sending their children to private school.

That being said, parents cite school quality as their main reason for sending their children to low-cost private schools instead of public schools. According to the Ghana Report, parents claimed that non-government schools took academic work more seriously and that teachers were likely to be absent less. Additionally, parents offered that public schools were over-crowded and often too far away to send their primary age children. Finally, they claimed that private schools provided a safer learning environment and better English language instruction than the public system.

As far as teacher quality is concerned, in addition to having fewer trained teachers, private schools were also found to have higher teacher turnover rates than public schools. However, as private schools have more flexibility in hiring and firing practices, it is argued that they are able to dismiss teachers who do not meet the standards, while the public system may have a more difficult time firing someone due to poor performance. Additionally, absenteeism among private school teachers was found to be less of a problem than among their public school counterparts.

Finally, school output in Ghana is most commonly measured by Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) pass rates. This exam is administered to students at the end of junior high school. A passing grade is required for admission into senior high school. About half of the twenty-six private schools in the Ghana Report administered the BECE but 58% reported a 100% pass rate. As for the four public schools in the study, the pass rates were as follows: 75%, 18%, 12% and 5%. Although this comes from a very small sample of schools, it suggests that a number of low-cost private schools are performing at least as well as their public school counterparts. The biggest point of concern, however, is that 14 of the 26 schools did not offer the BECE. No explanation is provided in the Ghana Report why these schools did not administer the exam.

Donor Experiences

Major Players in the Private Basic Education Sector in Ghana

International Finance Corporation (IFC)

The International Finance Corporation (IFC), through the Private Enterprise Partnership for Africa (PEP Africa), is implementing Private Schools Support Programs in a number of countries. This is a joint initiative between the IFC and a local partner bank to provide local currency financing and customized Business Development Services (BDS) or Technical Assistance (TA) for individual schools and the industry as a whole, to support the growth of private schools. The multi-component TA programs include support: (i) directly to the

private schools sector; (ii) to the local Banks to enhance their ability to source, book and monitor school investments, (iii) to private sector consultants to be able to deliver standardized services to private sector schools, (iv) to private school associations to be able to advocate on behalf of private sector school providers to government and the public at large.

This program was implemented as a pilot program for IFC's Private Schools Support Programs. CfBT led in the development of manuals for Component iii) above in Ghana. The workshop program comprises six major topic areas that are covered in six different sessions, spread over a nine-month period. The topics are 1: School Self Diagnostics and Strategic Planning; 2: Business Plan Development; 3: Financial and Cost Management; 4: Human Resources and Training Management; 5: Curriculum and Learning Management; and 6: Educational Management Information Systems. Under this program, IFC is providing advisory services, as well as financing, through a risk-sharing facility with a local partner bank, The Trust Bank (TTB), to help private schools operate more effectively, construct classrooms and other facilities like libraries and laboratories, and continue to attract and retain high-quality staff. The ultimate goal is to improve the quality of education they offer.

Financing: The risk-sharing facility partially guarantees the partner bank's portfolio of loans to schools and allows TTB to extend loans to schools on better terms and for longer tenors than exist on the market. IFC earns income on the facility by charging the partner bank 0.5% of the undisbursed amount and 3% on the exposure outstanding. TTB is required to do its own due diligence to book and monitor schools in the portfolio.

Advisory Services: Advisory services satisfy the program's overall objective of improving the capacity of private schools to attract finance and cater for demand through two primary activities: Improving the schools' ability to operate as effective, sustainable businesses, thereby improving their risk profile. More specifically, support is provided in: (i) school diagnostics, strategic and business planning, and (ii) the installation of a comprehensive education management information system and associated training in accounting and financial management, human resources and training management, curriculum and learning management, and corporate governance. Schools share 40% of the cost of this assistance. IFC also produces a series of school operating manuals and has set up a local services provider to ensure sustainability after IFC's involvement ends. Improving the ability of TTB to assess, process, and monitor school loans. IFC consultants provide a five-day Education SME Project Finance Course to all TTB loan officers and relevant senior management: [http://www.ifc.org/ifcext/psa.nsf/AttachmentsByTitle/Smartlesson_TScobie_Schools/\\$FILE/Smartlesson_AfricaSchools_TScobie.pdf](http://www.ifc.org/ifcext/psa.nsf/AttachmentsByTitle/Smartlesson_TScobie_Schools/$FILE/Smartlesson_AfricaSchools_TScobie.pdf).

USAID/EGAT Ghana Pilot Program

In 2007, USAID's central office for education issues, EGAT/ED, launched a pilot program in Ghana to gain a better understanding of the needs of the private education sector and to gather

lessons learned about how to best meet the financing and other needs of this sector. The overall objectives of the pilot program are to develop a package of operational best practices and lessons learned in enabling quality private education, with a focus on:

- Stimulating affordable private financing for private schools;
- Building the business, managerial and teaching capabilities of private schools;
- Building banks' capacity to develop appropriate credit products for private schools;
- Developing mutually beneficial relationships between private schools and the Ministry of Education.

The four primary components of the pilot program include the following:

1) Investment component

The investment component includes risk sharing by USAID's Development Credit Authority (DCA), which has proven to stimulate lending to underserved markets. The DCA guarantees up to 50% of the loss on a loan or a portfolio of loans and can help banks overcome their concerns about a new market.

2) Technical Assistance Component

The aim of the technical assistance component is to support the private education sector by: (1) providing direct support to selected schools to improve their ability to access finance, improve their internal operations and increase the quality of education they provide; and (2) developing local capacity and a business model to continue support for the schools after the completion of the pilot program. This component also includes an assessment of stakeholder needs that outlines the obstacles private schools face when attempting to obtain a loan, the financial needs of the schools and the technical and skill gaps of the schools, followed by an identification of local business development services (BDS) providers that can provide training, technical assistance and capacity strengthening to the private school sector in the areas identified through the needs assessment. The training program will include strategic planning, accounting and financial management, education management and information systems, human resource management, and curriculum and learning management. In order to identify the gaps that hinder private school access to credit and the ability of private schools to pay for technical assistance to fill these gaps, the technical assistance package will:

- Align the private school client needs with the requirements that banks place on private schools for credit;
- Work with local BDS firms to provide technical assistance to schools;
- Develop and test a workable profit model that includes a rational fee structure;

- Develop and test a certification scheme for different types of training; and
- Develop and test a communications/marketing strategy to stimulate interest in the technical assistance package.

As of February 2011, 289 proprietors and head teachers in three regions of Ghana received training in financial management, records keeping, cash flow analysis, business plan development, and school management.

3) Private School Policy Advocacy

The aim of this component is to increase government officials' understanding of the needs of private schools and how best to integrate private schools into the education system and develop a strategy for advocating for private schools in general and for the pilot program more specifically within the Government of Ghana (GOG). The agenda for the policy discussions with the GOG is to be developed in consultation with USAID/Ghana.

4) Garnering Best Practices and Lessons learned

Working with the local partners to document what works and what does not work in the following areas:

- Developing a technical assistance package that is financially self-sustaining and effectively increases participants' ability to access affordable credit;
- Developing a credit product and loan terms that are appropriate for poor private schools;
- Developing a private schools' advocacy strategy aimed at increasing government officials' understanding of the needs of private schools and how to best integrate the private schools into the country's education system.

IDP Rising School Program

The IDP Foundation, Inc. is a private grant making organization comprised of two entities: The IDP Foundation, Inc., and the IDP Foundation Charitable Trust. Both are 501 (c) 3 organizations. In 2008, the IDP Foundation was established with the mission to develop and support innovative programs devoted to improving the quality of life for people and organizations in need, particularly as it relates to poverty alleviation. IDP's mission is to transform the lives of impoverished children by providing them with a quality education in both urban and rural areas of Ghana through the combination of microfinance loans and capacity building services that are specifically tailored to the needs of our target schools.

IDP Rising Schools is a program established through a partnership between the IDP Foundation Inc., Sinapi Aba Trust (SAT), and Opportunity International US. The goal of the program is to boost the development of existing, but very poor, non-government schools for disadvantaged

children throughout Ghana. They hope to build a sustainable educational model that can be supported through microfinance loans and capacity building then replicates it throughout Ghana, Sub-Saharan Africa and the developing world. As of December 2010, the IDP Rising Schools Program has enrolled 120 schools. The program has five main goals:

- To improve the quality of education offered to the students
- To increase the sustainability (and profitability) of the schools
- To create a positive impact on the Microfinance Institution
- To achieve gender equality in our participating schools
- To increase the enrollment in the schools

Program Components

- Provision of targeted financial services necessary to improve school research
- Provision and facilitation of trainings to school proprietors, teachers and caterers to improve business management, quality of education, health and safety
- Distribution of critical supplies and materials such as teaching aids through strategic alliances with partnering organizations
- Collaboration with government and nongovernmental Organizations
- Research and measurement of the program's impact

Target Market

- School must be privately owned by a proprietor
- School fees must be affordable for poor parents
- School must be located in a poor and underprivileged community
- School must have enough room to grow and develop its infrastructure
- School is unregistered or rated "C" or "D" by the Ghana Education Service (GES)
- School proprietor shares the program's core values and agrees to adhere to the program pledge established by the IDP Rising Schools Program
- School does not need to be an existing loan client of SAT (IDP's partner microfinance organization).

Other Players

Other organizations like the Humanitarian Service of the Islamic Foundation provide loans directly to private schools. They built a junior high school and supported a clinic for another one. MEET AFRICA sponsors private school children, and Tomorrow Stars provides various kinds of support (such as teaching materials, construction and funding). Although some of the larger

donors do not appear to be doing much work with low-cost private schools, many smaller NGOs and service providers are integral to the ultimate success of the sector.

Outstanding Issues

One of the largest concerns with the low-cost private primary sector in Ghana is that of capacity. This can refer to the capacity of teachers to ensure positive academic outcomes, the capacity of schools to raise sufficient funds, the capacity of parents to pay tuition on time (and in full), the capacity of the government to support the private sector and/or the capacity of school owners to run effective schools. While the majority of these issues were covered in this report already, the latter concern is one that deserves further attention. Fourteen of the 26 schools examined in the Ghana Report were found to have no governing board or school committee. These schools were managed entirely by school owners and head teachers, which may provide adequate authority to make personnel decisions but relies heavily on the business acumen (and even wealth) of the individual proprietor. The other 12 schools, on the other hand, had school management committees that were comprised of school personnel, the proprietor, PTA chairs and community representatives. While this additional feedback mechanism is arguably beneficial for these schools, it was noted in the report that the members of the committee had little education and little or no experience in management positions—especially with regard to school management. These issues are likely to have significant impacts on both the long-term success and long-term financial sustainability of low-fee non-government schools in Ghana.

Ultimately, much of the picture of the educational landscape in Ghana remains unclear due to the lack of sufficient literature and comprehensive data on private schools (especially those that seek to serve low-income students). However, there is clear evidence that this sector is growing and that poor families are continuing to make the choice to send their children to private schools, even though public schools are tuition-free (although not necessarily cost-free). The current findings with regard to improved access to high-quality education are mixed but provide some reassurance that these schools are not, on average, any less successful than their public school counterparts. From facilities to teacher quality to academic achievement, it appears that low-fee private schools are of higher quality than many originally expected. The ultimate impact and success of the sector, however, remains to be seen.

Recommendations

Recommendations to USAID:

- The government provides teaching and learning materials to private schools when there are surpluses; these supplies are inconsistent and inadequate. USAID may assist low-cost private schools with the provision of textbooks, as well as other teaching and learning materials.

- USAID can assist communities with needs assessments and provide infrastructure grants to schools most in need of repair.
- Proprietors and heads of the private schools are often in need of business management training. By providing training opportunities to school owners, USAID could reduce the likelihood of schools having to close and could help increase the financial sustainability of the sector. These training opportunities should be coordinated with District Directors of Education and could be provided by the staff that is responsible for inspecting private schools and conducting financial audits.
- USAID may provide supplemental salary assistance to teachers in low-cost private schools who are performing well.
- Teacher training and professional development for teachers/staff could be provided by teacher training colleges with additional financial assistance from USAID.
- Finally, USAID may wish to assist in the extension of the Ghana Education Service's awards/recognition to low-cost private schools. Teachers and school owners who provide exceptional service to their students should be recognized for their efforts.

School Descriptions – Ghana

Wisdom Gate International School, Navrongo

The school, a private one, was established in 2005 by the founding pastor of the Rhema Miracle Life Chapel. It is in Upper Nangalkinia, a suburb of Navrongo in the Upper East Region of Ghana. It is located in a new developing area where the local people are mostly peasant farmers. Schoolchildren have to travel for about 3 kilometers to school. School provides no transportation so the majority of the children either walk or ride bicycles. The school opens at 8.00 am. The nursery and kindergarten classes close at 2.00 pm while the rest of the school closes at 3.00 pm, Monday to Friday. There are no extra classes.

The school ranges from Nursery to Junior High School 1. Total enrollment is 550, consisting of 279 (50.7%) boys and 271 (49.3%) girls. The language of instruction is English. The school is profit-seeking and is registered with the Ministry of Education as a private school. The owner of the school is the sole proprietor who is assisted by an administrator. There is no governing board. The major problem facing the school is furniture and lack of space. There are nine classrooms for 11 classes, built of bricks and roofed with aluminum sheets. The classrooms are crowded and often very hot.

There are 24 teachers (12 females and 12 males). All the teachers are Senior High School certificate holders. None of the teachers has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The student/teacher ratio is 23:1. The typical teacher salary is GH¢90 (\$59.58), which is above the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has an average yearly teacher turnover of

17%. The teachers leave the school mostly for further studies. Teachers are very regular in school.

The school follows the public school curriculum prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The proprietor monitors the instruction by visiting the classes and collects lesson notes to inspect. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors. Children regularly attend school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for three days per year. There is a Parent-Teacher Association that meets twice in a year to discuss increase in school fees and furniture. Parents are responsible for textbooks, exercise books, uniforms, and food. There is water and a toilet but no electricity, library, staff room, science lab, or space for children to play or engage in sports. The school fees per year are GH¢60 (\$39.73) for the primary and GH¢90 (\$59.58) for the junior high school. Three pupils are offered free concessions this year.

The school receives no government aid. The expenditures of the school are met from school fees and proprietors personal funds (when necessary). The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Tungtaiya Little Stars, Tamale

The school was founded in 1998 by Mme. Nafisa Tumteya. The mission of the school is to provide academic excellence for children. It is located in the Kaladan Barracks neighborhood where the local people are mostly retired soldiers and small business entrepreneurs. It is a low-income school. School children do not live far away from the school. The school opens at 7.30 am and closes at 2.00 pm. Extra classes start after closing at 2.00 pm and ends at 3.30pm, Monday to Friday.

The school ranges from Nursery to Primary 4. Total enrollment is 197, consisting of 70 (35.5%) boys and 127 (64.5%) girls. The languages of instruction are English and Dagbani. The school is profit-seeking and is registered with the Ministry of Education as a private school. It belongs to the association of Early Childhood Development Centers. The owner of the school is the sole proprietor as well as the administrator. There is no governing board. The major problem facing the school is furniture, teaching materials and lack of space. There are six classrooms for seven classes, built of mud bricks and roofed with aluminum sheets. Two classes (three and four) meet under a tree.

There are six teachers (four females and two males). All the teachers are Senior High School certificate holders. None of the teachers has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The student/teacher ratio is 33:1. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢50 (\$33.10), which is below the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The Principal pays herself the same monthly salary of GH¢50 (\$33.10). The school does not have a problem with teacher availability. Teachers are very regular and punctual in school. On the day of the visit, all teachers were

present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training. Topics covered include Lesson plan preparation, managing classes and teaching methodology.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The proprietor monitors the instruction by visiting the classes and collects lesson notes to inspect. She also inspects children's workbooks. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check teacher attendance and lesson notes. Children are very regular in school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for one day in the year. Children are recruited through radio announcements and by the children themselves who send information to the town. The main reasons that parents give for choosing the school is the good tuition and the playing equipment available.

A PTA meets to discuss problems of the school but is not active. Parents are responsible for textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, school uniforms and food. There is water and first aid boxes but no electricity, library, staff room, science lab and no space for children to play or engage in sports. Teaching and learning materials are not adequate. Teacher guides are available but not dictionaries, reference books, and science kits.

The school fees are GH¢5 (\$3.31) a month. Three pupils are offered free concessions this year. Eight children, who are less privileged, are given a financial assistance of GH¢5 (\$3.31) each month.

The school received free chalk from the government. The school has also benefitted from an NGO, Right To Play, which equips schools in sports activities. The NGO supplied a ball and a manual for games. The expenditures of the school are met from school fees and proprietor's personal funds (when necessary). The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Frafraha Orphanage, Christ Faith Foster Home, Frafaha, Adenta Accra

Located in an orphanage, the school, founded in 2006 started when no vacancy existed for the nearby public school. The mission of the school is to provide education for children. It is a low-income school. The neighborhood consists of masons, artisans, farmers and unemployed. Schoolchildren live in the orphanage. The school opens at 7.45 am and closes at 2.00 pm. Extra classes are offered at no cost to the children.

The school ranges from KG1 to Primary 4. Total enrollment is 149, consisting of 78 (52.3%) boys and 71 (47.7%) girls. The languages of instruction are English and Twi. The school is not profit-seeking. It belongs to the Ghana National Association of Private Schools (GNAPS). The owner of the school is the sole proprietor as well as the administrator. There is no governing

board. The major problem facing the school is sanitation and teaching and learning materials. There are seven classrooms for seven classes, and well ventilated.

There are six teachers (three females and three males). Five teachers are Senior High School certificate holders and one had training in early childhood development. None of the teachers has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school except the head teacher who does not have a teaching responsibility. The student/teacher ratio is 25:1. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢70 (\$46.34), which is slightly above the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The owner does not pay himself. The school does not have a problem with teacher availability. Teachers are very regular and punctual in school. On the day of the visit, all teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training. Topics covered include lesson plan preparation, and teaching methodology.

The school follows the public school curriculum prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes and collects lesson notes to inspect. She also inspects children's exercises. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check teacher attendance and lesson notes. Children are very regular in school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for one day in the year. Parents bring their children to the school themselves. There are no radio announcements or deliberate advertisements. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is the over-enrollment in the public school and the good tuition.

A PTA meets to discuss problems of the school. Parents are responsible for textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms. There is electricity, space for children to play, water, toilet, library, lighting, four computers and fans but no staff room and science lab. Teaching and learning materials are adequate.

The school fees are GH¢20 (\$13.24) a term. Eight pupils are offered free concessions this year. There is financial assistance for low income and deprived students and is administered by the owner by need.

The school has not received any government aid. The expenditures of the school are met from school fees and proprietor's personal funds (when necessary). The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Light and Hope Academy, Amoanda, Central Region.

Light and Hope Academy was founded in 2001 by a Norwegian, with a mission to help the Amoanda community. The school serves a basic need in the community because the children have to walk for about 3 kilometers to reach the nearest public school. It is a low-income school located in a village where parents are mostly peasant farmers cultivating cassava and maize. The

school opens at 8.00am and closes at 2.00 pm for the Primary classes and 2.35pm for the Junior High School.

The school ranges from Nursery to Junior High School. Total enrollment is 350, consisting of 191 (54.6%) girls and 159 (45.4%) boys. The language of instruction used is English. The school is not profit-seeking and gets support from a Norwegian foundation. There is one administrator who does not have a teaching responsibility. There is no governing board. The school is governed by the head teacher, the assistant head teacher and the administrator. More serious issues are discussed with the PTA and the Norwegian Foundation. The major problems facing the school are absenteeism, lateness and truancy by the children.

There are seven, well ventilated classrooms for seven classes.

There are 15 teachers (three females and 12 males), with a student/teacher ratio of 23:1. The majority (11 out of 15) are Senior High School certificate holders. Only one teacher has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢69 (\$45.68), which is slightly above the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school does not have a problem with teacher availability. Teachers are very regular and punctual in school. On the day of the visit, all teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training. Topics covered include lesson plan preparation, teaching methodology, and register completion.

The school follows the public school curriculum prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes and collects lesson notes to inspect. He also inspects children's exercises and talks to the children about the teachers' performance. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who discuss inventories, time books, and asks for problems facing the school. Children are quite regular in school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for three days in the year. The school is in a small village so there is no need for radio announcements or deliberate advertisements for recruitment. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is the distance of about 3 kilometers to the nearest public school. They are noted that the quality of teaching and the school environment is better than the public school.

A PTA meets to discuss problems of the school. The school purchases textbooks for use. Parents are responsible for exercise books, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms. There is electricity, space for children to play, water, toilet, library, lighting, four computers and fans but no staff room and science lab. Teaching and learning materials are adequate.

The school fees are GH¢6 (\$3.97) per term. Forty-four children are offered free concessions this year. The school receives government aid in the form of circuit supervisors who come to discuss

problems the school faces. The school fees meet only 10% of the expenditures with the rest coming from the Norwegian Foundation. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Total Child International School, Lakpo Volta Region.

The school, founded in 2002, is associated with the True Light Bible Church. The mission of the school is to help the community by developing the Lakpo area through the total development of the child. It is a low-income school private school located in a village where parents are mostly peasant farmers cultivating cassava, maize and pepper. The school opens at 6.45am and closes at 2.30 pm.

The school ranges from Nursery to Junior High School. Total enrollment is 143, consisting of 72 (50.0%) girls and 71(50.0%) boys. The language of instruction is English. The school is not profit-seeking. The school is owned by a reverend minister. The head teacher is the administrator and has a teaching responsibility. There is a School Management Committee (SMC) that discusses issues of the school. The major problems facing the school are funding, teaching and learning materials, absenteeism, lateness and truancy by the children.

There are seven teachers (one female and six males), with a student/teacher ratio of 21:1. The majority (six of seven) are Senior High School certificate holders. Only one teacher has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢45 (\$29.79), which is below the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has a problem with teacher availability, with one or two teachers leaving every year. Teacher absenteeism and punctuality are problems. However, on the day of the visit six of seven teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training. Topics covered include lesson plan preparation, teaching methodology and the curriculum.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes and checking lesson notes. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check lesson notes, and observe teaching. Children are quite regular in school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for five days in the year. The school is in a small village so there is no need for radio announcements or deliberate advertisements for recruitment. The main reasons that parents give for choosing the school is the quality of teaching and academic excellence.

A PTA meets once every term to discuss problems of the school. Parents are responsible for textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms. There is no electricity, lighting, water, library, and computers. There is space for children to play, and 10 computers that are not being used. Teaching and learning materials are inadequate.

The school fees are GH¢7.50 (\$4.97) per term. The school receives no government aid. The school fees meet 100% of the expenditures. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Pentecost Basic School, Abanse, Agormanya. Eastern Region.

Established in 1983 and owned by the Church of Pentecost, the school is located in an area where the local people are mostly peasant farmers. The school opens at 8.15 am and closes at 3.30pm. Extra classes are organized at a cost of 10Gp per child per day.

The school ranges from Kindergarten to Junior High School 3. Total enrollment is 105, consisting of 55 (52.4%) boys and 50 (47.6%) girls. The languages of instruction are English and Dangme. The school is not profit-seeking and is registered with the Ministry of Education as a private school. The school is governed by the Area Pentecost Social Services Board. The major problems facing the school are infrastructure, low enrollment and payment of school fees. There are 11 classrooms for 11 classes, with dwarf walls and roofed with aluminum sheets. The classrooms are spacious.

There are nine teachers (three females and six males). Eight of the nine teachers are Senior High School certificate holders. One teacher has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The student/teacher ratio is 12:1. The typical teacher salary is GH¢50 (\$33.10), which is below the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). Teachers are very regular in school.

The school follows the public school curriculum prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes, collects lesson notes to inspect and observes classes in session. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who look into the deficiencies in the work of the teachers. Children are very regular in school. A PTA supports the school. Parents are responsible for textbooks, exercise books school uniforms, and examination and printing fees. There is electricity, lighting, water and toilet but no library, no staff room, and no science lab. The school fees per term is GH¢22.50 (\$14.90).

The school receives government aid in the form of textbooks if they are available. All the expenditures of the school are met from school fees. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Miracle International School, Tamale Northern Region.

Miracle International is a private school in Tamale founded in 1998 with the purpose of educating the children of Ghana. It is located in a low-income area of Tamale where parents are mostly peasant farmers cultivating maize. The school opens at 7.30am and closes at 1.40 pm.

The school ranges from Crèche to Junior High School. Total enrollment is 338, consisting of 173 (51.2%) girls and 165(48.8%) boys. The language of instruction used is English. The school is

profit-seeking and owned by a reverend minister. The school has a Board of Governors but a head teacher and an accountant administers the school. The head teacher has a teaching responsibility. The major problems facing the school are lack of information technology and lack of fencing which makes the school open to the public every time of the day.

There are 28 teachers (five females and 23 males), with a student/teacher ratio of 12:1. The majority (18 out of 28) are Senior High School certificate holders with six teachers holding a bachelor's degree. Four teachers have the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢100 (\$66.22), which is above the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has no problem with teacher availability. Teachers are punctual and regular in school. On the day of the visit, 23 of the 28 teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training. Topics covered include lesson plan preparation, teaching methodology and classroom management.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes, checking children's exercise books and lesson notes. The school provides remedial tuition at the cost of GH¢30 per child per term. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check teacher attendance. Recruitment is conducted through radio announcements and advertisements. Children are quite regular in school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for five days in the year.

A PTA meets once every term to discuss problems of the school. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is the good results from the Basic Education Certificate Examination. Parents are responsible for transportation, textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms.

There are 14 classrooms built with brick and roofed with aluminum sheets for 13 classes. There is no electricity, lighting, staff room, space for children to play or engage in sport, water, library, or computer. Teaching and learning materials are adequate.

The school fees are GH¢72.00 (\$47.66) per term. The school fees meet all of the expenditures. The school offers concessions for children who could not pay the school fees. Currently there are 20 children attending school for free. The school receives government aid in the form of School Registers and textbooks but these are not regular. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Buduburam Refugee Community School, Buduburam, Central Region

This school is a refugee community school. It began in 1990 when a group of Liberian refugee teachers decided to educate Liberian children. It is located at a refugee camp where regular

employment is minimal. The refugees depend on the United Nations for supply of essential needs. The school opens at 8.00am and closes at 2.20 pm.

The school ranges from Primary 1 to Junior High School 3. Total enrollment is 354, consisting of 195 (55.1%) girls and 159 (44.9%) boys. The language of instruction used is English. The school is profit-seeking and owned by the Liberian Refugee Welfare Council. The school has a Board of Governors but a registrar administers the school. The major problems facing the school are lack of funds to pay teachers regularly, lack of teaching and learning materials.

There are 20 teachers (three females and 17 males), with a student/teacher ratio of 18:1. The majority (19 out of 20) do not have a teachers' professional qualification. Only one teacher has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢50 (\$33.10), which is below the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has no problem with teacher availability but the turnover is high because of the low pay. Teacher absenteeism and tardiness are problems for the school. On the day of the visit all the teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training. Topics covered include lesson plan preparation, teaching methodology, classroom management and NALAP.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes, checking children's exercise books and lesson notes. The school provides remedial tuition at an extra cost. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors. Recruitment is conducted through announcements and advertisements in the camp. Children are quite regular in school.

There is a PTA that meets to discuss problems of the school. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is that the quality of teaching is good, the fees are low and there is a good teacher-student rapport. Parents are responsible for textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms.

There are 12 classrooms built with brick and roofed with aluminum sheets for nine classes. There is no electricity, lighting, library, and computers and a science lab. There is water, toilet, and staff room. Teaching and learning materials are inadequate.

The school fees are GH¢50.00 (\$33.10) per term. The school fees meet all of the expenditures. The school offers concessions for children who could not pay the school fees. Currently there are about 70 children attending school for free. The school receives government aid in the form of syllabus and textbooks but these are not regular. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Wilhem Educational Complex, Lebanon, Ashaiman, Greater Accra.

The school was founded in 2001 to cater for the less endowed and the poor children in the Ashaiman community. It is located in a low-income area of Ashaiman where parents are mostly traders, hawkers, artisans and unemployed. The school opens at 8.00am and closes at 3.00pm.

The school ranges from Kindergarten 1 to Junior High School 3. Total enrollment is 251, consisting of 124 (49.4%) girls and 127(50.6%) boys. The language of instruction used is English. The school is not profit-seeking. The school does not have a Board of Governors. An administrator runs the school with a head teacher. The head teacher has a teaching responsibility. The major problems facing the school are lack of water and transportation.

There are 13 teachers eight females and five males), with a student/teacher ratio of 19:1. The teachers have certificate and diploma qualifications with two bachelor's degree holders. None of the teachers has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢180 (\$119.16), which is above the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). Teacher availability and turnover are problems in the school. Teacher punctuality is a problem but the teachers are regular in school. On the day of the visit, 12 out of the 13 teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training. Topics covered include lesson plan preparation, teaching methodology, assessment and classroom management.

The school follows the public school curriculum prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes, checking children's exercise books and lesson notes. The school provides remedial tuition. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check the school's facilities, books and teacher attendance. Recruitment is conducted through radio announcements and advertisements. Children are quite regular in school.

A PTA meets to discuss problems of the school. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is the professionalism of the teachers, teacher commitment and the good results from the Basic Education Certificate Examination. The school obtained all passes in 2010. Parents are responsible for transportation, extra tuition, textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms.

There are 12 classrooms built with brick and roofed with aluminum sheets for 11 classes. There is electricity, lighting, staff room, water, toilet, computers, science lab, and staff room. There is no space for children to play or engage in sport, and library. Teaching and learning materials are adequate.

The school fees are GH¢70 (\$46.34) per term. The school fees do not meet all the school's expenditures. Additional support comes from a German Foundation. The school offers concessions for children who cannot pay the school fees. Currently about 30% of the children are

attending school for free. The school receives government aid in the form of syllabus and textbooks but these are not regular. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

J. C. Memorial School, New Generation Academy, Old Bortianor, Greater Accra.

Founded in 1997 with the purpose of helping children to go to school, J. C. Memorial School is located in a low income fishing community along the beach in Bortianor. The school opens at 7.45am and closes at 3.00pm for the Primary and 5.00pm for the Junior High School.

The school ranges from Nursery to Junior High School 3. Total enrollment is 186, consisting of 85 (45.7%) girls and 101(54.3%) boys. The languages of instruction used are English and Ga. The school is profit-seeking and owned by an individual. The school has no Board of Governors and is run by the head teacher who is also the proprietor. The major problems facing the school are lack of toilet and the incomplete school block.

There are 13 teachers (three females and 10 males), with a student/teacher ratio of 14:1. The teachers are all Senior High School certificate holders with none having the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢50 (\$33.10), which is below the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has a problem with teacher availability. Teachers are, however, punctual and regular in school. On the day of the visit, all the teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training. Topics covered include lesson plan preparation, teaching methodology, classroom management and preparation of teaching and learning materials.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes, checking children's exercise books and lesson notes. The school provides remedial tuition at the cost of 20GHp per child per day. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors. Recruitment is conducted through advertisements and the children. Children are quite regular in school.

A PTA meets to discuss problems of the school, though involvement by parents is passive. The main reason given by parents for choosing the school is the good quality of teaching. Parents are responsible for transportation, additional private tuition, textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms.

There are 10 classrooms built with brick and roofed with asbestos sheets for 12 classes. There is space for children to play or engage in sport, electricity and lighting but no staff room, water, library, science lab and computers. Teaching and learning materials are inadequate.

The school fees are GH¢10 per month (\$6.62). The school fees meet all of the expenditures. The school offers concessions for children who could not pay the school fees. The school receives government aid in the form of syllabuses and textbooks but these are not regular. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Avusu Royal Foundation Divine Academy, Afife, Volta Region

Established in 2001 with the purpose of educating the children in the Afife community, Avusu Royal Foundation Divine Academy is located in a low income area where parents are mostly peasant farmers cultivating cassava, rice, potatoes and sugar cane. The school opens at 7.30am and closes at 3.15pm.

The school ranges from Nursery to Junior High School 3. Total enrollment is 286, consisting of 143 (50.0%) girls and 143 (50.0%) boys. The languages of instruction used are English and Ewe. The school is profit-seeking and owned by a sub-chief of the town. The school has a no Board of Governors. The head teacher, proprietor, and PTA chair make important decisions concerning the school's administration. The head teacher has a teaching responsibility. The major problems facing the school are inadequate infrastructure, lack of sitting and writing places, and inadequate textbooks.

There are 10 teachers (three females and seven males), with a student/teacher ratio of 29:1. There are eight Senior High School certificate holders, one diploma holder and one bachelor's degree holder. None of the teachers has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢40 (\$26.48), which is below the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has no problem with teacher availability. Teachers are punctual and regular in school. On the day of the visit, nine of the 10 teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training. Topics covered include lesson plan preparation, teaching methodology and HIV/AIDS.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes, checking children's exercise books and lesson notes. The school provides remedial tuition at the cost of 20 GHp per child per day. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check infrastructure and certificate of operation. Recruitment is conducted through radio announcements, advertisements and personal contacts. Children are quite regular in school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for 5 days in the year. The Basic Education Certificate Examination results for 2010 were good. The school had a 100% pass. All the children qualified for placement in the senior high schools.

A PTA meets twice every term to discuss problems of the school. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is the good performance at the Basic Education Certificate

Examination. Parents also indicated that the public school teachers do not teach. There are 10 classrooms built with brick and roofed with aluminum sheets for 11 classes.

There is no electricity, lighting, staff room, space for children to play, library, science laboratory and computers. Teaching and learning materials are adequate. Parents are responsible for transportation, textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms.

The typical school fees are GH¢120 (\$79.44) per term. The school fees meet 70% of the expenditures. The school offers concessions for children who could not pay the school fees. Currently, five orphans attend school for free and another four receive financial assistance. The school receives government aid in the form of textbooks but these are not regular. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Aboagye Preparatory Academy, Wassaw Akutuase, Western Region

The school was founded in 1993 by a retired educationist with the purpose of providing basic literacy, numeracy and writing skills for children. It is located in a low-income area where parents are mostly peasant farmers cultivating food crops. The school opens at 7.30am and closes at 2.00pm.

The school ranges from Nursery to Primary 6. Total enrollment is 118, consisting of 55 (46.6%) girls and 63 (53.4%) boys. The languages of instruction used are English and Akan. The school is not profit-seeking. The school has a no Board of Governors. The proprietor, who is also the head of the school, manages the school. The head teacher has a teaching responsibility. The major problems facing the school are inadequate infrastructure and accommodation.

There are four teachers (three females and one male), with a student/teacher ratio of 30:1. There are three Senior High School certificate holders and one teacher pursuing a teacher training modular program. None of the teachers has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school except the proprietor. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢60 (\$39.72), which is below the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has problems with teacher availability coupled with a high teacher turnover. Teachers are, however, punctual and regular in school. On the day of the visit, three of the four teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training. Topics covered include teaching methodology with respect to reading, writing and arithmetic.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by watching the teachers teach from his office. He also checks the children's output. The school has not been inspected by government circuit supervisors perhaps due to its location, in a forest area with very bad access road. The

community is small so parents know about the school and they take their children to the school on their own.

A PTA serves only in an advisory capacity. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is the good quality of teaching. There are three classrooms built with brick and roofed with aluminum sheets, and two sheds for nine classes. Majority of the classes are combined.

There is electricity, lighting, water and toilet. There is no staff room, space for children to play or engage in sport, library, science laboratory and computers. Teaching and learning materials are woefully inadequate. Parents are responsible for transportation, textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms.

The typical school fees are GH¢8 (\$5.30) per term. The school fees meet all of the expenditures. The school offers concessions for children who could not pay the school fees. Currently, three children attend school for free. The school receives no government aid. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Dunyenyo Future Building Preparatory School, Anlo Afiadenyigba, Volta Region

Dunyenyo Future Building Preparatory School was founded in 1986 with the purpose of training children to trust in God and build their future. It is located in a low-income area where parents are mostly farmers cultivating maize, cassava, vegetables, and coconut oil. They are also fishmongers. The school opens at 8.00am and closes at 2.10pm.

The school ranges from Nursery to Junior High School 3. Total enrollment is 137, consisting of 64 (46.7%) girls and 73(53.3%) boys. The languages of instruction used are English and Ewe. The school is not profit-seeking and owned by a woman. The school has no Board of Governors. The head teacher and proprietor make important decisions concerning the school's administration. The head teacher has a teaching responsibility. The major problems facing the school are inadequate infrastructure, lack of funding.

There are six teachers (three females and three males), with a student/teacher ratio of 23:1. There are five Senior High School certificate holders, and one Certificate A teacher. One of the teachers has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢30 (\$19.86), which is below the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has a problem with teacher availability, with a high turnover. Teachers are often late for school but are regular. On the day of the visit, five of the six teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training. Topics treated include lesson plan preparation, teaching methodology and classroom management.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes. The school provides remedial tuition at the cost of 30GHp per child per week. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check for registration of JHS 3 children. Recruitment is conducted through personal contacts because it is a small community. Children are quite regular in school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for three days in the year.

A PTA met three times in the previous year to discuss infrastructure, extra classes and studies. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is the good quality of teaching and care given to the children. There are five classrooms for eight classes. The classrooms are roofed with aluminum sheets but the walls are grass. One classroom has no wall and there is a class under a tree.

There is no electricity, lighting, staff room, space for children to play or engage in sport, library, science laboratory, nor are there computers. The school has water. Teaching and learning materials are adequate. Parents are responsible for transportation, textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms.

The typical school fees are GH¢7.20 (\$4.77) per term. The school fees meet all of the expenditures. The school offers concessions for children who could not pay the school fees. Currently, one child attends school for free. The school receives no government aid. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Greater Care International School. Nima, Greater Accra Region.

Located in a low-income area within the capital city, Accra, Greater Care International School was founded in 1996 with the purpose of providing education to out-of-school children in the community. Parents here are mostly petty traders. The school opens at 8.00am and closes at 3.00pm.

The school ranges from Nursery to Junior High School 3. Total enrollment is 446, consisting of 218 (48.9%) girls and 228 (51.1%) boys. The languages of instruction used are English and Twi. The school is non-profit-seeking and owned by a woman. The school has a four-member Management Committee that governs the school. The committee consists of the head teacher, proprietress, a sibling and a friend. The major problems facing the school are inadequate infrastructure, noisy environment, non-payment of school fees, inadequate textbooks, and lack of ventilation.

There are 15 teachers (three females and 12 males), with a student/teacher ratio of 30:1. There are nine Senior High School certificate holders, one diploma holder, two Certificate 'A' holders, three bachelor's degree holders. Two of the teachers have the requisite qualification to teach in a

public school. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training on NALAP and Information and Communication Technology (ICT). The typical teacher's monthly salary is GH¢50.00 (\$33.10) (with free lunch), which is below the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has problems with teacher punctuality and teacher absenteeism. However, teachers are mostly available and regular in school. On the day of the visit, all 15 teachers were present. The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting classrooms. The school provides remedial tuition at the cost of 20Gp per child per day. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check infrastructure, observe classes and checks lesson notes. Recruitment is conducted through schools graduation ceremonies. Children are quite regular in school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for 10 days in the year. The Basic Education Certificate Examination results for 2010 were good. The school had a 65% passes. Twenty out of 31 candidates obtained the aggregates needed to be placed in senior high school.

The PTA is dormant. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is the fear of letting their wards cross a main road. There are 10 classrooms for 11 classes. The classrooms are built with cement bricks and have a cement floor and an annexed facility for the kindergarten.

There is electricity, lighting, staff room, space for children to play or engage in sport, toilet, water, library and computers. There is no science lab. Teaching and learning materials are however inadequate. Parents are responsible for textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, additional private tuition, extra curriculum activities and school uniforms.

The typical school fees are GH¢45.00 (\$29.79) per term. The school fees meet 70% of the expenditures. The school offers concessions for children who could not pay the school fees. Currently, 37 children attend school for free. The school receives government aid in the form of textbooks and syllabi when they are available. The school has received a loan from a lending institution.

Almighty Safo International School. Atobiase Adansi, Ashanti Region.

Almighty Safo was founded in 2000 with the purpose of educating and training future leaders. It is located in a low-income area where parents are mostly cocoa and rice farmers. The school opens at 8:15am and closes at 2:30pm.

The school ranges from Nursery to Junior High School 3. Total enrollment is 422, consisting of 214 (50.7%) girls and 208(49.3%) boys. The language of instruction used is English. The school is not profit-seeking and owned by an individual. The school is governed by a 12 member School Management Committee who take important decisions concerning the school's administration. The head teacher, who is the administrator, has teaching responsibility. The major problems

facing the school are inadequate infrastructure and inadequate teaching and learning materials and infrastructure.

There are 11 teachers (4 females and 7 males), with a student/teacher ratio of 38:1. There are seven Senior High School certificate holders and four Certificate 'A' holders thus, four of the teachers have the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher's monthly salary is GH¢80.00 (\$52.96), (with free lunch) which is above the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). Teachers are punctual and regular in school. On the day of the visit, seven of the 11 teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training. Topics covered include teaching methodology and classroom management.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting and sometimes sitting in the classes and checking lesson notes. The school provides remedial tuition at no cost. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check school register and attendance. Recruitment is conducted through announcements at the community information center and by personal contacts. Children are quite regular in school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for five days in the year. The Basic Education Certificate Examination results for 2010 were good with the school achieving 100% pass. All the children qualified for placement in the senior high schools.

There is a PTA that meets monthly to discuss problems of the school. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is the good academic performance, neat dressing of children and proficiency in English. There are eight classrooms built with bricks and roofed with aluminum sheets (without doors and windows) for 12 classes.

There is no electricity, lighting, water, or library. The school however, has a staff room, a toilet, a science laboratory, three buses, and computers. Teaching and learning materials are adequate. Parents are responsible exercise books, school uniforms and printing and examination fees. The typical school fees are GH¢7.00 (\$4.63) per term but free for children in KG to Primary 3. The school fees meet 30% of the expenditures. The school offers fee concessions for children in Nursery and Primary 1-3 who are currently attending school for free. About 30% of the children receive financial assistance of GH¢1.00 (\$.66) per child per week. The school does not receive aid from the government and is currently not receiving a loan from any lending institution.

Country Side Orphanage. Awutu Bawjiase, Central Region

Country Side Orphanage was founded in 1986 with the purpose of catering for the welfare of orphans and other poor children the community. It is located in a low-income area at the outskirts of Bawjiase where the inhabitants are mostly farmers and traders. The school opens at 8:45am and closes at 2:40pm.

The school ranges from Crèche to Junior High School 3. Total enrollment is 262, consisting of 130 (49.6%) girls and 132 (50.40%) boys. The languages of instruction used are English and Fanti. The school is non-profit-seeking and owned by a married couple. It is governed by a management board/committee. The proprietor has no teaching responsibility. The major problem facing the school is lack of professional teachers.

There are 18 teachers (nine females and nine males), with a student/teacher ratio of 15:1. All the teachers are untrained and none of them has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical employee monthly salary is GH¢30.00 (\$19.86), which is below the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has no problem with teacher availability but the turnover is quite high. On the average, three teachers leave the school each year. Teacher absenteeism is sometimes a problem but teachers are regular. On the day of the visit, all 18 teachers were present. They have benefitted from in-service training on NALAP.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The school does not provide remedial tuition. The school is inspected and quality of instruction monitored by government circuit supervisors who check and intervene on the human resource base. Recruitment is conducted through community sensitization and personal contacts. Children are quite regular in school. The school will register its first group of candidates for the Basic Education Certificate Examination in the 2010/11 academic year.

There is a PTA that meets often to discuss problems of the school. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is the better tuition offered with relatively cheaper fees as compared to the public schools. There are 13 classrooms comprised of six permanent (cement) block and seven temporary dwarf walls roofed with aluminum sheets for 11 classes.

However, there is no science lab or staff room. There is space for children to play or engage in sport, electricity, water, a library, a computer, and transportation. Teaching and learning materials are inadequate. Parents are responsible for textbooks, and examination fees.

The typical school fees are GH¢20 (\$13.24) per term which is used to acquire infrastructure. The school offers concessions for children who could not pay the school fees. Currently there are 25 children attending school for free. The school receives government aid in the form of textbooks when they are available. The school has received a loan from a lending institution.

Smile Child Foundation. Lolito Dabala, Volta Region

Located in a low income farming area where parents mainly cultivate cassava and maize Smile Child Foundation was founded in 2003. The school opens at 8:15am and closes at 2.15pm.

The school ranges from Nursery to Primary 4. Total enrollment is 80, consisting of 38 (47.5%) girls and 42 (52.5%) boys. The languages of instruction used are English and Ewe. The school is not-profit-seeking and owned by a woman in the community. The school has a Board of Governors (that includes the head teacher and proprietor) who takes important decisions concerning the school's administration. The head teacher has a teaching responsibility. The major problems facing the school are inadequate infrastructure, lack of electricity, lack of payment of school fees and funding.

There are five teachers (one female and four males), with a student/teacher ratio of 16:1. There are five Senior High School certificate holders. None of the teachers has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢30 (\$19.86), which is below the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has no problem with teacher absenteeism and teacher punctuality but has a high rate of staff turnover. On the day of the visit, four of the five teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training on teaching methodology.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes, checking lesson notes and attendance register. The school does not provide remedial tuition. The school is in a very small village so everyone knows about the school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for 10 days in the year.

There is a PTA that meets to discuss problems of the school. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is to ensure better education for their wards. There are four classrooms built with cement brick and roofed with aluminum sheets for eight classes.

There is no electricity, lighting, staff room, space for children to play or engage in sport, library, science laboratory, or computer. There is water and toilet. Teaching and learning materials are inadequate. Parents are responsible for transportation, textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms.

The typical school fees are GH¢7.50 (\$4.97) per term. The school fees meet 70% of the expenditures. The school offers concessions for children who could not pay the school fees. Currently, five children attend school for free and another with reduced fees. The school receives government aid in the form of textbooks and chalk but these are not regular. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

The Shepherd Preparatory School. Nkurakan, Yilo Krobo. Eastern Region

Established in 2002 with the purpose of helping the wards of market women, the school is located in a low-income area where most parents are peasant farmers and petty traders. The school opens at 8:10am and closes at 2.00pm.

The school ranges from Nursery to Primary 4. Total enrollment is 75, consisting of 36 (48%) girls and 39 (52%) boys. The languages of instruction used are English and Ga Dangme. The school is not-profit-seeking and owned by a woman in the community. The school has no Board of Governors thus the head teacher and proprietor take important decisions concerning the school's administration. The proprietor acts as the head teacher and has no teaching responsibility. The school's major problem is inadequate funding and infrastructure.

There are four teachers and one attendant (three females and two males), with a student/teacher ratio of 15:1. There are four Senior High School certificate holders. None of the teachers has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢30 (\$19.86), which is below the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has a problem with teacher absenteeism and teacher punctuality, with a high rate of staff turnover. On the day of the visit, all the teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training on teaching methodology, lesson planning and psychology of learning.

The school follows the public school curriculum prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the quality of instruction by visiting the classes. The school does not provide remedial tuition. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check enrollment, textbooks and infrastructure. Recruitment is mainly conducted through personal contacts. Children are quite regular in school.

A PTA meets to discuss the problems of the school. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is the quality tuition. There are four sheds in an open area that is partitioned in a compound house for six classes.

There is electricity, water, toilet, lighting, space for children to play or engage in sport and a computer. The school, however, does not have a science laboratory, library and staff room, Teaching and learning materials are inadequate. Parents are responsible for textbooks and school uniforms.

The typical school fees are GH¢20.00 (\$13.24) per term. The school fees meet part of the school's expenditures. The school offers concessions for children who cannot pay the school fees. Currently, six children attend for free. The school receives government aid in the form of textbooks as and when they are available. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Academy for Christian Training, Sumbrugu-Kulbia, Upper East Region.

Academy for Christian Training was founded in 2002 by a Church of Christ missionary, Bro. Jerry Reynolds, from the United States with the purpose of helping the less privileged in society and inculcating the word of God in the children. It is located in a low-income area where parents are mainly involved in millet cultivation and basket weaving. The school opens at 8am and closes at 2pm.

The school ranges from Kindergarten to Primary 6. Total enrollment is 113, consisting of 49 (43.4%) girls and 62 (56.6%) boys. The language of instruction is English. The school is not-profit-seeking and owned the Church of Christ. The school has no Board of Governors but the head teacher and church leaders make important decisions concerning the school's administration. The head teacher has a teaching responsibility. The major problems facing the school are inadequate infrastructure and lack of potable drinking water.

There are eight teachers (three females and five males), with a student/teacher ratio of 14:1. All eight teachers are Senior High School certificate holders and do not have the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢120.00 (\$79.44), which is above the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has no problem with teacher absenteeism, teacher punctuality, availability and staff turnover. On the day of the visit, seven of the eight teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training on teaching methodology, preparation of lesson notes and general classroom management.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting and sitting in the classes and checking lesson notes. The school does not provide remedial tuition. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check lesson notes, infrastructure and curriculum used by the school. Recruitment is mainly conducted through advertisements on signposts and church announcements and personal contacts. Children are quite regular in school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for 10 days in the year.

There is a PTA that meets twice in a term to discuss problems of the school. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is the lack of proficiency in English in public schools and the high academic performance of the school. There are five classrooms built with cement brick and roofed with aluminum sheets for five classes. The other three classes use a chapel.

There is electricity, lighting, space for children to play or engage in sport, a first aid box, and water. The school does not have a staff room, library, science laboratory and computers. Parents are responsible for transportation, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms.

The typical school fees are GH¢11.70 (\$7.75) per term. The school fees meet 45% of the expenditures. The school offers concessions for children who are unable to pay the school fees. Currently, five children attend school for free. The school receives no aid from the government in any form. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Christ Care Preparatory School. Mmofra Akyinim, Elmina. Central Region.

A well-supported school by Tomorrows Stars, an NGO based in the United States of America, Christ Care Preparatory School was founded in 1998. It is located in a low-income area where parents are mainly fishmongers. The Primary unit opens at 8.00am while the Junior High unit opens at 7.30 am. Both units close at 3:30pm.

The school ranges from Nursery to Junior High School 3. Total enrollment is 365, consisting of 188 (51.5%) girls and 177 (48.5%) boys. English is the medium of instruction in the school. The school is not-profit-seeking and owned by a man in the community. The school has a five-member Board of Governors who takes important decisions concerning the school's administration. The head teacher has a teaching responsibility. The major problems facing the school are inadequate infrastructure and lack textbooks.

There are 16 teachers (eight females and eight males), with a student/teacher ratio of 23:1. All the teachers are Senior High School certificate holders. None of the teachers has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher's monthly salary is GH¢500 (\$331), which is paid by Tomorrows Stars, an NGO based in the United States of America. The school has no problem with teacher absenteeism, punctuality, availability and staff turnover. On the day of the visit, all 16 teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training on teaching reading, teaching methodology, lesson planning and innovations.

The school follows the public school curriculum prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes and going round two or three times a day. The school provides remedial tuition at 10Gp per child per day. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check lesson notes and school attendance. Recruitment is mainly conducted through personal contacts. The performance of the JHS in the 2010 BECE had 23 of 28 children qualifying for the Senior High Schools giving a pass rate of 89%. The community is small so everyone knows about the school's performance and this attracts parents to bring their children to the school. Children are quite regular in school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for five days in the year.

A PTA meets occasionally to discuss issues pertaining to the school. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is good academic performance as well as poor tuition in the

public schools. There are 12 classrooms built with cement brick and roofed with aluminum sheets for 12 classes.

There is no staff room, space for children to play or engage in sport, library and science laboratory. The school has electricity, lighting, and computers. Teaching and learning materials are adequate. Parents are responsible for transportation, textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, computer classes, extra-curriculum activities, extra tuition and school uniforms.

The typical school fees are GH¢24.00 (\$15.89) per term. The school fees meet all of the expenditures. The school offers concessions for children who could not pay the school fees. Currently, five children attend school for free. The school does not receive government aid. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Joy Preparatory School. Chuchuliga-Azugyeri, Upper East Region.

Established in 1999 purposely to provide children with better education, the school is located in a deprived farming area where parents mainly cultivate groundnut and maize. The school opens at 8am and closes at 2pm.

The school ranges from Nursery to Primary 6. Total enrollment is 323, consisting of 167 (51.7%) girls and 156 (48.3%) boys. The language of instruction is English. The school is not-profit-seeking and owned by the Assemblies of God Church. The school has no Board of Governors. The head teacher and proprietor make important decisions concerning the school's administration. The head teacher has no teaching responsibility. The major problems facing the school are inadequate infrastructure and lack of electricity and a means of transportation.

There are nine teachers (four females and five males), with a student/teacher ratio of 36:1. All nine teachers are Senior High School certificate holders. None of the teachers has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢50 (\$31.10), which is below the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has no problem with teacher absenteeism punctuality, availability and staff turnover. On the day of the visit, eight of nine teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training on how to handle pre-school children and how to prepare lesson plans.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by going round and sitting in the classes. The school provides remedial tuition at no cost. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check infrastructure. Recruitment is mainly conducted through the children's school uniform and graduation ceremony for Primary 6 children. Children are quite regular in school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for 4 days in the year.

A PTA meets once a term to discuss problems of the school. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is to ensure better education for their wards and good supervision of the children. There are four classrooms built with cement brick and roofed with aluminum sheets, and three sheds. Two classes are conducted under trees.

There is no electricity, lighting, staff room, space for children to play or engage in sport, library, science laboratory, or computer. Teaching and learning materials are inadequate. Parents are responsible for transportation, exercise books, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms.

The typical school fees are GH¢11.50 (\$7.61) per term. The school fees meet all of the expenditures. The school offers concessions for children who could not pay the school fees. Currently, ten children attend school for free. The school receives government aid in the form of textbooks and syllabi but these are not regular. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Queen of Peace Academy. Buipe-Yilapa, Northern Region

This church-sponsored school was founded in 2006 by the Claretian Fathers from Nigeria. It is located in a low income farming area. The school opens at 8am and closes at 1:30pm.

The school ranges from Nursery to Primary 6. Total enrollment is 147, consisting of 55 (37.4%) girls and 92(62.6%) boys. The language of instruction used is English. The school is not for profit and owned by the Queen of Peace Catholic Church. The school has no Board of Governors. The proprietor makes important decisions concerning the school's administration. The head teacher has a teaching responsibility. The major problems facing the school are inadequate infrastructure, lack of teaching and learning materials and inadequate number of teachers.

There are six teachers (two females and four males), with a student/teacher ratio of 25:1. There are five Senior High School certificate holders. None of the teachers has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢40 (\$26.48), which is below the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has no problem with teacher absenteeism, teacher punctuality and staff turnover. On the day of the visit, three of the five teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training on early childhood development.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes. The school does not provide remedial tuition. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check lesson

notes and school enrollment. Recruitment is mainly conducted through personal contacts and advertisements. Children are quite regular in school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for one day in the year.

A PTA meets once a term to discuss problems of the school. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is congestion in the public schools, long distance to the public school as well as relatively poor tuition in the public schools. There are eight classrooms for the eight classes.

There is no electricity, lighting, staff room, space for children to play or engage in sport, library, science laboratory, or computer. Teaching and learning materials are inadequate. Parents are responsible for transportation, exercise books, and school uniforms.

The typical school fees are GH¢10.00 (\$6.62) per term. The school fees meet 35% of the expenditures. The school does not offer concessions to children who cannot pay the school fees. The school receives government aid in the form of textbooks and chalk but these are not regular. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Ibaadu Rahman Arabic & English Preparatory School. Assin Ando, Central Region

Established in 2004 as the first private Arabic and English school in the town, Ibaadu Rahman Arabic & English Preparatory School is located in a deprived area where parents mainly cultivate cassava, plantain, cocoa and maize. The Primary unit opens at 8am while the Junior High unit opens at 7.00am. The school closes at 2pm with extra classes extending from 2.10pm – 3.00pm.

The school ranges from Nursery to Junior High School 2. Total enrollment is 239, consisting of 112 (46.9%) girls and 127 (53.1%) boys. The language of instruction is English. The school is not-profit-seeking and owned by a man in the community. The school has a nine-member school management committee (that includes the head teacher and proprietor) who make important decisions concerning the school's administration. The head teacher has a teaching responsibility. The major problem facing the school is children's inability to pay school fees.

There are eight teachers (two females and six males), with a student/teacher ratio of 30:1. All eight teachers are Senior High School certificate holders. None of the teachers has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢40.00 (\$26.48), which is below the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has no problem with teacher absenteeism, and punctuality. On the day of the visit, seven of the eight teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training on lesson planning and teaching methodology.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes. The school provides remedial tuition at the cost of 30Gp per child per week. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check infrastructure. Recruitment is mainly done through personal contacts. It is the first private school in the area and the only English/Arabic school. Children are quite regular in school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for four days in the year.

A PTA meets twice every term to discuss problems of the school. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is because it is the only Arabic/English-speaking school in the community as well as quality tuition. There are nine classrooms. The JHS block is well built with cement blocks but the primary block has dwarf walls and open windows with no doors.

There is no electricity, lighting, staff room, science laboratory and computers. There is however space for children to play or engage in sport, library, water and toilet. Teaching and learning materials are inadequate. Parents are responsible for transportation, textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, extra-curriculum activities, additional private tuition and school uniforms.

The typical school fees are GH¢15.00 (\$9.93) per term. The school fees meet all of the expenditures. The school offers concessions for children who could not pay the school fees. Currently, 20 children attend school for free. The school receives government aid in the form of textbooks. The school has received a loan from a lending institution.

Omega Foundation Schools. Ksoa-Galilea, Greater Accra Region.

Omega Foundation School was founded in 2010 to provide quality and affordable education to every needy and deprived child. It is located in a deprived area near a lake and serves parents who are fishermen, carpenters, traders and unemployed. The school opens at 8:30am and closes at 3pm.

The school ranges from Kindergarten to Junior High School 1. Total enrollment is 395, consisting of 212 (53.7%) girls and 183 (46.3%) boys. The languages of instruction used are English and Ga. The school is profit-seeking and owned by the Omega Foundation. The school has a five-member Board of Governors that includes the CEO of Omega Foundation, general administrator, finance officer, cluster manager and school manager. The head teacher has no teaching responsibility. The major problems facing the school are difficulty in payment of school fees.

There are 13 teachers (nine females and four males), with a student/teacher ratio of 30:1. There are 12 Senior High School certificate holders. None of the teachers has the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢65.00 (\$43.03), which is

above the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has no problem with teacher absenteeism, punctuality, availability and staff turnover. On the day of the visit, all the teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training on lesson plan preparation of teaching and learning materials and teaching methodology.

The school follows the public school curriculum prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes, checking lesson notes and class exercises. The school does not provide remedial tuition. The school has not had any inspection from government circuit supervisors since its establishment. Recruitment is mainly conducted through advertisements by staff and the sensitization of the community members, personal contacts and banners. Children are quite regular in school.

The school has yet to form a PTA. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is the quality of tuition in private schools as compared with public schools and affordability. There are 13 classrooms built with cement brick for 11 classes.

The school has electricity, lighting, staff room, space for children to play or engage in sport, and computers. Teaching and learning materials are adequate. Parents are responsible for transportation, textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms.

The typical school fees are GH¢60.00 (\$39.72) per term. The school fees meet 70% of the expenditures. The school offers concessions for children who cannot pay the school fees. The school has yet to receive government aid. The school has received a loan from a Micro Finance Company with a 12% interest rate per annum.

SOS Village. Kambonayili-Tamale, Northern Region

This school began in 2010 with the purpose of giving quality education to children. The school has two categories of children. These are the children of parents in the neighborhood and SOS children. The school is located in a low-income area where most parents are peasant farmers. The school opens at 7.50 am and closes at 3:30pm.

The school ranges from Nursery to Junior High School 3. Total enrollment is 189, consisting of 81 (42.9%) girls and 108 (57.1%) boys. The language of instruction is English. The school is not-profit-seeking and owned by SOS Ghana. The school has no Board of Governors but the head teacher administers the school and reports to the directors of SOS Ghana. The school's administrators do not have teaching responsibilities. The major problem facing the school concerns teacher retention.

There are 18 teachers (four females and 14 males), with a student/teacher ratio of 11:1. All the teachers (one master's degree holder, 15 bachelor's degree holder and two diploma holders, all in

education) are professionally qualified to teach in any public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢600.00 (\$397.20), which is above the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has problems with teacher availability and turnover. Teacher absenteeism and lateness are no problems for the school. On the day of the visit, 15 of the 18 teachers were present.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting classes; checking children's exercise books; verifying attendance of both children and teachers; and reviewing lesson notes. The school has been inspected by government circuit supervisors who checked school enrollment and staffing. Recruitment is conducted through announcements and advertisements. Children are quite regular in school since it began operating.

A PTA meets once a term to discuss issues relating to the school. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is that the quality of teaching is good and clean environment. Parents are responsible for textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, transportation and school uniforms.

There are 12 classrooms for 12 classes. There is electricity, lighting, computers, library, water and toilet. The school has no laboratory or staff room. Teaching and learning materials are inadequate.

The typical school fees (including feeding) are GH¢348.00 (\$230.38) for Primary school and GH¢400.00 (\$264.80) per term for JHS. The fees meet only 10% of the school's expenditures. The school only offers concessions for SOS children who cannot pay the school fees. Currently there are 47 children attending school for free who are also being sheltered and catered to by the school. The school has not yet received any aid from the government in any form. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

International Needs Network. Amrahia-Dodowa, Greater Accra Region

The school, which is not-profit-seeking and owned by International Needs Network, an NGO, began with the mission to help educate the poor and needy children in the community and its surroundings. The school opens at 7.30am and closes at 3pm.

The school ranges from Kindergarten 1 to Junior High School 3. Total enrollment is 574, consisting of 283 (49.3%) girls and 291 (50.7%) boys. The languages of instruction are English and Ga. The school has a Board of Governors that administers the school. The major problem facing the school is lack of discipline by the children.

There are 17 teachers (11 females and six males), consisting six Senior High School Certificate holders, two 'A' Level holders, six Certificate 'A' holders, and three bachelor's degree holders

with a student/teacher ratio of 34:1. The majority (11 of 17) do not have a teachers' professional qualification required to teach in a public school. Six teachers have the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The school has no problem with teacher availability, staff turnover, teacher absenteeism and punctuality. On the day of the visit, all teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training. Topics covered included lesson plan preparation, teaching methodology and preparation of teaching and learning materials.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes and checking lesson notes. The school does not provide remedial tuition. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check lesson notes and class exercises. Recruitment is conducted through personal contact. Children are quite regular in school.

A PTA meets to discuss problems of the school. The main reasons given by parents for choosing the school is that the quality of teaching is good, the fees are low and free textbooks provided by the school. Parents are responsible for exercise books, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms.

There are 11 classrooms built with brick and roofed with aluminum sheets for 11 classes. There is electricity, lighting, library, computers, water, toilet, and staff room. There is space for children to play or engage in sport. Teaching and learning materials are inadequate.

The school fees are GH¢8.00 (\$5.30) per term. The school fees meet all of the expenditures. The school offers concessions for children who could not pay the school fees. The school does not receive government aid. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Obenyemi Presby Primary & L/A Junior High School. Yilo Krobo, Eastern Region.

This is a public school founded in 1905 with the purpose of providing easy accessibility to education for all children of school going age. It is located in a rural community where parents are mostly farmers. The school opens at 8am. The Primary unit closes at 2.00pm while the JHS unit closes at 2.20pm.

The school ranges from Kindergarten to Junior High School 3. Total enrollment is 406, consisting of 189 (46.6%) girls and 217(53.4%) boys. The languages of instruction used are English and Dangme. The school is owned by the Presbyterian Church and the District Assembly. The school has a School Management Committee that takes important decisions concerning the school's administration. The head teacher has teaching responsibility. The major problems facing the school are inadequate infrastructure and lack of funding. In the 2010 BECE only 2 out of 11 (i.e., 8%) obtained the requisite grade for admission to Senior High Schools.

There are 19 teachers (six females and 13 males), with a student/teacher ratio of 21:1. Sixteen teachers have the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The school has no problem with teacher availability, staff turnover and teacher absenteeism. Teachers are however, often late to school. On the day of the visit, 14 of the 19 teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training on NALAP.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes, checking exercises and lesson notes. The school provides remedial tuition at no cost. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check lesson notes, infrastructure and attendance of both teachers and students. Recruitment is conducted through personal contacts because it is a small community. Children are quite regular in school.

A PTA meets to discuss infrastructure, extra classes, and other issues pertaining to the school. There are 13 classrooms for 11 classes. The JHS classrooms are roofed with aluminum sheets but the Primary classes are under pavilions.

There is no electricity, lighting, staff room, science laboratory and computers. The school has water, toilets and a library. Teaching and learning materials are adequate. Parents are responsible for transportation, exercise books, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms. Government Capitation grants cater to all school expenditure as well as tuition so all children attend school for free. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Ataasi Nkwanta Methodist Primary School. Ataasi Nkwanta, Ashanti Region

A public school, founded in 1964 with the purpose of training children to aim high, it is located in a deprived area where parents are mostly peasant farmers cultivating rice and cocoa. The school opens at 8.00am and closes at 1.30pm.

The school ranges from Nursery to Junior Primary 6. Total enrollment is 335, consisting of 180 (53.7%) girls and 155 (46.3%) boys. The languages of instruction are English and Twi. The school is public and owned dually by the government and the Methodist Church. The school has a seven-member school management committee that takes important decisions concerning the school's administration. The head teacher has no teaching responsibility. The major problems facing the school are inadequate infrastructure, teaching and learning materials, teenage pregnancy, and child truancy.

There are 12 teachers (six females and six males), with a student/teacher ratio of 28:1. There are 10 diploma holders who have the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢350.00 (\$231.70), which is above the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has a problem with teacher availability. Teachers are, however,

punctual and regular. On the day of the visit, 10 of the 12 teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training. Topics covered include ICT and Mathematics education. Performance at the BECE is very poor. In the 2010 examination, only two of 43 (5%) qualified for admission into Senior High School.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes and inspects lesson notes. The school provides remedial tuition at the cost of 10 Gp per child per day. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check lesson notes, exercise books, teaching and learning materials, children's dressing, and timetable. Children are quite regular in school. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for five days in the year.

A PTA meets to discuss problems of the school. There are nine classrooms for the nine classes but these are in very poor condition except for the Lower Primary classes.

There is no electricity, lighting, staff room, library, water, science laboratory and computers. Teaching and learning materials are adequate. Parents are responsible for transportation, exercise books and school uniforms.

Government Capitation grants cater to all school expenditure as well as tuition so all children attend school for free. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

Akotosu D/A Primary Junior & High School. Akotosu-Atobiase, Western Region

Akotosu D/A Primary Junior & High School is a public school located in a deprived area where parents are mostly peasant farmers cultivating cocoa and palm fruits. The school opens at 8.15am with the primary unit closing at 1.30pm and the JHS unit at 2.30pm.

The school ranges from Nursery to Junior High School 3. Total enrollment is 250, consisting of 93 (37.2%) girls and 157 (62.8%) boys. The languages of instruction are English and Fante. The school is public and managed by the District Assembly. The school has a six-member school management committee that takes important decisions concerning the school's administration. It meets four times per year. The head teacher has no teaching responsibility. The major problems facing the school are inadequate infrastructure and lack of teachers.

There are five male teachers resulting in a student/teacher ratio of 50:1. There is one Senior High School certificate holder, three Certificate 'A' teachers and a Higher National Diploma holder. Three teachers have the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher monthly salary is GH¢350.00 (\$231.70), which is above the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has a problem with teacher availability, absenteeism and teacher punctuality. The school needs 15 teachers but has only five. On the day of the visit, only one of

the five teachers was present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training on lesson plan preparation.

The school follows the public school curriculum as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes and checking children's output. The school provides no remedial tuition. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check lesson notes and school attendance. Children are quite regular in school. Out of the eight children presented for the 2010 BECE, six (75%) qualified for admission into Senior High Schools.

There is a PTA that rarely meets to discuss school issues since the chair passed away. There are 10 classrooms for 12 classes but the primary school block collapsed earlier in 2010. The classrooms are therefore extremely inadequate.

There is no electricity, lighting, staff room, library, water, science laboratory and computers. Teaching and learning materials are inadequate. Parents are responsible for transportation, textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees and school uniforms.

Government Capitation grants cater to all school expenditure as well as tuition so all children attend school for free. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution

Abakam Basic School. Abakam Central Region

Established in 1993 as a public school, it is located in a deprived community where parents are mostly fishermen and fishmongers. The school opens at 8.00am and closes at 2.10pm.

The school ranges from Kindergarten to Junior High School 3. Total enrollment is 268, consisting of 134 (50%) girls and 134 (50%) boys. The languages of instruction used are English and Ewe. The school is public. The school has a School Management Committee (SMC). The head teacher makes important decisions concerning the school's administration. The head teacher has no teaching responsibility. The major problems facing the school are inadequate infrastructure, truancy, community interference, no toilet and lack of funding.

There are 20 teachers (14 females and six males), with a student/teacher ratio of 13:1. There are four Senior High School certificate holders, six Certificate 'A' teacher, eight bachelor's degree holders and two holders of a diploma in education. Sixteen teachers have the requisite qualification to teach in a public school. The typical teacher's monthly salary is GH¢400.00 (\$264.80), which is above the minimum wage of GH¢62.20 (\$41.19). The school has no problem with teacher availability, teacher absenteeism and staff turnover. However, teachers are often late for school. On the day of the visit, all 20 teachers were present. The teachers have benefitted from in-service training in HIV/AIDS education and NALAP.

The school follows the public school curriculum prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The head teacher monitors the instruction by visiting the classes. The school does not provide remedial tuition. The school is inspected by government circuit supervisors who check class exercises, lesson notes and teacher attendance. On the average, a child absents himself/herself for five days in the year. The 2010 BECE results were poor as two of 17 (12%) qualified for admission into a Senior High School.

A PTA meets to discuss school problems. There are 11 classrooms for 11 classes but they are in very poor condition. The classrooms are very hot during the hot seasons and leak profusely during the rainy season.

There is no lighting, toilet, staff room, space for children to play or engage in sport, library, science laboratory, or water. The school has two functioning computers. Teaching and learning materials are inadequate. Parents are responsible for transportation, textbooks, exercise books, printing and examination fees, and school uniforms.

Government Capitation grants cater to all school expenditure as well as tuition so all children attend school for free. The school has not received a loan from any lending institution.

MEMORANDUM-TRIP REPORT

TO: USAID/Ghana, Mission Director Robert Hellyer
USAID/Ghana/ED Director, Mr. Lawrence Dolan

From: USAID/EGAT/ED, Suezan Lee

Subject: GDA and DCA Pilot Program On Private Financing For Private Education (Developing Operational Best Practices And Lessons Learned For Financing Private Basic Education – Pilot Program) Accra Trip Report and Findings

Cc: Joseph Carney, Gregory Loos, James Hoxeng, Yolande Miller-Grandvaux, Aleta Williams, Anthony Vaganos, John Wasielewski, Alison Eskesen, Avery Ouellette

Purpose of TDY: To assess the private school market, to design a technical assistance package for the poorer private schools and to identify and link a microfinance institution to the lower end of the private school market.
Dates travelled: January 20-February 1, 2008

Outcome: 20 private school surveys were implemented and findings obtained, identified key organizations and individuals that will be a part of the technical assistance program and selected MFI partner.

Findings from the Private School Market Assessment:

According to James Tooley's study, *Private Education is Good for the Poor*, there are a large number of private schools that are serving the poor in the Greater Accra (GA) district. He estimates that 74.7% of all schools in the GA district are private of which 22.7% are unrecognized schools. The Ghana Education Service (GES) records show that there are more private schools than what Tooley noted and that private schools are throughout Ghana in the various regions. The two districts that have the largest number of governmentally recognized private schools are the Ashanti region in the Kumasi District (with 319 private primary schools) and in the Greater Accra region in the Accra District (with 260 private primary schools). According to GES, and confirmed by The Ghana National Association of Private Schools (GNAPS), these GES numbers are several years old and do not reflect the mushrooming of private schools. The Greater Accra Chapter of GNAPS claims to have 360 private school owners on its rolls, 100 more than the GES figures reflect for that area. Since not all private schools seek membership in GNAPS in the first years after establishment, it is difficult to estimate how many private schools actually exist in the Greater Accra area. Suffice it to say that there are more schools than counted either by GES (260) or GNAPS (360).

School Assessments

Twenty schools were visited four area (3 peri-urban and 1 urban area) and surveys conducted. A total of 6,456 students were registered in the 20 schools visited. Among the 20 schools 14 of the schools went up to Junior Secondary School (JSS) and 6 went up to the primary school level. 14 schools started with a nursery program, the remaining schools started with a kindergarten program. 90% of the schools were recognized and licensed by the government.¹¹³

All of the schools except one had active PTAs (PTA). Among the 11 schools that had a Board of Directors 5 of the schools the PTA Chairperson served on the board. Much of the PTA involvement was providing their time, networks and finances to market the school to other parents and to address material needs of the school.

There is an overall perception by Ghanaians that private schools provided better education than the public schools. This perception is substantiated by the BECE national exam that is taken at the end of the JSS for entry into secondary school.¹¹⁴ The results of the BECE national exams are annually announced in media and printed in newspapers. Other reasons why parents prefer

¹¹³ When we visited the four different areas, three in the Greater Accra Region (GA East, Adenta, and Ashiamon) and one in Brong Afofo Region (Snyani), we saw numerous private schools lining the roads, many of which appeared new and rather informal.

¹¹⁴ Public secondary schools are perceived high quality and quite competitive to obtain acceptance.

sending children to private schools were the following: (1) Safe environment and care children receive and (2) better quality of education, particularly as shown by children's able to speak, read and write English well.¹¹⁵

All the schools except for two offered some type of after-school or Saturday activities. Most of the schools provided after school, extra lesson coverage, either repeating the day's lessons or going over future lessons with students.

All the schools used secondary school leavers as teachers. These teachers are considered "unqualified" by the government and, in schools visited, ranged from 70% to 95% of the teaching staff. The schools that went up to the JSS level had more qualified teachers (that is teacher who received a post-secondary education) than those schools ending at the primary level. Primary school teachers' salaries were much lower than the public schools. Those schools willing to disclose teachers' salaries reported payment of \$30-\$60 per month. JSS qualified teachers were given salaries that were competitive with the public school salaries at \$150 per month.

Fifty percent of the school owners indicated that there had been in-service training done in their schools over the past year. Most of that training was done through the schools' own personnel (*e.g.*, head teachers or the proprietor). Four schools identified outside trainers, two of which hired consultants and two came from GES. The type of training received varied widely:

- 23 in Administrative, School Management or Financial Management
- 11 in New Reforms and New Syllabus
- 7 in Early Childhood Methodology
- 5 in Math and Science
- 6 in General or Other Subject Matter
- 5 in Health, Hygiene and HIV/AIDS
- 4 in New Teacher Orientation

All the school owners indicated that they would be willing to pay between \$15 and \$25 per day for training.¹¹⁶ Many of the schools identified the need for training for teachers to improve teaching methodology, particularly at the early childhood level.

The school owners that were unrated or had a "C" or "D" rating expressed difficulty obtaining a loan for a large amount (more than 5,000 Cedis). Most of the school owners own the land but lack a land title. Surveys indicated a range of loan needs from 6000 Cedis to 500,000 Cedis.

¹¹⁵ Several interviewees noted that the public school teachers often were absent from class and thus little teaching occurred as compared to the private schools. Private schools had better teacher accountability. Hence, parents felt that private schools offered better quality education.

¹¹⁶ During classroom observations (both formal and informal) it was clear that the teachers primarily used rote learning as opposed to a child-centered approach and needed training in instructional methodology.

When asked what the pressing financial needs were many school owners said they needed a loan for a computer lab and extra classroom.¹¹⁷ Some of the owners also noted that a small bridging loan right before the Christmas holidays would be useful to use to help pay teachers' salaries during a time when school fees were not available. It was clearly indicated from the survey that 75% of the schools visited lacked proper financial record keeping or systems.¹¹⁸

Key Players in the Private School Market

During our week long meetings with various organizations, we learned that the key organizations engaged or exploring the possibility to increase financial access to private schools were the following organizations:

- Ghana Education Service (GES) Basic Education Division
- Ghana National Association of Private Schools (GNAPS)
- CEDEM
- Opportunity International Savings and Loans Limited
- International Finance Corporation (IFC)
- The Trust Bank (TTB)
- Opportunities Industrialization Centers International, Ghana (OICI)
- Local Business Development Service Providers (used by IFC)

Salient findings from the meetings with the organizations above are the following:

Ghana Education Service (GES)

- GES is the implementing arm of the Ministry of Education.
- The GES Basic Education Division has the government oversight responsibility of private schools.
- The GES rates private schools that have registered, distinguishing those private schools that have good facilities, qualified teachers and headmaster from those schools that lack facilities, such as a library room and teachers with post-secondary education. The rating system, which goes from A through D in descending order of quality, serves to place limits on private school tuition. "A" schools are allowed to charge the highest tuition, "D" schools and unrated schools the lowest. The fee schedule was negotiated with GNAPS three years ago and has not changed, which has put a strain on private schools since prices have increased, especially for water and electrical hook-ups.
- The GES recognizes the lack of oversight that is provided to the private schools and has recently submitted a proposal to the Parliament to train Private School District

¹¹⁷ According to The Trust Bank it costs about 10,000 Cedis to build 1 classroom and 1 lab.

¹¹⁸ Request and see Findings on Finances Report for more detail information on the survey results on school finances.

- Coordinators on the Standard Operating Procedures for private schools to be recognized and certified by the Ministry.
- Education reforms, including revamping the curriculum, have recently been adopted. However, implementation and total understanding of the reforms are uneven.
 - While GES oversight is generally weak, many private schools, particularly in areas where public schools are absent, receive frequent visits from GES inspectors. Depending on the individual inspector's motivation and skills, these visits are beneficial (inspectors giving good advice and in-service training) or detrimental (made with extorting money, because the inspectors can withdraw ratings).

Ghana National Association of Private School:

- GNAPS has broad national membership comprised of private school owners. Fifteen of the wealthiest elite private schools broke away from GNAPS to form their own association called FEDS. (FEDS is requesting a super level of ratings because of the international level of education claimed by member schools. The FEDS Director has shown interest in the Pilot Program and in helping the poorer schools in Greater Accra.)
- GNAPS is organized at the national, regional and local level. They are recognized by the GES as the representative organization for private schools, giving them a quasi-official status. GES negotiates fees with GNAPS, for example, and GNAPS negotiates with other GOG bodies such as the tax collection agencies on behalf of their membership.
- GNAPS offers professional development services for a fee, such as workshops for the owners and teachers to help improve management and teaching. It appears that different GNAPS chapters are more active than others, but that of the GA Region seems quite active, arranging training and currently trying to help with the ever present financial burdens by attempting to organize a credit union.

Centre for Educational Development, Evaluation and Management (CEDEM):

- CEDEM is an educational NGO that grew out of the USAID QUIPS program. They work with teachers, educators and communities to improve parent and community participation and teaching methodologies for basic numeracy and literacy. It has produced two teaching guides for GES using UNICEF funding, however these guides have not been widely reproduced (but could be) to improve teaching methods in math and English.
- CEDEM is beginning to work with private schools through a local GNAPS offering a workshop on the National Education Reform. Through this workshop CEDEM was asked to provide in-service teacher training to an individual private school.

- CEDEM is also working with the mining schools in the Northern region, providing teacher training.
- CEDEM provides educational workshops in child-centered teaching; development of low-cost teaching and learning materials; comprehensive lesson planning and ESL.

Opportunity International (OI):

- OI is exploring ways of how it can better service its private school clients. They currently have more than 40 private school owner clients who are involved in solidarity savings and loan group. OI is in the initial stages of accessing the type of capacity that is needed to transition into credit operations that provide individual loans from a group savings and loan operation.
- OI is also setting up an NGO that will support the technical assistance needs of its loan clients. OI is interested in targeting the lower end of the private school market, particular in the Ashaiman District. OI has agreed to participate in this pilot program as the financial institution that will develop credit products for private schools at the lower end of the market.

Other Financial Institutions Visited

- ProCredit has no targeted focus on private schools and views them as part of its SME portfolio. ProCredit is focusing on the agriculture sector and does not currently have a focus on private school clients, thus would not be an appropriate partner for the pilot effort.
- IFC and TTB: The school finance program that IFC and TTB have implemented is targeting wealthy private schools (Rated A and B) that have been well established. The TTB managers noted that it would be too risky for them to provide loans to the private schools serving the poor without substantial risks taken on by USAID by offering more than a 50% guarantee. This clearly indicated to us that commercial banks were probably unlikely to want to service the lower end of the private school market due to the perceived high risks. Moreover, USAID's pilot program *will not* be duplicative of IFC's work with private schools.

Opportunities Industrialization Centers International OICI, Ghana

- OICI is a non-profit NGO with a mission to improve the quality of life of low-income groups in developing countries through the provision of human resource development services. Since 1970, OICI Ghana, an affiliate of OICI/USA, has trained thousands of underprivileged Ghanains in a number of areas including vocational skills, entrepreneurship, micro-finance and business development.

- Owners of poorer private schools have similar problems to those SME who are the traditional targets of USAID programming. Consequently, the type of training OICI Ghana appeared to be giving young entrepreneurs, community and agricultural based business groups appears to be similar to that required by private school owners. OICI helps its clients adapt market driven business development strategies and provides assistance in their acquiring micro-finance. Their business is to train resource-poor entrepreneurs to grow and expand their enterprises and improve their products and profits.
- OICI has already developed some of the course modules necessary to improve private schools business practices, including “Making Cents”, a curriculum USAID had thought might be appropriate for use in the pilot.
- OICI Ghana has a reputation in the region for providing excellent training and was responsible for developing BDS modules for USAID/Nigeria’s JOBS program.

Local Business Development Service Providers (used by IFC):

- We interviewed three potential BDS firms (NAKYEA CONSULT, AA & K Consulting Services Limited, and Gavor Consult International Limited) from a list obtained from TTB Bank Ghana. These firms provide tax planning, auditing, financial, HR, and ICT services to a wide range of clients.
- Out of the three firms, we held further discussions with Gavor Consult, a management, financial and system consult group. Gavor is currently providing financial management and systems support to some private schools in Ghana, and had pioneered a School Management and Financial systems solutions - ALPHASOFT for large drug stores and private schools in Ghana.
- For the schools, the system captures student’s database, billing and invoicing, automated student ledger, mail merge facilities, academic records history, and is fully integrated into the finance and accounting module. To date, Gavor has successfully implemented the ALPHASOFT system in about 24 schools.
- In order to get total buy-in to the program from GNAPS, who represents the spectrum of private schools, the pilot needs to be able to offer a spectrum of school management solutions. The schools targeted by Pilot will likely need less sophisticated management systems, but we would like to be able to offer some training incentives to the larger schools who could improve performance utilizing better automated systems. Gavor had expressed interest in working with the Pilot on lowering the cost of the program and associated training because of their interest in meeting their sense of social responsibility. GNAPS had expressed interest in procuring this software for its schools, and as a consequence, we will continue to explore this BDS firm as a potential partner.

Implications for Pilot Program

- There is local capacity to provide business development services and educational services for private schools through organization like OICI and CEDEM. Many of the BDS providers are heavily aimed at tax and auditing and have little experience in doing training, particularly for less sophisticated entrepreneurs.
- Private schools at the lower end of the market have a difficult time accessing medium-term credit. However, financial institutions particularly commercial banks are reluctant to extend loans to these clients due to the high risks entailed. OI as a Savings and Loan institution has set up an initiative to focus on poor private schools and has agreed to participate in this pilot program.
- GNAPS, particularly the District in Greater Accra through Jimma Benni, their regional chairperson, will play a key role in marketing the technical assistance/workshops and OI's loan program.
- GES District Coordinator for Greater Accra will need to be engaged as a partner of the pilot, particularly in beginning dialogue that would set up appropriate incentive systems of private schools to improve pedagogical practices and management.
- A partnership framework needs to be developed that will link all the key players for this pilot program – (1) OI, (2) GNAPS, (3) Local BDS (probably OICI) and (4) GES. The partnership framework will specify expectations and assumptions as well as roles and responsibilities of each of the partners in this program.
- USAID and The Mitchell Group (USAID's contractor) will serve top broker and set up this pilot program partnership; to monitor the program; and to obtain lessons learned and best practices for future replications in other countries.

INDONESIA

In many countries around the world, there is a distinct divide between the public and private education sectors. While the unique nature of the Indonesian educational system often causes the line between public and private education to be blurred, private schools have historically played an important role in improving access to education for underserved communities—and their future role for assisting the country in meeting its universal basic education goals is worth further investigation. It is with this consideration in mind that the current study was undertaken. Prior to examining the state of private education in Indonesia, it is first necessary to understand the underlying educational context in which it functions.

History and Characteristics of Non-government Schools

Basic education in Indonesia is comprised of nine years of compulsory schooling—incorporating both primary (grades 1-6) and junior secondary education (grades 7-9). While the Government of

Indonesia (GoI) was able to achieve nearly universal primary education by the 1970s, in 1994 efforts were turned toward achieving Nine Year Universal Basic Education (NYUBE). Although efforts from both the GoI, as well as numerous aid organizations, increased the gross enrollment rate for basic education to 92.5% by 2008, this level was not consistent by region or section of schooling. For example, 111 of Indonesia's 440 districts remained below the minimum gross enrollment rate (GER) district target of 80% and only about half of the students from the country's poorest economic quintile complete basic education (Weston, 2008). Furthermore, while the transition rate to junior secondary school from primary school graduates increased to nearly 82% by 2007, it dropped to just under 76% by 2008 (Cannon and Arlianti, 2009). With junior secondary enrollment rates continuing to lag behind the universal rates at the primary level, the focus of the work undertaken for the Indonesia case study was on private junior secondary schools.

The structure of the Indonesian educational system is unusual in that it is monitored and managed by two separate ministries: the Ministry of National Education (MONE) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA). While the majority of schools under MONE are characterized as public, non-religious schools and the majority of MORA institutions are private madrasahs¹¹⁹, both ministries are responsible for public and private schools¹²⁰. At the primary level, approximately 8% of MONE schools are private and approximately 12% of MORA schools are public. These numbers change significantly at the junior secondary level, where nearly 27% of MONE schools are private and just under 24% of MORA schools are public (DBE, 2010). Figure 3 and Table 3 (below) show that the private sector only makes up about 16% of primary schools but over 37% of junior secondary schools¹²¹. Combined with the recent focus on increasing junior secondary enrollments, this points to the growing importance of the private sector in assisting Indonesia to achieve its goal of universal basic education.

¹¹⁹ In the Indonesian education context, a madrasah differs from an Islamic school only in that it is registered with MORA, as opposed to MONE.

¹²⁰ Regardless of the ministry with which a private school is registered, it is required for the school to be run by a private foundation, known as a *yayasan*—which tend to vary greatly in the amount of support they provide to their schools.

¹²¹ These figures refer to schools, not students—which can be slightly misleading due to the fact that private schools have been found to enroll fewer students, on average, than public schools. Therefore, the proportion of primary and junior students enrolled in private schools would be less than the proportion of private schools at these levels.

Figure 3: Number of schools by sector, ministry and level

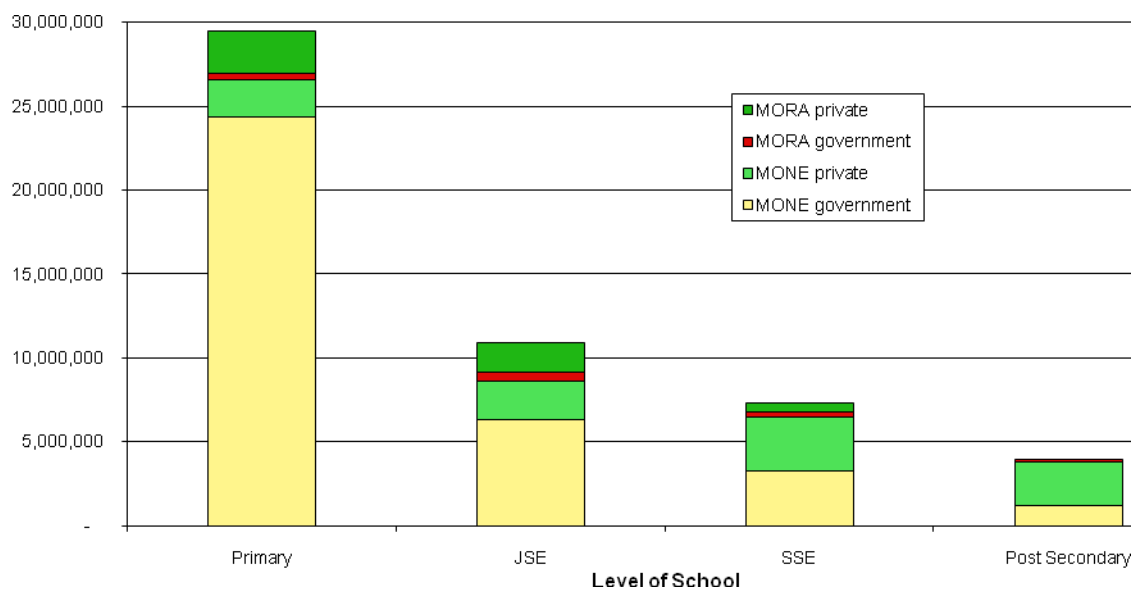


Table 3: Public and Private Schools by Level of Schooling

	Primary	Junior Secondary
MONE public	82.73	57.75
MONE private	7.54	20.83
MORA public	1.16	5.09
MORA private	8.57	16.32

The private sector has clearly expanded access to basic education in Indonesia. The vast majority of the junior secondary private schools that we visited were founded to provide families in their community with greater access to education, either for students whose primary-level exit examination scores were too low to get them into public schools or because there had been no lower secondary options in the community prior to establishment of the school. Many private madrasahs, particularly in rural areas, were founded by a local religious leader or group and have connections to the local mosque. Since a 1989 education law required that all schools, including private madrasahs and other religious schools, follow the national curriculum, access to academic content has been instituted in schools that were originally founded to provide religious education. Thus, the unique structure of private schooling in Indonesia affords parents the opportunity to choose schools with a religious focus, such as several hours of Islamic studies per day, without sacrificing the academic content taught in public and private schools managed by MONE. Supporting the expansion of both public and private senior secondary schools, with public and private funding, seems like the logical next step.

Degree to which Non-government Schools Accommodate Low Income Children

While schools run by the Ministry of National Education (MONE) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) are maintained through distinct funding channels, the funding sources for basic operating costs have been unified, to some extent. For example, the School Operational Funding subsidy (Bantuan Operasional Sekolah/BOS) is a government program that is available to all public and private secondary schools offering basic education (including pondok pesantren). According to RTI (2009),

It was explicitly stated that BOS would “free students from the burden of school operational costs ... [for] registration, tuition, examination fees and materials and costs of laboratory and workshop sessions.” The goal of BOS was to provide assistance to schools in order to “permit them to eliminate student fees while still maintaining the level of educational quality” (p. 89).

By accepting the BOS, schools agree to relieve poor students of all costs and fees. Those schools without poor students must use the funds to reduce fees. In practice, however, it is not always possible for schools to operate fully on BOS funds alone, so fees or community donations may still be expected by some primary or junior secondary schools. Since 2009, all government schools are required to accept the BOS, while private schools still have the opportunity to opt out—as long as they can ensure that poor students will be able to attend their school¹²². In practice, this should ensure that low-cost private schools (those that invariably accept the BOS) enroll greater numbers of low-income students, since the funding is assured by the government (as opposed to relying on tuition payments from parents, which are often inconsistent, if available at all).

The Regulatory Environments

As a result of the National Education System Law (20/2003), public and private schools under both MONE and MORA are subject to the same regulations (i.e. registration and accreditation procedures, following the national curriculum¹²³, provision of textbooks to all students, etc.) and are even supported by many of the same government programs. This does not mean, however, that the two sectors are indistinguishable from each other or that they are equivalent in all aspects of management, funding, support and production. For example, while both MONE and MORA are subject to the same regulations, funding channels and administrative authority for the two ministries have remained separate under the aforementioned national education law (RTI, 2009). This separation is readily apparent with regard to the recent government policies and

¹²² It is unclear as to why schools would choose to opt out of the BOS, seeing as it would arguably be more difficult to charge poor students higher fees than could be obtained simply by accepting the BOS.

¹²³ *Pondok pesantren*, or Islamic boarding schools registered with MORA, may follow only a portion of the national curriculum and supplement it with extensive work in religious (and Qur’anic) studies.

development projects working toward decentralized basic education. Although these policies and programs are intended to affect both public and private schools, this is complicated by the fact that decentralization has occurred for MONE but not for MORA. For instance, while the enforcement of minimum service standards (MSS) takes place at the district level for both MONE and MORA schools, the majority of administrative procedures and funding structures for MORA still operate in a hierarchical, centralized system.

Financial Sustainability

While the level of the BOS is equal (per student) across public and private schools, teacher salaries in public schools are mainly paid by the government while those in private schools are mainly covered out of each school's individual budget. An exception to this pattern is the professional allowance available to certified teachers in both public and private schools. While many schools serving low-income students have little choice but to pay their teachers relatively low salaries out of the BOS, a recent investment has been made by the GoI to certify all 2.7 million teachers by 2015. All teachers, whether in a public or private school, are expected to earn certification and supplemental salaries (or professional allowances) will be paid to them by the government. These allowances can double the salary of teachers in public schools and increase the salaries of teachers in private schools by more than 10 times. There is widespread concern, however, among donor organizations regarding the government's ability to pay the professional allowances of so many additional teachers and we heard a consensus the priority will be given to awarding the allowances to public school teachers when funding runs short.

While the implementation of the BOS in both state and private schools has created a reliable source of funding for all schools, the limiting of the collection of fees from parents in both sectors perpetuates the resource gap between public and private schools. In state schools, the majority of teachers are civil servants or hired by the district and are paid by the government. This allows public schools to spend the BOS on true operating costs, such as teacher materials, teacher professional development, and building maintenance. Many private schools, on the other hand, use the BOS to fund teacher salaries, leaving fewer resources available for basic operating expenses. Among the 28 private schools that we visited, about 20% continue to charge monthly fees, while using some of this revenue to cross-subsidize the attendance of poor or very poor students. These fee-charging private schools tended to serve slightly more advantaged families (e.g., fishermen or factory workers as opposed to farm workers) than the private schools that do not charge fees. Another characteristic of the fee-charging private schools is that they are more likely to be oversubscribed, with more students applying to attend than can be accommodated. These schools tended to have higher accreditation grades than other schools that we visited. Here the charging of fees allows these schools to pay higher teacher salaries and purchase more learning materials, while providing "free" schooling to very poor students in their community.

The “free” private schools that we visited tended to serve poorer populations, pay their teachers less, suffer from a shortage of materials, and have more classrooms in need of repair. Although interviews with officials in MORA suggested that the *yayasans* of the private schools often cover teacher salaries, few of the schools that we visited reported receiving any regular funding from their *yayasans*. In fact, only one school reported that their *yayasan* paid teacher salaries and several schools even reported having to pay their *yayasan* monthly for money loaned to them for school construction. These issues are all likely to have an impact on the long-term sustainability of low-cost private schools.

Quality of (Low Income) Non-government School Output

In recent years, several researchers have attempted to assess the relative quality of public versus private schools in Indonesia. This section examines some of the widely held beliefs about private schools and provides a summary of the most relevant empirical studies to date, the results of which have been mixed.

Much of the work published on private-public schooling comparisons in Indonesia concludes that from the provision of textbooks to the education level of teachers, public schools provide higher quality inputs (often with more funding) than private schools (Newhouse and Beegle, 2006; Strauss et al, 2004; World Bank, 1998). Additionally, DBE (2010) found that while MORA and MONE government schools were comparable with regard to drop out rate and exit test scores, MORA private schools served poorer students in remote communities, with fewer resources and less qualified teachers. With regard to teachers, some of the difference may be explained by the distribution of civil servant teachers among public and private schools (see Table 4)¹²⁴.

Table 4: Distribution of Civil Servant and Non-Civil Servant Teachers, 2008

Type of School	Civil Servant	Non-Civil Servant
MONE		
Government		
Primary	985,913 teachers 74.9%	330,196 teachers 25.1%
JSE	290,327 teachers 71.5%	115,845 28.5%
Private		
Primary	16,691 teachers	112,332 teachers

¹²⁴ Civil servants teachers are likely to be more highly educated and potentially better trained than their non-civil servant counterparts.

	12.9%	87.1%
JSE	15,166 teachers 8.0%	174,403 teachers 92.0%
MORA		
Primary	41,896 teachers 17.3%	242,175 teachers 82.7%
JSE	16,974 teachers 15.1%	95,436 teachers 84.9%

Source: Summary of Indonesian School Statistics; Statistics of Religious Education, 2007/2008.

However, while there is a general belief in Indonesia that private schools are of inferior quality to public schools—due in part to the historical nature of madrasahs serving primarily the rural poor and those unable to attend public schools due to low exam scores—two of the earliest empirical pieces on educational effectiveness in Indonesia found results more in favor of private schools. Using school-level and community data (on such things as expenditures, exam scores and student characteristics) James, King and Suryadi (1996) found that private funding was more efficient than public funding at producing given exam scores, after controlling for school and student characteristics¹²⁵. Ultimately James et al conclude that private schools were more efficient than public schools, due to their more efficient usage of funds as well as their larger relative private funding share (30% versus 7%). However, there is a selection bias concern in this study, based on the fact that madrasahs were excluded from the survey on which the analyses were based—thereby limiting the sample of private schools (particularly private schools serving poorer students).

Complementing the 1996 work of James et al, Bedi and Garg (2000) used household survey data to find that after controlling for (observable) student characteristics, including prior test scores (to account for school selection effects), non-religious, private secondary school graduates actually performed better in the labor market than public school graduates and that students who attended Islamic private schools performed worse¹²⁶. There are concerns about sample selection bias in this study, however. Specifically, Bedi and Garg examine the economic returns to schooling only for students who have between 7 and 12 years of education, thus ignoring those who attend higher education. If public schools students (who are found to be of higher ability and better family background) were more likely to enroll in institutions of higher education than private school students, Bedi and Garg's (2000) findings would be biased toward finding favorable results for private schools. The results also have limited generalizability to the current Indonesian education system, where the vast majority of private schools are madrasahs (managed

¹²⁵ The authors' assumption that community data are a good proxy for student characteristics may not hold in areas with larger numbers of private schools, where selection into different schools would be non-random. In this case, assigning average characteristics to all students would be inappropriate and could bias the results.

¹²⁶ While 18% of the schools in Bedi and Garg's (2000) sample were non-religious, private schools, these schools currently make up a minimal proportion of the basic education sector.

by MORA) or general schools run by a religious organization (managed by MONE). Additionally, Fahmi (2009a) re-estimated Bedi and Garg's estimation and found contradictory effects when using a different sample selection correction method (see Bourguignon et al. (2007)), with public school graduates receiving higher labor market returns than their private school counterparts.

In yet another study using the Indonesia Family Life Survey (IFLS), Newhouse and Beegle (2006) find that public school graduates scored between 0.17 and 0.3 standard deviations higher on the national exit examination than did private school students, after controlling for a variety of student, family and school characteristics. Furthermore, while they find no significant difference between public madrasah students and public secular students (nor between private madrasah and private secular), students in non-Muslim private schools performed better than those in madrasahs¹²⁷. Similarly, Fahmi (2009b) uses the IFLS 2000 to estimate the effectiveness of junior secondary education in Indonesia. Ultimately, he finds that students from public schools receive 25% and 35.2% higher future earnings than private non-religious and madrasah students, respectively. Private Christian school students, however, had slightly higher returns to education than public school students¹²⁸.

Most recently, Ali et al (2010) conducted a study on the quality of madrasah education in Indonesia and found that teacher qualifications and certification levels were highly correlated with student achievement. While this finding was not surprising by itself, the study further showed that working toward certification (i.e., professional development and portfolio management) was also correlated with achievement. Additionally, school resources were found to have significant effects on student achievement, even after controlling for student background characteristics.

In addition to school output measures found in the literature, parental choice provides another way of assessing quality. While some families only have one school to choose from, many must choose between a numbers of schools within a reasonable distance from where they live. Among the 28 private schools that we visited, many of which were in rural areas, over 50% of principals reported that a state school was within 1 km. Currently, parents appear to use information about exit exam passage rates (Weston 2008), the accountability grade of the school, and the reputation of the school's *yayasan* in making their decisions. As indicators of quality, however, exam passage rates are the most problematic. While the curriculum has become competency-based, the national examinations at the end of primary, junior secondary, and senior secondary, have not changed in content or style to match the new curriculum (Weston 2008). For example, while the Indonesian language tests have sections to test students' reading comprehension, most of the

¹²⁷ Only 3% of the total sample and 10% of the private school students in the sample attended non-Muslim private schools.

¹²⁸ Fahmi (2009b) uses prior failures to account for student ability (i.e. prior achievement). This control may be insufficient to account for the fact that higher achieving students may choose particular schools, thus biasing the results.

other questions relate to grammar and the meaning of words and there are no items to assess students speaking, listening and writing skills, which form three of the four core curriculum competencies. Thus, while exam passage rates are a readily available means of comparing the quality of schools, they do not adequately reflect the current curriculum expectations.

Teacher quality

While teacher and teaching quality are concerns in both the public and private sectors in Indonesia (Weston, 2008; World Bank, 2010), teachers in private madrasahs are less likely to be qualified than teachers in public general or other private religious schools (Weston, 2008). The causes of this disparity are likely to include very low salaries (as low as 50,000 Rp. per month, less than \$6.00, in a school that we visited), pre-service training in religious rather than academic subjects in Islamic colleges or universities, and limited access to professional development opportunities. While the Teacher Law passed in 2005 requires that all state and private school teachers have a four-year degree, we visited private madrasahs in rural areas where most of the teachers only held lower secondary qualifications. Further, while a few civil servant teachers are posted to private schools in some districts, private school teachers with sufficient qualifications to become civil servants were reported to have been lured away to state schools because of the higher salaries offered there. Thus, while private schools have the advantage of autonomy in teacher hiring, limited budgets for teacher salaries make the staffing of private schools with high quality teachers difficult. While we found no shortage of teachers in the private schools that we visited, many principals noted that the content and pedagogical knowledge of teachers was inadequate.

To improve the quality of the current teaching force, the 2005 Teacher Law created a certification mechanism to ensure, and reward, teacher competency. To be certified, a teacher must have a four-year college or university degree, accumulate sufficient credits from post-graduate teacher professional training, and teach a minimum of 24 hours per week. The certified teacher is then eligible to a professional allowance, paid by MONE or MORA, equivalent to a civil servant teacher's salary with similar experience and qualifications. Receipt of this allowance could increase the salaries of many private school teachers by more than 10 times. The World Bank notes, however, that the "current certification process relies for the most part on a portfolio review to assess teacher quality, a process that is generally recognized as insufficient to separate high- from low-quality teachers" (World Bank, 2010). Additional professional development is another path for teachers eligible for certification—nine days or 100 hours. As we note below, however, access to professional development is limited for teachers in private schools and their low salaries make it difficult for them to pay the cost of participation.

Although higher salaries for certified teachers may attract more college graduates into the teaching profession, the lack of a clear accountability system for publicly supported teachers in state or private institutions combined with the uncertainty of whether the government can afford

to pay professional stipends to most teachers raises questions about the cost effectiveness of the certification requirements of the Teacher Law. Further, limits on the number of teachers that can be certified in a given year, instituted for budget reasons, are more restrictive for private than public school teachers.

Donor Experiences

One of the largest obstacles facing the private education sector in Indonesia is accreditation. Many believe that the accreditation standards assessed by the National Education Standards Body (BSNP), covering eight different areas including personnel, infrastructure, management and assessment, are unrealistic. To assist madrasahs in meeting the requirement that all schools must be accredited in order to receive the BOS, the AusAID funded Learning Assistance Program for Islamic Schools (LAPIS) has developed a model for assisting madrasahs in meeting the standards required for accreditation. A major area where LAPIS assisted madrasahs was in the development of school-based curricula (e.g., lesson plans) aligned with the competencies in the national curricula. This program has been sufficiently successful that it is being incorporated into MORA for dissemination, in some form, throughout the system. The accreditation system has the potential to provide both parents and school committees with important information about school quality that can inform their decision-making. Many of the private schools that we visited, however, described the accreditation process as complex and difficult to comply with. Further, school committees were often more focused on fund raising than on monitoring the improvement of the school to meet the accreditation standards.

Although there is much concern about the quality of the current teacher force in Indonesia, in-service professional development opportunities are limited for schools and teachers who cannot afford to pay for these services, with the exception of teachers participating in donor-funded programs. While some districts include teachers from public and private madrasahs in in-service training, this practice is not consistent across districts (Weston, 1998). Among the schools that we visited, only those participating in donor-funded programs such as DBE or MEP-BE had received any significant professional development. While in some schools, teachers participated in some district-sponsored activities related to teaching the curriculum, many schools only participated in training offered by NGOs, with either the school or the individual teachers were responsible for the cost. Even government programs such as Continuing Professional Development (CPD) and Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL), which are both intended to assist teachers in becoming credentialed, are cost-shared between the government and schools/teachers.

Outstanding Issues

Indonesia has relatively low student/teacher ratios (20:1 at primary and 12:1 at secondary in 2007) compared to other lower middle-income countries (World Bank, 2010). The comparatively

large numbers of teachers in schools does not necessarily translate into small class sizes, however. Among the schools we visited, student/teacher ratios averaged 13:1 in primary and 10:1 in lower secondary, while class sizes averaged 21 and 34, respectively. Student/teacher ratios tended to be particularly low in small schools and madrasahs. While staffing rules explain, to some degree, the low student/teacher ratios in public schools (World Bank, 2010) greater autonomy for staffing among private schools should allow them to be more efficient in their staffing. For example, public secondary teachers are expected to teach only one subject, leading to low teaching loads across a curriculum that requires many subjects. While private schools are not subject to these staffing requirements, the accreditation process deducts points from both public and private schools if their teachers are teaching subjects for which they are unqualified, including physical education. This makes it more likely that private schools will hire many part-time teachers, some of whom are likely to be government teachers in other schools who are qualified to teach specialized subjects. By employing a large numbers of teachers relative to the per student revenue generate by the BOS, or in some cases student fees, private schools end up paying even lower teacher salaries and, as a result, have teachers that often work multiple shifts or other jobs, including working in other schools.

Recommendations

Recommendations to USAID

District-level in-service programs designed to increase the content knowledge and pedagogical skills of teachers should continue to include private schools, particularly madrasahs. As programs or models are scaled up and passed on to districts to implement, a mechanism to include MORA schools in training and support activities should be developed. The AusAID LAPIS program has found success in working with local NGOs in implementing training for madrasahs. Given the mistrust of outsiders of some *yayasan*, this may serve as a useful model.

Regarding professional development, enhancing the content and pedagogical knowledge of private school teachers is a step in the right direction to improving teacher quality. Supporting programs that assist teachers in becoming qualified to teach multiple subjects and multiple grade levels could help private schools to improve staffing efficiency. Directly supporting teachers to become qualified to teach multiple subjects, using government or donor funds, could also enhance the efficiency of private schools.

Given the staffing imbalances within and between schools, we suggest that site-based management initiatives address issues of efficient staffing of schools. By increasing the student/teacher ratio, schools may recover funding that they can use to increase the salaries of teachers and pay for additional teacher professional development.

We also suggest that programming to expand capacity of tertiary institutions also assist Islamic Universities and Colleges offering teacher training programs to enhance both the core subject

matter and pedagogical teaching of students who are likely to become teachers. As these institutions are a key source of teachers in madrasahs, focusing on improving the core content and pedagogical content knowledge of future teachers could have a long term positive impact on these and other private Islamic schools.

Expanding access to general education in *pondok pesantren* (Islamic Boarding Schools) by supporting the construction of Islamic schools (MONE) or madrasahs (MORA) through grants or on-lending has the potential to both increase literacy and numeracy among the youth population and provide them with employable skills. AusAID's AIBEP has supported the construction of nearly 500 private MTs, many in *pondok pesantren*, where beforehand only non-formal arrangements for junior secondary education existed (Weston 2008). Building junior or senior secondary madrasahs could help expand the human capital of the labor force while also providing alternatives opportunities to youth who may be at risk of being drawn into more radical Islamic activities.

Assisting private schools with their administrative duties with regard to accreditation could prove useful both for building positive working relationships with madrasahs, as well as in providing increased information to parents about school quality. AusAID's work with accreditation assistance has been successful but the program with which it is associated will soon be ending—learning from their approach may prove beneficial.

Finally, while the current funding scheme provides equitable base funding across schools, the inability of private schools serving low-income communities to charge tuition increases the resource gap between schooling for the poor and schooling for the more advantaged. This is particularly problematic for small schools, since BOS funding is calculated per student. Supplementary grants, based on the proportion of students who are poor, could help to close this gap.

School Descriptions - Indonesia¹²⁹

School Name: SMP DHANISWARA

Province: EAST JAVA

District: SURABAYA

Established: 1979

Registration: MONE

Accreditation: "B"

Yayasan: DHANISWARA

BOS: YES

¹²⁹ The exchange rate from the Indonesian Rupiah (IDR) to the US Dollar (\$) is IDR10,000 to \$1.15. All salaries, fees, etc in this section are in Indonesian Rupiahs, unless otherwise noted.

Grades: 7-9
Students: 212
 Boys: 100
 Girls: 112
Teachers: 21
 Civil Servants: 1
 Certified: 1
 Professional Allowance: YES
Teacher Salary Range: IDR135,000 – 450,000/MONTH
Class Size: 35
School Day: 7AM – 12:30PM
 Days: Mo - Sa
Nearest Public School: 500 METERS
National Exam Centre: YES
 Passage Rate (2009): 95%

Notes: The yayasan that runs this school is responsible for paying the salaries of all 20 non-civil servant teachers. The principal of the school noted that its students are “middle to low IQ” and that the school is “a disposal of the government for students.” Many teachers come to the school from outside the local community because “they love the children.” While the school does not charge fees to parents, families are responsible for providing uniforms, transportation and writing materials. Several teachers in the school have applied to become certified but have been informed that there is a quota and have been turned away. In addition to the BOS, the school also receives local funding in the form of the BOPDA.

School Name: MTS NURUL HIKMAH

Province: EAST JAVA
District: SURABAYA
Established: 1989
Registration: MORA
Accreditation: “A”
Yayasan: NURUL HIKMAH
BOS: YES
Grades: 7-9
Students: 282
 Boys: 141
 Girls: 141
Teachers: 30
 Civil Servants: 0
 Certified: 9

Professional Allowance: 2
Teacher Salary Range: IDR400,000 – 1,000,000/MONTH
Class Size: 35-40
School Day: 6AM – 12:30 (7TH/9TH) & 12:30PM – 5PM (8TH)
Days: Mo - Sa
Nearest Public School: 1KM
National Exam Centre: YES
Passage Rate (2009): 100% (with two retakes)

Notes: In addition to the BOS, the school also receives local funding from the BOPDA. Although parents are not charged school fees, they are responsible for providing uniforms, worksheets and transportation. Teacher recruitment is relatively easy: the majority of the teachers currently teaching at Nurul Hikmah are graduates of the school. The school's strong religious focus is the reason given for students choosing to attend. All students who apply are accepted. While the school is in good shape, it is without a science lab and teachers wished that they could have further training in ICT, lesson-planning, English support and management.

School Name: MTS NURUL HUDA SEDATI

Province: EAST JAVA

District: KABUPATEN SIDOARJO

Established: 1970's

Registration: MORA

Accreditation: "A"

Yayasan: NURUL HUDA (NU)

BOS: YES

Grades: 7-9

Students: 554

Boys: 52%

Girls: 48%

Teachers: 42

Civil Servants: 2 (1 MONE; 1 MORA)

Certified: 12 (one 2 full time)

Professional Allowance:

Teacher Salary Range: IDR125,000 – 600,000 /MONTH

Class Size: 36-50

School Day: Regular 6:40AM-12:40PM; Advanced 6:00AM-3PM (including lunch)

Days: Sa - Th

Nearest Public School: 200m

National Exam Centre: YES

Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: MTS Nurul Huda (Madrasah) started in a house and government offices; overtime it acquired property of its own. The school accepts the BOS and charges tuition of 30,000 rupiahs/month, although students who cannot afford to pay (30%) attend for free. The poorest students are also provided with books and uniforms at no charge. Applicants are evaluated based on written test results, an interview, and whether they have a recommendation from someone in the community—more students apply (500) than can be admitted (200). Students with greater academic potential (high IQ) are put into small classes and have a longer school day. These students also train for academic competitions (e.g. math Olympiad). The headmaster reports that students attend this school rather than the nearest state school because there is more of a religious focus, more involvement in the community by the teachers, and that the teachers are more “easy going.” The school committee is made up of “entrepreneurs” who are able to raise money for the school. The school has a language lab that was paid for by the community and a computer lab that was paid for by the government. Most of the children who attend this school come from families of fishermen. Most of the teachers are alumni of the school who have earned bachelor’s degrees. The school is currently lacking classroom space and has no science lab facilities. The school has acquired additional land purchased by the community and have applied to the government to add three classrooms; they expect to receive funding to add one. The school would also like to offer more extracurricular activities.

School Name: SMP PGRI 7 SEDATI

Province: EAST JAVA

District: KABUPATEN SIDOARJO

Established: 1981

Registration: MONE

Accreditation: “A”

Yayasan: TEACHER’S ASSOCIATION OF THE INDONESIAN REPUBLIC (PGRI)

BOS: YES

Grades: 7-9

Students: 874

Boys: 60%

Girls: 40%

Teachers: 40

Civil Servants: 2

Certified:

Professional Allowance:

Teacher Salary Range: IDR180,000 – 1,300,000 /MONTH (20,000 PER HOUR)

Class Size: 42-45

School Day: 6:45AM-11:45AM (GRADES 7, 9); 12:15PM-5PM (GRADE 8)

Days: Mo - Sa

Nearest Public School: 1KM
National Exam Centre: YES
Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Began as a school for students not accepted by state schools. Now more students apply (392) than can be accepted (308). The school accepts the BOS and charges tuition of 30,000 rupiahs/month. Five% of the students are poor and half of these are considered very poor and cannot afford to pay. Local foundations pay for these students. The school runs a double shift, with grades 7 and 8 in the morning and grade 9 in the afternoon. The same teachers teach both shifts. The curriculum does not focus on a particular religion; students are oriented to all official religions of the country. Most of the children who attend this school come from families of factory workers. The school committee has assisted in raising funds for a new building. While the school's foundation, PGRI, has provided loans in the past, it leaves the school to manage itself and requires monthly repayments of 5% of the school's revenue. Although a state-run junior secondary is less than a kilometer away, parents trust this school because of its "A" accreditation and because strict discipline is implemented. The school has no shortage of applicants for teaching positions and their priority is hiring graduates of state universities. The greatest challenge for the school is improving teachers' knowledge of ICT.

School Name: MADRASAH TSANAWIYAH NU

Province: EAST JAVA

District: KABUPATEN SIDOARJO

Established: 1973

Registration: MORA

Accreditation: "A"

Yayasan: NU

BOS: YES

Grades: 7-9

Students: 650

Boys: 35%

Girls: 65%

Teachers: 45

Civil Servants: 0

Certified: 20

Professional Allowance:

Teacher Salary Range: IDR450,000 – 1,300,000 /MONTH (25,000 PER HOUR)

Class Size: 40

School Day: 6:35AM-12:15PM (Advanced class finishes at 2pm)

Days: SA-TH

Nearest Public School: 1KM

National Exam Centre: YES

Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Madrasah Tsanawiyah Nu started as a school for producing religious teachers. The headmaster reports that students come to the school when they are not accepted into a state junior secondary school. The parents have aspirations for their children to succeed and want them in a good school. More students applied (280) than were accepted in the prior year (220). The school accepts the BOS and charges tuition of 95,000 rupiahs/month. Two and a half percent to 5% of the students are very poor and attend for free. About 40% of students are poor and pay a reduced fee of 60,000 rupiahs/month. Most of the children who attend this school come from families of construction workers, pedicab drivers, and factory workers. Major challenges for the school include “updating” the instruction of the more experienced teachers and the lower skills of the students who enter. The school also has difficulty maintaining qualified teachers because they are often recruited to state schools as civil servants.

School Name: SMP MUHAMMADIYAH 5 TULAGAN

Province: EAST JAVA

District: KABUPATEN SIDOARJO

Established: 1971

Registration: MONE

Accreditation: “B”

Yayasan: MUHAMMADIYAH

BOS: YES

Grades: 7-9

Students: 395

Boys: 52%

Girls: 48%

Teachers: 30

Civil Servants: 1

Certified: 4

Professional Allowance:

Teacher Salary Range: IDR296,000 – 1,800,000 /MONTH

Class Size: 40

School Day: 12:30PM – 5:15PM (Classrooms used in morning by Senior Secondary)

Days: MO-SA

Nearest Public School: 3KM

National Exam Centre: YES

Passage Rate (2009): 100%

SMP Muhammadiyah 5 Tulagan was founded to expand access to junior secondary education. The headmaster reports that students attend this school when they are not accepted at a state junior secondary school but their parents want them to get an education. All students that apply are accepted. Parents also feel good that the school is affiliated with Muhammadiyah. The school accepts the BOS and charges tuition of 50,000 rupiahs/month for grades 7 and 8 and 95,000 rupiahs/month for grade 9. Orphans and very poor students pay tuition of 25,000 rupiahs/month, unless they are supported by local foundations (such as local Muhammadiyah branches). No funding is received from Muhammadiyah yayasan, although it assists with licensing and coaching teachers and the school committee. Most of the children who attend this school come from families of farmers, traders, civil servants, factory workers, and teachers. The biggest challenge to improving quality is the double shift of the school. Currently about 40% of the teachers teach both shifts and the students have difficulty concentrating because it is so hot in the afternoon. The school is building a separate upper secondary, so the double shift will end and the length of the school day will be increased (7am to 3pm).

School Name: MI FALAHYAH

Province: EAST JAVA

District: BOJONEGORO

Established: 1957

Registration: MORA

Accreditation: "B"

Yayasan: N.U.

BOS: YES

Grades: 1-6

Students: 90

Boys: 40%

Girls: 60%

Teachers: 14

Civil Servants: 0

Certified: 1

Professional Allowance: YES

Teacher Salary Range: IDR50,000 – 300,000/MONTH

Class Size: 13 - 23

School Day: 7AM – 12PM

Days: Mo - Sa

Nearest Public School: 1KM

National Exam Centre: YES

Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: MI Falahiyah was started by the community because there was no public school available at the time. The school committee assists with curriculum development, as well as lesson planning and donations from community harvests. Twelve students receive an additional 20,000 rupiahs/month beyond the BOS funding. Most of the children who attend this school come from families of farm workers. The majority of teachers do not have bachelor's degrees and cannot become certified. There is a shortage of textbooks, no library and no labs at this school.

School Name: SMP MUHAMMADIYAH 4

Province: EAST JAVA

District: BOJONEGORO

Established: 1985

Registration: MONE

Accreditation: "B"

Yayasan: MUHAMMADIYAH

BOS: YES

Grades: 7-9

Students: 210

Boys: 50%

Girls: 50%

Teachers: 23

Civil Servants: 1

Certified: 3

Professional Allowance: YES

Teacher Salary Range: IDR150,000 – 450,000/MONTH

Class Size: 35

School Day: 7AM – 1PM

Days: MO - SA

Nearest Public School: 1KM

National Exam Centre: YES

Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: When the school was established, there were only 30 students per grade. Although the majority of students are poor (from farming families), about 60% of families pay 10,000 rupiahs/month in order to support the school. Similar to other Islamic schools, Muhammadiyah 4 has a difficult time hiring teachers with strong content knowledge (for non-religious subjects). All students who applied to the school last year were accepted—and the school receives approximately 70-80 new students each year, who choose to attend due to religion, quality and affordability (according to the principal).

School Name: MI MIFTAHUL ULUM

Province: EAST JAVA

District: BOJONEGORO
Established: 1969
Registration: MORA
Accreditation: "C"
Yayasan: N.U.
BOS: YES
Grades: 1-6
Students: 75
 Boys: 40-45%
 Girls: 55-60%
Teachers: 10
 Civil Servants: 1
 Certified: 1
 Professional Allowance: NO
Teacher Salary Range: IDR50,000 – 150,000/MONTH
Class Size: 10-20
School Day: 7AM – 12PM
 Days: SA - TH
Nearest Public School: 2KM
National Exam Centre: YES
 Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: This school was initially built because of the low literacy rates in the area and the lack of availability of a MORA school—and it currently serves three poor villages off the main road. BOS is the main source of financial support but 18 students receives additional government funding last year. There are no regular contributions from parents but some of the wealthier parents in the community do sometimes give money to the school. The major limitations for providing high-quality teaching and learning are funding (for hiring teachers) and facilities.

School Name: SMP ISLAM KEDUNGBONDO

Province: EAST JAVA
District: BOJONEGORO
Established: 1986
Registration: MONE
Accreditation: NO
Yayasan: GUPPI
BOS: YES
Grades: 7-9
Students: 61

Boys: 47
Girls: 14
Teachers: 10
Civil Servants: 1
Certified: 5
Professional Allowance: 1
Teacher Salary Range: IDR150,000 – 350,000/MONTH
Class Size: 20
School Day: 7:15AM – 12:45PM
Days: MO - SA
Nearest Public School: 2KM
National Exam Centre: NO
Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: This school was established in order to provide an affordable schooling option to poor students in the area. Half a hectare of community land has been donated to the school; the harvested land is managed by the school committee and used to support the school financially. The head teacher claims that female enrollment is low because of the facilities, offering that “as girls get older, they have a tendency to become picky and choose schools that are prettier.” The school provides students with uniforms, textbooks and all learning materials. The school staff remarked that entry tests are just a formality and that the school is severely limited its facilities.

School Name: MI MUHAMMADIYAH 25

Province: EAST JAVA

District: BOJONEGORO

Established: 1963

Registration: MORA

Accreditation: “C”

Yayasan: MUHAMMADIYAH

BOS: YES

Grades: 1-6

Students: 79

Boys: 50%

Girls: 50%

Teachers: 9

Civil Servants: 0

Certified: 1

Professional Allowance: NO

Teacher Salary Range: IDR100,000 – 350,000/MONTH

Class Size: 9-15

School Day: 7AM – 12PM

Days: MO - SA

Nearest Public School: 200 METERS

National Exam Centre: YES

Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: The head of the village built this school because there were no nearby state schools. The majority of families who send their children to school here are farmers and factory workers. While no funds are paid to the school by parents, a local cigarette factory donates 75,000 rupiahs to the school each month. Despite the fact that the school has a difficult time hiring qualified teachers (as well as significant teacher turnover, poor facilities, low-level of accreditation and lack of funding), this school has performed in the top five in the region on the national examination last year.

School Name: MI ISLAMIYAH SENDANGAGUNG

Province: EAST JAVA

District: BOJONEGORO

Established: 1962

Registration: MORA

Accreditation: “B”

Yayasan: GUPPI

BOS: YES

Grades: 1-6

Students: 80

Boys: 36

Girls: 44

Teachers: 9

Civil Servants: 0

Certified: 1

Professional Allowance: NO

Teacher Salary Range: IDR100,000 – 350,000/MONTH

Class Size: 9-15

School Day: 7:15AM – 12PM

Days: SA - TH

Nearest Public School: 400 METERS

National Exam Centre: YES

Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: The sub-district head was concerned with the level of education in the area and started Islamiyah Sendangagung as the first school for local villagers. Teachers began as volunteers and

have only begun to receive steady salaries due to the BOS. Parents do not pay any fees but a community harvest provides additional financial support to the school. The school principal noted that it is difficult for the school to hire teachers with strong subject-matter backgrounds because they come from religious education backgrounds themselves.

School Name: MI ISLAMIYAH

Province: EAST JAVA

District: BOJONEGORO

Established: 1969

Registration: MORA

Accreditation: "B"

Yayasan: N.U.

BOS: YES

Grades: 1-6

Students: 109

Boys: 40%

Girls: 60%

Teachers: 10

Civil Servants: 1

Certified: 1

Professional Allowance: NO

Teacher Salary Range: IDR100,000 – 400,000/MONTH

Class Size: 15-20

School Day: 7AM – 12PM

Days: SA -TH

Nearest Public School: 1KM

National Exam Centre: YES

Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: Started as an informal institution of education in the founder's house, the community asked for it to become a formal school to serve the needs of local children. As with several other schools, the largest obstacle to accreditation has been administrative challenges. The school is in need of additional classrooms and facilities but does not currently have the funding (although they did recently receive a MORA block grant in order to build one new classroom). There are many teacher applicants every year but due to recent losses of civil servant teachers, it has been difficult to retain high-quality instruction year after year.

School Name: MTS DARUSSALAM

Province: EAST JAVA

District: BOJONEGORO

Established: 1990
Registration: MORA
Accreditation: "B"
Yayasan: DARUSSALAM
BOS: YES
Grades: 7-9
Students: 264
 Boys: 50%
 Girls: 50%
Teachers: 30
 Civil Servants: 0
 Certified: 10
 Professional Allowance: 7
Teacher Salary Range: IDR50,000 – 300,000/MONTH
Class Size: 25-30
School Day: 7AM – 12PM
 Days: MO - SA
Nearest Public School: 4KM
National Exam Centre: YES
 Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: It is difficult to hire full-time teachers, especially in Arabic and mathematics.

School Name: DARUSSALAM PRIMARY

Province: EAST JAVA
District: BOJONEGORO
Established: 1994
Registration: MONE
Accreditation: "B"
Yayasan: DARUSSALAM
BOS: YES
Grades: 1-6
Students: 119
 Boys: 50%
 Girls: 50%
Teachers: 13
 Civil Servants: 2
 Certified: 3
 Professional Allowance: NO
Teacher Salary Range: IDR50,000 – 300,000/MONTH

Class Size: 20
School Day: 7AM – 12PM
Days: MO - SA
Nearest Public School: 4KM
National Exam Centre: YES
Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: Funding and fundraising support come from the community. Forty percent of students from this school board at the school's facilities free of charge.

School Name: MI DARUSSALAM
Province: EAST JAVA
District: BOJONEGORO
Established: 1999
Registration: MORA
Accreditation: "B"
Yayasan: DARUSSALAM
BOS: NO
Grades: 1-6
Students: 195
Boys: 50%
Girls: 50%
Teachers: 31
Civil Servants: 0
Certified: 0
Professional Allowance: NO
Teacher Salary Range: IDR50,000 – 300,000/MONTH
Class Size: 30-35
School Day: 7AM – 12PM
Days: MO - SA
Nearest Public School: 4KM
National Exam Centre: YES
Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: Community participation is high with regard to this madrasah; food is often provided for students during Ramadan. While the BOS is not provided, funding comes from the BSM, as well as 10,000 – 50,000 /month from parents.

School Name: MI MA'ARIF
Province: EAST JAVA

District: BANGKALAN
Established: 1962
Registration: MORA
Accreditation: "B"
Yayasan: MA'ARIF
BOS: YES
Grades: 7-9
Students: 269
 Boys: 85
 Girls: 184
Teachers: 44
 Civil Servants: 3
 Certified: 8
 Professional Allowance: 4
Teacher Salary Range: IDR10,000/hr/week
Class Size: 40-45
School Day: 7AM – 12:15PM
 Days: MO - SA
Nearest Public School: 500 METERS
National Exam Centre: YES
 Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: The principal said that the two main reasons for attending this school are religion and trust (especially for those students who board at the pesantren). Teacher salaries were originally paid by the yayasan but now all teacher funding is covered by the BOS. Additional funding, including money for teacher training, comes from the MEDP. Male and female students are separated, with male students in the newer facilities. Although the junior secondary school has fewer than 300 students, more than 3,000 students board at the pesantren.

School Name: MI AN-NIDHOMIYAH
Province: EAST JAVA
District: BANGKALAN
Established: 1987
Registration: MORA
Accreditation: "B"
Yayasan: AN-NIDHOMIYAH
BOS: YES
Grades: 1-6
Students: 115
 Boys: 60%

Girls: 40%
Teachers: 13
Civil Servants: 3
Certified: 2
Professional Allowance: 1
Teacher Salary Range: IDR300,000 – 500,000/MONTH
Class Size: 15-20
School Day: 7AM – 1PM
Days: MO - SA
Nearest Public School: 6KM
National Exam Centre: YES
Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: This school was initially built because students from the community could not get to the city for school and were therefore without education. Trust and transportation (distance) were the two reasons provided for why students choose to attend this school.

School Name: MTS AN-NIDHOMIYAH

Province: EAST JAVA

District: BANGKALAN

Established: 1991

Registration: MORA

Accreditation: "B"

Yayasan: AN-NIDHOMIYAH

BOS: YES

Grades: 7-9

Students: 168

Boys: 60%

Girls: 40%

Teachers: 19

Civil Servants: 2

Certified: 4

Professional Allowance: 2

Teacher Salary Range: IDR300,000 – 500,000/MONTH

Class Size: 40

School Day: 7AM – 1PM

Days: MO - SA

Nearest Public School: 6KM

National Exam Centre: YES

Passage Rate (2009): 96%

Notes: Primary exam scores are used as selection criteria for students at the secondary level. According to the head teacher, nearly all alumni return to work as farmers upon graduation. The school claims to have no issues hiring or keeping high-quality teachers.

School Name: NADWATUL ISHAQIYAH – “MA IBNU MALIK”

Province: EAST JAVA

District: BANGKALAN

Established: 1958

Registration: MORA

Accreditation: NO

Yayasan: MA IBNU MALIK

BOS: YES

Grades: 1-6

Students: 130

Boys: 80

Girls: 50

Teachers: 9

Civil Servants: 0

Certified: 0

Professional Allowance: N/A

Teacher Salary Range: IDR5,000/hr/week

Class Size: 30-35

School Day: 7:15AM – 11:30AM

Days: SA - TH

Nearest Public School: 1KM

National Exam Centre: YES

Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: There is no shortage of applications for teachers but the school still struggles to hire teachers with sufficient subject-matter training. Uniforms are provided for all students. Those who live far away board at the pesantren.

School Name: NADWATUL ISHAQIYAH – “MA IBNU MALIK”

Province: EAST JAVA

District: BANGKALAN

Established: 1958

Registration: MORA

Accreditation: “B”

Yayasan: MA IBNU MALIK

BOS: YES
Grades: 7-9
Students: 210
 Boys: 98
 Girls: 112
Teachers: 21
 Civil Servants: 1
 Certified: 1
 Professional Allowance: NO
Teacher Salary Range: IDR5,000/hr/week
Class Size: 30-35
School Day: 7:15AM – 11:30AM
 Days: SA - TH
Nearest Public School: 2KM
National Exam Centre: YES
 Passage Rate (2009): 100% (with three repeats)

Notes: The majority of teachers at this school moonlight as teachers at other schools. Trust was offered as the key for student selection. Additionally, the principal offered that this is the “favorite school in the area.” The yayasan provides financial support for building/maintenance. Support from the community is also important for the school. The principal noted that both subject matter training and in-service training would be extremely useful.

School Name: SMP INFORMATIKA

Province: EAST JAVA
District: BANGKALAN
Established: 2005
Registration: MONE
Accreditation: NO
Yayasan: NURUL HUDA
BOS: YES
Grades: 7-9
Students: 108
 Boys: 60%
 Girls: 40%
Teachers: 14
 Civil Servants: 0
 Certified: 0
 Professional Allowance: N/A
Teacher Salary Range: IDR130,000 – 380,000/MONTH

Class Size: 33-42
School Day: 7AM – 12:15PM
Days: MO - SA
Nearest Public School: 1KM
National Exam Centre: NO
Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: Primary students nearby had no junior secondary school to attend because there were no affordable options, so this school was started to serve the poorest students of the community. Students pay monthly fees of 8,000 rupiahs. Teacher retention was a problem initially but has improved in the past two years. Many of the teachers are part-time because they teach elsewhere. The facilities are modest and the principal noted that there are motivation problems for both teachers and students—who appear to focus only on the national exam.

School Name: AL-IBROHIMY

Province: EAST JAVA
District: BANGKALAN
Established: 1984
Registration: MORA
Accreditation: “B”
Yayasan: N.U.
BOS: YES
Grades: 1-9
Students: 332
Boys: 60%
Girls: 40%
Teachers: 56
Civil Servants: 8
Certified: 5
Professional Allowance: YES
Teacher Salary Range: IDR2,500/hr/week
Class Size: 30
School Day: 7:15AM – 12:10PM
Days: SA - TH
Nearest Public School: 1/2KM
National Exam Centre: YES
Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: Started as a small madrasa, this school has recently expanded to cover basic education in its entirety, including boarding facilities for approximately 100 students. Thirty (three civil

servants) of the teachers at Al-Ibrohimy teach at the junior secondary level, while 26 (five civil servants) teach at the primary level. Teachers at the school have received training from both MEDP and KKM—but the fact that many teach at multiple schools has lowered the quality of education, according to the principal. The school is supported financially by the community, in part because a proportion of the students are orphans.

School Name: N/A

Province: BANTEN

District: LEBAK

Established: 1972

Registration: MORA

Accreditation: “C”

Yayasan: N/A

BOS: YES

Grades: 1-6

Students: 87

Boys: 43

Girls: 44

Teachers: 6

Civil Servants: 0

Certified: 0

Professional Allowance: N/A

Teacher Salary Range: IDR250,000 (avg)/MONTH

Class Size: 8-25

School Day: 7:30 - 12PM

Days: SA - TH

Nearest Public School: ?

National Exam Centre: NO

Passage Rate (2009): N/A

Notes: This school is located in the mountains of Lebak, among the outer Baduy community. While more traditional Baduy community members do not attend this school, it does cater to a distinct population as compared with the surrounding Lebak area. It was started in the 1970s but until 2005, there were only two teachers at the school (the director and his wife). When the current director arrived in 1992, the school had been abandoned. In 2005, thanks to the BOS, four more teachers were hired. In 2010, the school was expanded to incorporate its first junior secondary class (with 37 new students). There have been 11 previous graduating classes from the primary school but only a few have moved on to junior secondary.

School Name: AL-HIDAYAH

Province: BANTEN

District: LEBAK

Established: 1980

Registration: MORA

Accreditation: "C"

Yayasan: AL-HIDAYAH

BOS: YES

Grades: 7-9

Students: 237

Boys: 40%

Girls: 60%

Teachers: 24

Civil Servants: 1

Certified: 4

Professional Allowance: NO

Teacher Salary Range: IDR2,500/hr/week

Class Size: 36-40

School Day: 7AM – 1:20PM; 11:20AM (FRIDAYS)

Days: MO - SA

Nearest Public School: 1KM

National Exam Centre: YES

Passage Rate (2009): 98%

Notes: When the school was established, there were only four students attending but it grew quickly with UNICEF support. The headmaster claimed that both government and community support are sporadic—having only received government funding every two years or so. The majority of the teachers at Al-Hidayah (60% of whom have bachelor's degrees) have been teaching for five to ten years but their training has been limited. While all students who apply to the school are accepted, there is a test given for selection into the advanced track at the school.

School Name: NURUL IMAN

Province: BANTEN

District: LEBAK

Established: 1965

Registration: MORA

Accreditation: "B"

Yayasan: AL-HIDAYAH

BOS: YES

Grades: 1-6

Students: 171

Boys: 79
Girls: 92
Teachers: 5
Civil Servants: 0
Certified: 0
Professional Allowance: N/A
Teacher Salary Range: IDR200,000 – 250,000/MONTH
Class Size: 35
School Day: 7AM – 12PM
Days: MO - SA
Nearest Public School: 2KM
National Exam Centre: NO
Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: When the school was first established (to provide access to students in a remote village), there were only 35 students and two teachers. BEP funds from the government allowed for expansion and the building of the current structure. The yayasan and community were purported to provide only “moral” support to the school, leaving the BOS as the sole funding source. Resources and the economy were offered as the biggest limitations to providing high-quality education. The headmaster noted that the reason why people choose his school is convenience (i.e., distance to the nearest school).

School Name: AL-KHOIRIAH

Province: BANTEN

District: LEBAK

Established: 1979

Registration: MORA

Accreditation: “C”

Yayasan: AL-KHOIRIAH

BOS: YES

Grades: 1-6

Students: 92

Boys: 60%

Girls: 40%

Teachers: 5

Civil Servants: 0

Certified: 1

Professional Allowance: NO

Teacher Salary Range: IDR1,000,000 (every three months)

Class Size: 15-20

School Day: 7:30AM – 12:30PM

Days: MO - SA

Nearest Public School: 11 KM

National Exam Centre: NO

Passage Rate (2009): 100%

Notes: This school was started because the nearest state school was so far away—and this continues to be true today. Without community funding, BOS remains the sole source of funding for the school. However, the school committee tries to support the school with building renovations whenever possible. The principal noted that there are significant difficulties hiring qualified teachers due to the remote setting and financial limitations of the school.

School Name: SULTAN HASANUDDIN

Province: BANTEN

District: LEBAK

Established: 1986

Registration: MORA

Accreditation: “C”

Yayasan: N/A

BOS: YES

Grades: 7-9

Students: 100

Boys: 60%

Girls: 40%

Teachers: 16

Civil Servants: 0

Certified: 2

Professional Allowance: NO

Teacher Salary Range: 0 (room and board are covered)

Class Size: 18-20

School Day: 7:30AM – 2:30PM

Days: SA - TH

Nearest Public School: 5KM

National Exam Centre: YES

Passage Rate (2009): 98%

Notes: This school, run solely by a headmaster (without a yayasan), was established to serve the Baduy people in the community who “were ready to be modernized”—but it was difficult to “convince them to be less primitive.” In addition to the BOS, a proportion of the community zakat is often donated to the school—but only about 200,000 rupiahs/year. While most teachers

are not paid, some of the senior staff may be compensated up to the amount of IDR1,000,000/month in order to support their families. All students who attend Sultan Hasanuddin board at the pesantren.

JAMAICA

Although the number of low-fee private primary (i.e., preparatory) schools in Jamaica has grown steadily over the past few years, current research on the topic is limited and knowledge of this sector is incomplete. Many of those directly involved in primary education are unaware of the burgeoning sector of low-fee preparatory schools, due in part to an arguably misleading nomenclature. Historically signifying wealth (and even elitism), preparatory schools are generally equated with high costs, causing the mere concept of “low-fee prep schools” to be paradoxical. Despite this potential contradiction in terms, low-cost preparatory schools do exist in Jamaica and they appear to be serving the educational needs of many low-income students throughout the country.¹³⁰

History and Characteristics of Non-government Schools

Contrary to popular belief, preparatory schools are not a contemporary development in Jamaica. Their long history predates the establishment of public elementary education (Miller, cited in Hall, 1981). Preparatory schools have contributed greatly to defining the nature and quality of education in the country. According to the well-known educator Errol Miller (cited in Hall, 1981), during the slave period the concept of public education did not exist; and therefore no schools or other educational provisions were in place in the society. Education was a private enterprise for the wealthy planter class and colonial administrators “who sent their children to England or conversely brought out governesses to give them (their children) private tuition in their homes” (p. 14). However, in 1724, one of the first locally operated fee-charging preparatory schools was established. This was the result of a generous donation by John Wolmer, a wealthy planter, who was concerned about the inadequacy of education in the society.

Historically, preparatory schools charged fees and were run by churches to provide basic education to the privileged class. Ultimately, two types of preparatory schools emerged; the exclusive schools that charged high fees and catered mainly to the upper class and service-oriented schools that catered to the working class. Fees for the latter institutions were kept at an affordable cost. Many of these schools started in modest, informal settings. The social class divide, a distinct feature of the preparatory schools, is arguably what sets it apart from the public primary school system.

During the 1870s and 1880s the structure of the preparatory schools was reorganized, which resulted in the establishment of high schools, with exclusive preparatory schools serving as their feeders. This direct link between high-fee preparatory and high schools gave rise to the elitist, two-tiered education system that continues to define much of education in Jamaica today (Gordon, 1991). As far as regulations were concerned, preparatory schools were virtually on

¹³⁰ There is, however, an absence of comprehensive data and statistics on this sector.

their own until the mid-1960s. Despite their important historical role in Jamaica's education system, it was not until the Education Act of 1965 that the government (i.e., Ministry of Education) gained the power to "register and regulate the operation of Private Educational Institutions" (MOEJ, 1992, p. 1). In combination with the Independent Schools Regulations 1973 (27.9.73), the Education Act gave the government control for maintaining "standards of education that are consistent with national requirements" (MOEJ, p.1). It is these regulations that have become the cornerstone of many of the recent Ministry programs/policies regarding this sector, and they have become particularly important with the recent expansion of low-fee preparatory schools throughout the country.

While there are no comprehensive data on the characteristics of low-fee prep schools in Jamaica, the 15 prep schools from six of the country's parishes that were visited as a part of our fieldwork provide a relatively representative view of the sector. These schools were considerably smaller than their public counterparts (with the majority of schools ranging from about thirty to one hundred students), with significantly smaller class sizes (about 15-30). The tuition at these schools ranged from 4,000 JMD per term (\$16/month) to 30,000JMD/term (\$120/month)—with the majority charging around 12,000-15,000JMD/term (\$47-59/month). Teachers were reported to have been paid only a fraction of what public school teachers are paid—with some prep school teachers only receiving a stipend in place of a proper salary. Complete school descriptions for all 15 schools are included at the end of this case-study analysis.

Degree to which Non-government Schools Accommodate Low Income Children

There is a misconception in Jamaica that preparatory schools are only for the wealthy. While many preparatory schools do serve the needs of wealthy students attempting to secure a place in some of the nation's top traditional high schools, low-fee prep schools serve a different segment of the student population and are the main source of assistance for those who are falling behind in the public system. However, the exact number of these schools (and students they serve) remains unknown. This lack of knowledge about the size of the sector stems from the fact that development organizations rarely target preparatory schools in their projects, as well as the fact that the Ministry of Education currently has no comprehensive record of the tuitions and fees paid in the nation's preparatory schools. That said, a combination of basic educational statistics and recent fieldwork conducted by the authors of this report shed some light on the degree to which non-government primary schools in Jamaica accommodate low-income children.

Primary education in Jamaica caters to children ages 6-11 and is offered in public primary schools (grades 1-6), primary and junior high schools, preparatory schools and all age schools (grades 1-9). At the primary level, Jamaica is near to meeting its EFA goal of universal enrollment, with 90% net enrollment and a gross enrollment rate of 99.7% (see Appendix III). Of the 307,861 students enrolled in primary grades in the 2008/9 school year, approximately

271,722 (86.7%) students were enrolled in 792 public primary institutions, while 36,139 or 13.3% were enrolled in 204 private schools. Although the private school enrollment rates are still higher for the country's wealthiest families, approximately 10 to 11% of parents in the lowest two economic quintiles enrolled their children in preparatory schools in 2007 (see Table 5). This represents an important change in the role of preparatory schools in Jamaica—one that is central to this study.

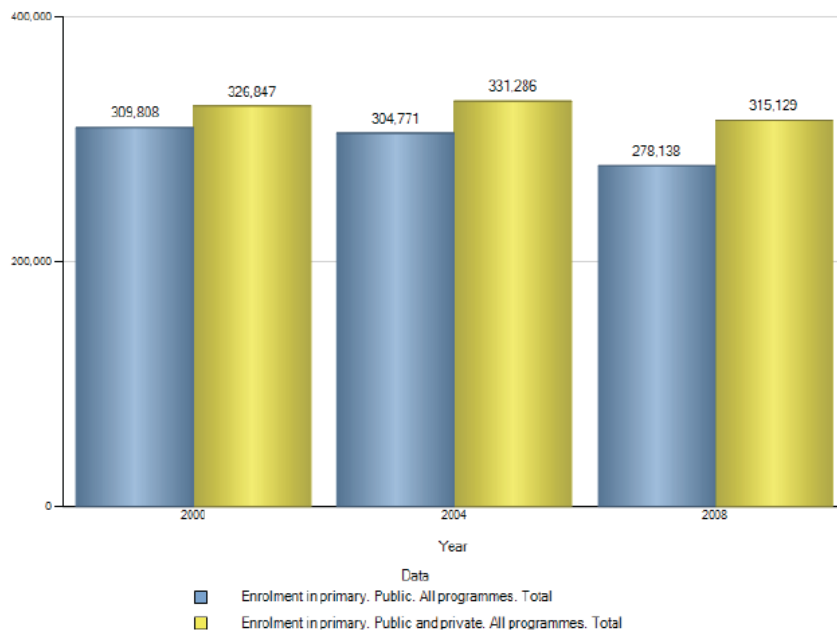
Table 5¹³¹: Percentage of students enrolled in Public and Private Institutions by Region, Quintile and Age, 2007

Category	N	School Sector		Total
		Public	Private	
Region				
KMA	541	78.2	21.8	100
Other Towns	389	84.1	15.9	100
Rural Areas	1 037	88.0	12.0	100
Quintile				
Poorest	475	89.5	10.5	100
2	452	89.6	10.4	100
3	396	86.9	13.1	100
4	377	84.6	15.4	100
5	267	72.3	27.7	100
Age (Years)				
3-5	335	55.5	44.5	100
6-11	837	86.7	13.3	100
12-14	438	97.3	2.7	100
15-16	246	98	2	100
17-18	107	96.3	3.7	100
19-24	4	100.0	0.0	100
Jamaica	1 967	85.7	14.3	100

Although not broken into economic quintiles, Figure 4 (below) additionally shows that the proportion of primary school students in preparatory schools has increased from just over 5% in 2000 to nearly 12% in 2008. With the expansion of a low-fee private school sector over the past decade, it is reasonable to assume that at least a portion of the increase in preparatory school enrollment is being driven by low-income families in low-cost preparatory schools.

¹³¹ Source: Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions 2007

Figure 4¹³²: Relative Primary Enrollment Rates by Sector (2000, 2004,



2008)

While it is not surprising that low-fee preparatory schools generally target low-income families seeking an alternative to the public system—and who cannot afford high-fee prep schools—the focus of this sector is slightly more specialized. Principals of low-fee schools who were interviewed for this study regularly noted that their schools serve students who are slow-learners and who are left behind in the public system. These are often students who need more individualized attention than can be provided by government schools (due to both overcrowding and undertraining of teachers), according to principals and parents. In other words, not only do low-fee preparatory schools in Jamaica accommodate low-income children to the tune of 10 to 11% at the lowest economic quintiles, they appear to be focusing their efforts directly on the serving the needs of some of the most at-risk and underserved students in the system.

The Regulatory Environments

Preparatory schools in Jamaica are registered and monitored by the Independent Schools’ section¹³³ of the Ministry of Education’s Educational Services Division—where independent schools are defined by the government as “any schools at which education is provided for 20 or more students not being a public educational institution” (MOEJ, 2010). This definition covers preparatory schools as well as all other private schools from pre-primary to vocational. Although the government does recognize the “vital role that independent schools are playing”, offering that “the existence of private educational institutions reflect a demand for educational opportunities

¹³² Source: UNESCO UIS Statistics Custom Table created by authors.

¹³³ This structure is defined by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture website. In the experience of the researchers, this section is also referred to as the Private Schools Unit.

in excess of those which the public system cannot now provide”, their policies on this sector are focused more on monitoring and regulations than support (MOEJ, 2010). For example, although all preparatory schools are required to be registered with the Ministry of Education and are subject to government regulations (i.e., following the national curriculum, keeping student registers and offering national examinations), only a small number of them are assisted with per capita student grants or a “teacher position”—which, in practice, is the equivalent of a government teacher’s salary to be spread among all teachers at the school. Ultimately, while preparatory schools might not have historically required much (if any) government support, with a recent trend toward low-fee private schools for the poor, there is increased pressure for the government’s role toward preparatory schools to change as well. A newly proposed MOE policy on independent schools appears to be making such a change.

Development of a National Policy on Independent Schools¹³⁴

In an effort to establish partnerships and provide greater regulation, supervision and monitoring of the private school sector in Jamaica, the Ministry of Education is in the process of developing a National Policy on Independent Schools. A policy document has recently been drafted by the Ministry of Education and is continually being updated and revised in response to input from the Jamaican Independent Schools Association, as well as independent school owners, principals and teachers. The Ministry has been holding regular stakeholder meetings around the country in order to ensure that the final draft of the policy is supported by JISA and other relevant stakeholders before submitting the policy to the government for approval.

This policy is aimed at providing a broad-based framework to guide operations and governance of the independent (private) educational institutions in Jamaica. It outlines registration procedures, accreditation and supervision, and seeks to secure quality education and training for all students and teachers. The policy has the following six main objectives:

- (i) Providing clear operating standards and regulations for the sector;
- (ii) Providing clearly defined sanctions for non-compliance with the regulations;
- (iii) Redefining private schools (both in terms of name and function) to include all levels and genre of the system and the concept of lifelong learning;
- (iv) Establishing a management framework that adequately meets the operating needs of the private schools in guaranteeing quality assurance, safety and security;
- (v) Identifying stakeholders (Ministry of Education, private providers and parents) and their roles in the effective operation of these schools; and
- (vi) Ensuring that the curricula utilized by private institutions are approved by the Ministry of Education.

¹³⁴ Independent school is now the preferred nomenclature by the private schools’ unit of the Ministry of Education.

This proposed policy constitutes an important step in reorganizing the role of low-fee private schools in the Jamaican education system, especially with regard to breaking down myths about preparatory schools and ensuring an efficient and effectively monitored private school system.

Financial Sustainability

Non-government schools in Jamaica receive little (or often no) financial support from the government. Therefore, all school funding comes from school fees and external donors. While one might think that this would cause all preparatory schools to behave like businesses—raising fees to maximize profits (within the constraints of demand)—this does not appear to be the case with most of the nation’s low-fee preparatory schools. For example, in interviews with both principals and parents our team found that many of the prep schools that serve low-income families are more similar to charitable organizations than businesses. In nearly half the schools visited, principals either declined pay altogether or received a salary lower than that of their teachers. Additionally, nearly every school visited had a number of students who were unable to pay the required fees but who remained enrolled. Ultimately, it appears that the motivation for the establishment of low-fee preparatory schools in Jamaica is focused heavily on providing opportunities to underserved students and not on generating profits. While school owners cannot be blamed for their interest in providing opportunities to underserved children, the approach does appear to have serious potential ramifications for the long-term financial sustainability of the sector. This is exacerbated by the fact that the majority of schools visited were unable to secure regular donations (monetary or supplies), in addition to their inability to secure regular tuition payments from parents—which is especially problematic when the fees are so low to begin with.

One of the major reasons provided by parents for their inability to pay in full (or on time) is the current economic recession. This, in turn, has caused some school owners to raise their fees in the past year or two, which often works counter to their intentions because it puts the new tuition level outside the reach of some of the school’s target population. With the ongoing recession and the increase in the cost of living, many poor parents are likely to continue to have difficulty paying private school fees, which could ultimately result in students moving from preparatory back to public schools. Consequently, recent unofficial reports state that some preparatory schools have had to close down operations because parents cannot afford to send their children to a fee-charging school.¹³⁵

Furthermore, while public schools in Jamaica are not required to pay a consumption tax (GCT) on educational goods, the situation for private schools is far more complicated. Although the government contends that private schools should be able to submit a waiver for GCT on some educational supplies, nearly every school we visited informed us that they either didn’t know

¹³⁵ This information was obtained via interviews with Ministry officials

about the waiver or that it only covered a small proportion of their necessities (not including furniture—which was one of the costliest expenses).

Despite an expansion of the low-fee private sector in the past decade, the issues laid out in this section raise questions regarding the long-term sustainability of some low-fee preparatory schools, especially during hard economic times.

Quality of (Low Income) Non-government School Output

While comprehensive data are, once again, unavailable with regard to low-fee prep school output, one of the simplest yet most important measures of quality is perception. In other words, if parents believe that their children are in the educational environment that is best suited to their needs, the quality of the school is perceived to be high. Since parents can send their children to public schools for free (or at least without tuition) and it costs them more to use a preparatory school, it must be assumed that parents are making a rational choice about maximizing utility—i.e., that the low-fee preparatory schools are of higher perceived quality, broadly defined, than the nearby public school options. The question remains, however, as to what criteria parents use to make this decision.

Typical reasons given by low-income parents for why they choose non-government schools were numerous but consistent across schools. Parents regularly emphasized security, respect and lack of exposure to violence and sex in preparatory schools. Many parents noted that violence in the public school system was virtually the norm and that bullying was a regular occurrence in government schools. After removing their children from the public system, parents regularly found that their children were in safer, more encouraging environments—and stated that their concerns about violence and bullying were reduced greatly, nearly to the point of non-existence. Additionally, parents said the smaller classes and more individualized attention were beneficial for their children—especially those with learning disabilities. Finally, parents offered that preparatory schools were more like families, whereas in the public schools, in the words of one parent “fighting is a part of the curriculum...it’s like a prison mentality.”

In addition to parental preference, there are several other measures of quality of schooling (and output) that can be gleaned from our sample schools. For example, while the sample schools had considerably smaller class sizes and more individualized attention than in the public system, low-fee prep school teachers were often less likely to have completed teacher training and were paid considerably less than public school teachers. Despite the low salaries, teacher satisfaction in the schools appeared to be relatively high—with many teachers feeling as though it was their duty to give back to their community. How these measures actually translate to learning and achievement is a little less straightforward. While some are likely to claim that training makes a better teacher, others might argue that the prep school teachers are more motivated and are there

for charitable reasons. Both arguments are reasonable and without achievement data, it is difficult to draw concrete conclusions. It was true, however, that the GSAT passage rate among students in the sample schools was high, and in many cases, these schools were able to send more students to traditional high schools than their nearby public school counterparts.

Donor Experiences

Few international aid organizations are currently working with private schools in Jamaica (regardless of whether they are high fee or low fee). While the World Bank's Reform of Secondary Education (ROSE II) project provides school improvement plan (SIP) grants to both public and private schools (focusing on those most in need of support), the project does not currently provide any grants to schools at the primary level. However, World Bank education officials noted in interviews that the low-fee private primary education sector is an area of burgeoning interest and that the Bank would be willing to support these schools under the right project. USAID's Basic Education Program (BEP) currently deals explicitly with public primary schools but interest has been expressed in potentially extending the coverage to include private schools (especially those that focus on special needs students). Furthermore, IDB is interested in the private schooling sector and may use its new Human Capital Protection Program II to extend Programme for Advancement through Health and Education (PATH) benefits to private school students—if supported by the government. PATH is a joint Government of Jamaica and World Bank funded program that provides cash transfers to low-income public school students. Several organizations have discussed the possibility of extending the benefits to low-income private school students but no such measures have been taken to date.

Outstanding Issues

In addition to the general misconceptions about preparatory schools in Jamaica (i.e., all are profit-making) and whom they serve (i.e., only for the wealthy), there are several other issues of particular importance in the Jamaican context. Perhaps most important is the potential impact of low-fee preparatory schools beyond the scope of the educational system. The implications of affording educational opportunities to special needs students who are purported to otherwise get “lost” in and frustrated by the public school system are quite large. For example, with approximately half of the murders and robberies in Jamaica being committed by males between the ages of 16 and 25 (and nearly 90% of robberies occurring in Kingston and the surrounding parishes), it is not too hard to imagine that providing opportunities for success to young boys who have been frustrated (and sometimes forgotten) by the system could have a significant impact not only on school completion rates but on crime rates, violence and safety in certain communities as well.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Based on the educational and societal needs, focusing efforts on the Kingston Metropolitan Area (KMA) is most advisable in the view of the authors of this report.

A second issue is that of data collection and statistics. As mentioned throughout this report, Jamaica (much like other developing countries) does not have an up-to-date, comprehensive database of educational statistics that can be used for analyses such as the one intended here. Although the Ministry of Education does collect certain enrollment data that can be coupled with the Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions (JSLC), there is still work to be done with regard to comprehensive data collection. To fully assess the impact of the low-fee private school sector, it is necessary to have a complete understanding of the number of schools (and enrolled students) in the sector and ideally tuition/fees and academic outcome measures. These data do not currently exist in Jamaica.

The final major issue (discussed briefly above) is that of long-term financial sustainability. It does not appear that the low-fee private sector will be able to sustain itself without external support. Such supports are, however, currently unavailable. This is not to say that the government and donor organizations are unwilling to assist these schools in the long run but simply that current support for the sector has been minimal. However, the government has made recent efforts to increase public-private partnerships and to provide preparatory schools with many of the same benefits that are accorded to public schools. Unfortunately, the capacity and resources of the government are severely limited. The proposed policy on private schools is an excellent illustration of a new public – private partnership that could strengthen the low-fee preparatory sector but it is definitely not without its shortcomings. Ultimately, it seems unlikely that the government will have the capacity and resources to implement these new measures without the assistance of development organizations—several of which have shown a recent interest in the sector.

Recommendations

Recommendations to Government of Jamaica

While the proposed policy on independent schools is well-intentioned and undoubtedly a step in the right direction, the following measures could be taken in order to strengthen the policy's implementation and impact:

The supervisory function within the ministry is already overburdened. The government might consider utilizing one or more of the associations of private schools, such as the Jamaica Independent Schools Associations, to inspect schools, following government guidelines. This would build the capacity of the association and promote a culture of accountability that would support the education transformation process in the private primary sector.

The government should also consider how the private schools could be rated (not ranked) using standard information pertaining to capacity, price and results including but not limited to examination results. This information, including information on examination results, should be

publicly available. In so doing, this could promote accountability, improve performance and encourage greater stakeholder involvement in education.

Specifically related to the newly proposed policy itself, it is essential that the ministry clearly define relevant and feasible sanctions for failing to meet new regulations. While monetary sanctions may work counter to their intended purpose, threats of closing schools may be too harsh and could prove to undermine the system as a whole. Given the dire needs of some schools, the Ministry should first seek to provide support to the schools to enable them to meet the minimum operating standards, including but not limited to physical upgrades, professional development for staff and the provision of teaching and learning materials; and through periodic inspections sanction schools that do not maintain these standards.

In an effort to support low-fee preparatory schools, the government should consider relieving private schools of the tax burden that they face. While public schools are not required to pay GCT on educational goods, the situation for private schools is more complicated and should be reviewed, if not revised.

Finally, government policies concerning the independent school sector should not be limited to the areas of supervision, monitoring, governance and management. It is essential to understand that low-fee preparatory schools in Jamaica are meeting an educational demand for many at-risk children. As such, any policies aimed at building public-private partnerships in education should focus specifically on serving the needs of slow learners and victims of school bullying, many of whom appear to be falling through the cracks in the current educational system. [Potential programs regarding these types of students are expanded upon in the next section.]

Recommendations to USAID

USAID can provide assistance to low-fee preparatory schools in Jamaica through several avenues. The following recommendations are intended to complement existing government programs and policies, as well as to provide additional support to the newly proposed policy on independent schools (and the suggested recommendations made to the Government of Jamaica, above). The impact of these recommendations is expected to extend beyond the immediate outcomes of a development program on primary education—ultimately assisting the government in reducing youth crime rates via sustainable policies and programming.

For instance, USAID may wish to undertake a project that focuses on enhancing and expanding opportunities to special needs students in low-fee preparatory schools, in an effort to raise the overall academic achievement and to lower the dropout rates of some of the country's most at-risk youth, in some of the most troubled parishes. As previously noted, by specifically targeting Kingston Metropolitan Area preparatory schools that serve troubled youth who are likely to get “lost” in the public system, USAID could create a project that both increases academic outcomes

and reduces community concerns such as violence and crime. Such a project could incorporate the following components:

- Student based grants in low-fee-preparatory schools to cover the costs of children with learning disabilities.
- Assistance in the procurement of professional assessments of students entering from the public system. (This can come in the form of grants to schools or vouchers to parents.) While schools often test students for content knowledge to place them properly, intake assessments that incorporate medical, behavioral, psychosocial, as well as literacy and numeracy assessments may prove extremely useful.
- Training and support to teachers with regard to the use of diagnostic tools for identifying and working with special needs students. The World Bank's ROSE II project is a successful example.
- Focusing specifically on schools in Kingston and the adjacent parishes (or areas within parishes) where dropouts, crime and violence are most prominent.
- Provision of assistance to the Jamaica Association of Independent Schools (JISA) to perform services on behalf of low-tuition preparatory schools. These services might include the sponsorship of a private school rating system, the training of accountants and budget officers, school managers, and public relations personnel. Training in advocacy for JISA would also be useful to ensure equity and quality in the provision of education.

USAID could enhance some of the pathways for assistance to preparatory schools that are already in existence, as well as to extend successful programs that have yet to reach this sector. A program modeled on the New Horizons Project that is tailored to the diverse needs of the sector could be explored. USAID may also consider including private schools in its Basic Primary Education Project.

- While the PATH program provides a cash benefit to poor families who send their children to public schools, this program should be extended to preparatory schools. Poor families should receive such assistance regardless of whether they decide to pay tuition for their children to attend school. The same regulations should apply (i.e., students continue to receive benefits only with proof of regular attendance).
- Grants for textbooks, furniture and/or learning materials can be provided to low-fee preparatory schools.
- Support for school feeding programs and transportation, which add greater financial burden on parents and in some cases prevent students from attending school regularly, could be provided.
- Programs of support for parents that will increase their involvement in the education of their children, such as through the PTA should be considered.

- Coordination between private and public schools with regard to sports and extra-curricular activities. (This is suggested because many low-fee prep schools are small and do not offer comprehensive extra-curricular programming.)
- All materials purchased by public schools are relieved of General Consumption Tax. Even if USAID does not wish to provide grants for materials, it is still possible to ease the burden on preparatory schools by providing reimbursements for GCT paid on educational supplies.

USAID can play an important role in dispelling the myths laid out in this report, as well in providing information on the extent to which a low-fee preparatory sector exists, in the following ways:

- Technical assistance to the MOEJ in the collection of school-level data on tuition and fees. (The MOE does not currently have official information on tuition in prep schools.) It may also be useful to collect student-level data, in order to provide a greater understanding of the families served by such institutions.
- Community awareness on the issue of low-fee preparatory schools. For example, this could take the form of assisting low-fee prep schools in building relationships with organizations, such as Food for the Poor, possibly through management training for principals and/or school owners. This work could also be combined with the provision of assistance to the JISA (noted above).

School Descriptions - Jamaica¹³⁷

School Name: EASTERN KINDER & PREP

Parish: KINGSTON

Established: 2008

Grades: K-6

Students: 30

Boys: 60%

Girls: 40%

Teachers: 4

Teacher Salary: 30% LESS THAN GOV'T

Nearest Public School: < 1/2mi

Tuition: JMD12,000/TERM

Facilities: Rented from single proprietor

Notes: At the end of the 2007-2008 school year, several teachers from a nearby preparatory school decided to leave and start Eastern Kinder/Prep. The current principal stated that this split

¹³⁷ The exchange rate from the Jamaican Dollar (JMD) to the US Dollar (\$) is JMD1000 to \$11.72. All tuitions, salaries, fees, etc. in this section are in Jamaican Dollars, unless otherwise noted.

came at the request of parents who were not happy with the first school. The majority of the students who initially enrolled in Eastern were in grades 5 and 6 (all of whom have graduated), hence the fact that the school is now so small. Of the 15 students who graduated this year, all passed the GSAT and 14 of them are in secondary schools. Students are taught in multi-grade classrooms and all teachers in the school are trained. The tuition fees cover teacher salaries, rent, toys, toiletries, teaching materials (i.e., chalk, erasers, etc.) but parents are expected to purchase textbooks separately. Lunch is provided for all students. For those parents who struggle to pay the full tuition, payment plans may be instated. There are currently approximately 10 students (one out of three) who do not pay any tuition at all. The building has a potential capacity to receive 100 students. The school is open from 8am to 3pm on Monday to Friday but extra lessons are provided for about 100JMD/day for those students preparing for the GSAT.

School Name: BETHLEHEM REFORM SCHOOL

Parish: KINGSTON (MAVIS BANK)

Established: 2002

Grades: K-11

Students: 37

Boys: 31

Girls: 6

Teachers: 3 (PLUS 1 AIDE)

EMPLOYEES: ONE PART-TIME COOK AND CLEANER

Teacher Salary: STIPEND ONLY

Nearest Public School: 2 MILES

Tuition: JMD4,000/TERM

Facilities: CHURCH-OWNED

Notes: Established in 2002, this school was started in order to provide educational opportunities to students with special needs, including those who may have been “lost” in the public system. Bethlehem Reform enrolls students who are mute, visually impaired, those with physical disabilities, ADHD and other learning disabilities. Parents are asked to pay a “donation” of 4,000JMD per term but only three or four families (out of 37) can actually cover the costs. Seven children live at home with the principal. The school has received a Ministry of Education grant to pay one trained teacher but that grant has actually been used to cover the stipend of three teachers, one aide, one sanitation worker and one cook. While the stated mission of Bethlehem Reform is to provide students with an opportunity to return to the public system, the school also provides skill area training in home economics, plumbing, construction (woodwork) and agriculture—which is especially important for those who do not return to the public system. While a local church owns the facilities, this is in name only. The principal of the school is the pastor at the church and she bought the land in the church’s name for collateral. In reality, though, she and her husband own the land and school. The school receives no additional

monetary assistance (aside from the grant mentioned above) but it has been assisted with furniture by School of Hope (Jamaica's largest special education school).

School Name: GENESIS ACADEMY

Parish: KINGSTON

Established: 1998?

Grades: AGES 12-35

Students: 69

Boys: 36

Girls: 33

Teachers: 8 LEAD / 8 ASST

Teacher Salary: N/A

Nearest Public School: N/A

Tuition: JMD72,000/TERM

Facilities: Privately Owned

Notes: (Although an interesting and impressive school, the tuition of Genesis Academy is outside the purview of this study.) Genesis serves students with mild to severe disabilities—from ADHD to Down syndrome, autism, etc. There is an intake assessment test, which is used to place students. This assessment is comprised of both a medical assessment and a math/reading assessment. All students are then provided with IEPs and the student/teacher ratio is no higher than 15:2. The true cost/student is 95,000/term, considerably higher than the tuition. Students over the age of 21 are placed in the adult education program at the school. Some students at Genesis are sent there by the public system (and government funding comes along with them); while others are placed there by parents, who are responsible for all school fees. Although public funding was approximately 58,000/term last year, it has been reduced to 77,500/year for 2010.

School Name: ALPHA BOYS' SCHOOL

Parish: KINGSTON

Notes: This school was not visited directly but we did have a conversation with the former principal (who is now the acting principal at Genesis Academy). Alpha Boys' School is mainly a technical/vocational school for street kids, most of whom are special needs students. Although officially an independent school, Alpha Boys' does receive a grant for teacher salaries, as well as the provision of textbooks from the MOE. Additional funding for the school comes from the school's printing and woodwork shops that are run, in part, by the students.

School Name: FAITHVILLE KINDER & PREP

Parish: KINGSTON

Established: 2009
Grades: PRE-K - 2
Students: 31
 Boys: 50%
 Girls: 50%
Teachers: 2 (PLUS 1 AIDE)
Teacher Salary: JMD16,000 – 45,000 / MONTH
Nearest Public School: <1/2 MILE
Tuition: JMD10,000-12,000/term (kinder v prep)
Facilities: Rented from single proprietor

Notes: Faithville was a basic education school for five years but has also been a preparatory school since 2009. The acting principal offered that parents choose this school because discipline is good, teachers are warm, tuition is low and class sizes are small. All students are required to pay an insurance fee (350/yr.) and lunch is not included in the tuition (150/week). Rent for the facilities is 70,000/month and it is paid out of the tuition, as are the teacher salaries. There is a rule that no student will be allowed to attend without a bank voucher (proof of payment) but the principal said that in practice no students are actually turned away. Approximately 25% of students could not pay last year but continued to attend. The school currently only goes up to grade 2 but is expanding with the addition of one grade each year. The principal lives on her pension and does not pay herself a salary.

School Name: HILLCOVE PREPARATORY ACADEMY

Parish: ST. ANN'S (BROWN'S TOWN)
Established: 2008
Grades: K-6
Students: 112
 Boys: 49
 Girls: 63
Teachers: 13
Teacher Salary: LESS THAN ½ GOV'T PAY
Nearest Public School: 1/2 MILE
Tuition: JMD20,000/TERM
Facilities: Rent from single proprietor (60,000/month)

Notes: Parents who send their children to Hillcove informed us that they do so because a good foundation is important and not every child can learn in a setting that is as overcrowded as the public school system. Bad influences were also consistently noted as reasons to keep children out of public schools. All parents in the focus group had attended public schools (several of whom are even public school teachers), yet they all have more faith in the private system. Parents also

noted that convenience was a factor, especially with regard to after-school care. The school holds a fundraising bar-b-que every year but the tuition fees cover nearly all school costs. This will be the first year in which Hillcove will have students taking the GSAT but eight students took the grade four literacy/numeracy exam last year, six of whom mastered it, one near master and one student failed. One parent reported that of her three children private school was essential for her youngest because he was small for his age and was the victim of bullying and abuse by his peers in government school She reported that in a government school the teachers, with such over-crowded classes, were 'powerless to stop the abuse' against her son. Other parents reported that safety was among the reasons they send their children to private school. Other reasons included better nutrition, closer personal attention, closer relations with the teachers, mutual trust between parent and principal, learning problems in public schools.

School Name: BROOKHAM PREP

Parish: ST. ANN'S (SALEM)

Established: 2008

Grades: K-6

Students: 29

Boys: 15

Girls: 14

Teachers: 6 (PLUS 1 ASST)

Teacher Salary: UP TO JMD40,000/MONTH

Nearest Public School: < 1 MILE

Tuition: JMD27,000/TERM

Facilities: Rented from single proprietor

Notes: Brookham has sustained large losses in enrollment due to the economic situation of the surrounding area. Last year there were nearly twice as many students as this year. Subsequently, the price of tuition has risen by 50% over the past two years, which, in turn, has caused more students to leave the school. Many students who left the school this year still owed a significant amount to the school. In addition to tuition, students are expected to purchase or provide their own lunch. According to the principal, Brookham works as a feeder program at times, taking public school students, teaching them to read/write and then sending them back to the public school. All grade four students last year passed the literacy/numeracy exam. Parents noted that they chose Brookham over public schools because it had a better learning environment, smaller classes. They reported that Brookham was family oriented, without no shifts, had healthier environment, greater individual attention and was safer for their children.

School Name: BUILDER'S READING CENTRE

Parish: ST. JAMES (MONTEGO BAY)

Established: 2007

Grades: 1-6

Students: 45

Boys: 30

Girls: 15

Teachers: 5

Teacher Salary: JMD42,000-45,000 (NET)

Nearest Public School: ½ MILE

Tuition: JMD28,000/TERM

Facilities: RENTED

Notes: Parents noted that they send their children to Builder's because of the one-on-one attention and relatively low tuition (stating that the next cheapest alternative is 35,000/term but provides less individualized attention). Several parents even followed the principal to Builder's (from the previous school where she was a teacher). The school building is rented from a businessman and the school pays 44,000/month, plus electricity, water and phone. Lunch is provided to students for 150-200JMD/day. Parents have also been asked to contribute for maintenance and school supplies. Currently five of the 45 students do not pay anything but they are not going to be asked to leave the school. Builder's focuses specifically on slow learners and learning-disabled students—and the school encourages parents to have their children tested upon entry.

School Name: ST. NEVA'S PREP

Parish: ST. JAMES (MONTEGO BAY)

Established: 1998

Grades: ECD-5

Students: 90

Boys: 40

Girls: 50

Teachers: 7 (1 TRAINED)

Teacher Salary: JMD18,000-22,000/MONTH

Nearest Public School: 100-300 METERS

Tuition: JMD12,000/TERM

Facilities: RENTED

Notes: St. Neva's Prep, located in the heart of Montego Bay, is in the process of transforming itself into an ECD only school. 2008 was the final year of full primary and the highest grade will be dropped in each of the next five years, until no primary grades remain. The reasoning behind this change is somewhat unclear, as contradictory reasons were provided by the principal and head teacher. The school does have relatively large class sizes (upwards of 30 students) and dark,

cramped facilities. Rent for the building is 130,000/month—which is far higher than any other school visited for this study. The school is claimed to target slow learners and students with behavioral problems.

School Name: PRAISE CHAPEL PREP

Parish: ST. JAMES (MONTEGO BAY)

Established: 1998

Grades: K-6

Students: 104

Boys: 52

Girls: 52

Teachers: 12

Teacher Salary: JMD23,000-50,000/MONTH

Nearest Public School: <1 MILE

Tuition: JMD14,000/TERM

Facilities: CHURCH-OWNED

Notes: The current principal at Praise Chapel has been there since 2001, when she began to transform the school from an ECD to a full basic facility. The tuition in 2009 was only 9,500/term but because the school was owed more than 2,000,000JMD from outstanding fees, the tuition was increased by nearly 50% this year. However, those in debt have not been forced to leave the school. The majority of teachers make around 23,000/month but the principal receives 50,000/month. Approximately one-quarter to one-half of all students at Praise Chapel are unable to pay the tuition. In addition to using church facilities, the school has also benefited from donations from Food for the Poor and private investors (in the form of books). The school is responsible for paying utilities, as well as ground maintenance. The principal claims that many students choose Praise Chapel over the local public school because of violence/fighting, or because they are slow learners and get lost in the public system. Six students took the GSAT last year and all passed—two students got their first choice.

School Name: CORNWALL PREP

Parish: ST. JAMES (GRANVILLE)

Established: 1997

Grades: 1-6

Students: 37

Boys: 11

Girls: 26

Teachers: 6 (5 TRAINED)

Teacher Salary: JMD20,000-30,000/MONTH

Nearest Public School: 2 MILES

Tuition: JMD20,000/TERM

Facilities: RENT (FROM CHURCH)

Notes: Cornwall Prep is located on church grounds but is entirely independent of the church and pays 20,000JMD/month in rent. The principal has been at this school from its inception (when her son attended here). The school receives no additional funding aside from tuition. In addition to the teachers, the school staffs a cook and a part-time coach who comes every week for physical education. Enrollment dropped by 15-20% from last year, due to economic situation. More than 10 students had still not paid any tuition by the time of the school visit and teachers send their children to Cornwall for half tuition. The principal claims that students attend Cornwall due to its good academic standards and proximity (most students being from the immediate surrounding area). Five students took the GSAT last year— four passed and one went on to a junior high school.

School Name: CALVARY PREP

Parish: KINGSTON

Established: 1958

Grades: K-6

Students: 71

Boys: 36

Girls: 35

Teachers: 5 (2 TRAINED)

Teacher Salary: JMD30,000-50,000/MONTH

Nearest Public School: 100 METERS

Tuition: JMD20,000 (K-1); 30,000 (2-6)

Facilities: CHURCH OWNED

Notes: Calvary is one of the few schools visited for this study that saw increased enrollment this year—which the principal sees as being a result of lowered tuition fees. Still, approximately 10% of families cannot afford to pay the tuition—several of whom are now on a payment plan. The school holds small-scale fundraising events (such as movie night, evening of excellence, etc.). No rent is paid to the church for the use of the facilities but utility costs are shared. Teacher salaries are based on the same measures as in the government schools but they are just on a lower scale. Teachers can earn extra money with after-school and GSAT classes. The school provided lunch for the past three years but due to financial constraints, it will not be providing it this year. Uniforms, textbooks, stationary and extra-curriculars are not included in the tuition. Calvary has some special needs students but they are often used to bringing students up to grade-level, in order for them to return to the public system.

School Name: TARRANT PRIMARY (PUBLIC)

Parish: KINGSTON
Established: 1970
Grades: 1-6
Students: 670
 Boys: 60%
 Girls: 40%
Teachers: 26
Teacher Salary: UP TO JMD1,500,000/MONTH
Nearest Public School: N/A
Tuition: N/A
Facilities: N/A

Notes: From 920 students in 2008 to 670 students now, Tarrant has seen significant drops in enrollment recently. The principal (newly acquired from a nearby school) believes that this is a combination of migration and school choice, but does not think that any of the lost students are now attending preparatory schools. Two of the biggest challenges faced by Tarrant are violence (especially stabbings at the nearby Tarrant High School, which has given Tarrant a bad name) and special needs students falling behind (which teachers claim is a result of insufficient training). There is no tuition at Tarrant but parents are responsible for purchasing a crest, tie and PE uniforms, as well as paying a 2,500 yearly security fee. A “very low” number of students passed the GSAT for traditional high school last year, according to the principal.

School Name: STAINES PREP
Parish: CLARENDON (MAY PEN)
Established: 2003
Grades: K-4
Students: 30
 Boys: 15
 Girls: 15
Teachers: 3
Teacher Salary: JMD13,500-16,000/MONTH
Nearest Public School: ½ MILE
Tuition: JMD7,500-10,500/TERM
Facilities: OWNED BY PRINCIPAL

Notes: Staines Prep began as a Saturday school for extra lessons and eventually turned into a full basic school. However, due to declining enrollment and difficult hiring teachers, the school is currently only serving grades K-4. Currently six of the 30 students are attending Staines for free and the principal/owner does not take any salary. The principal runs a car service to get students to school and asks for donations for uniforms and textbooks, as well as 350JMD/week for lunch.

JISA provides assistance with textbooks and the school holds a fundraising event every year. Additionally, the PTA has assisted in the purchasing of additional facilities. None of the teachers at Staines is currently trained but all are in college and will have degrees. Many slow learners come to Staines from public schools, which they were left behind due to overcrowding. Safety was another major concern voiced by several parents who send their children to Staines.

School Name: ACHIEVER'S MULTI-PURPOSE

Parish: CLARENDON (MAY PEN)

Established: ?

Grades: K-12

Students: 145

Boys: 50%

Girls: 50%

Teachers: 12 (9 FULL-TIME)

Teacher Salary: JMD25,000 – 40,000/MONTH

Nearest Public School: <1/2 MILE

Tuition: JMD17,000 – 22,000/TERM

Facilities: RENTED

Notes: Achiever's is a non-traditional school, which focuses mainly on assisting children with reading difficulties. The school began as a reading clinic before offering the national curriculum to students of all ages. More than half of the students at Achiever's are sent from government schools (along with a tuition payment of 22,000/term), while the remainder of the students are privately funded (at 17,000/term)—although many cannot afford this. PATH provides lunch for free. Non-government school students did not receive PATH lunches until government students began attending. All students are given a full battery of diagnostics tests upon entry—and parents are trained by the school in order to have a vibrant PTA. The facilities are rented for 45,000/month plus utilities. A computer lab was recently donated to the school by a private organization.

School Name: CHARAGAPE CHILDCARE KINDER AND PREP

Parish: MANCHESTER (MANDEVILLE)

Established: 1997

Grades: K-6

Students: 260

Boys: 123

Girls: 137

Teachers: 21

Teacher Salary: JMD31,760-65,000

Nearest Public School: ?

Tuition: JMD12,800/TERM (K); 14,800/TERM (1-6)

Facilities: RENTED

Notes: Charagape has been a full basic school for six years. In addition to tuition, families are responsible for textbooks and “social development club” activities (optional). Free textbooks are provided for kindergarteners. Additional materials for the school have been procured through Food for the Poor (with the assistance of a parent who works there). Teachers run extra lessons and summer school classes in order to make extra money. Approximately half the students are purported to attend Charagape because they want something beyond that which is offered in the public schools. Many children come from single-parent homes. The principal receives no money from the school.

KENYA

Before examining the private sector in-depth, it is necessary to first gain an understanding of the recent history of the Kenyan education system and its focus on Free Primary Education (FPE). There have been several attempts at providing FPE in Kenya. The first FPE initiative came in 1974, with the abolishment of formal school fees. In 1979, a second initiative was passed—with the prohibition of building levies and non-fee charges on parents. However, the 1980s saw the implementation of a cost-sharing program (along with increased private costs), which led to enrollment stagnation throughout the primary sector (after significant increases that had resulted from the first two FPE initiatives) (Somerset, 2008). Specifically, in 1986, core subjects were added to the curriculum and the public system suffered due to a lack of additional resources. Throughout the 1990s, decreases in economic growth and per capita incomes, rising poverty rates, deterioration of public infrastructure and increases in corruption exacerbated the problem. With a growing budget deficit, many families were forced into the sprawling slums of Kenya and the provision of government education did not follow suit (Bauer et al, 2002). In 2003, a third and final FPE initiative was passed and heralded by development experts and world leaders alike. However, it has been argued that this final initiative did not provide the expansion in primary enrollment that is often attributed to it and that despite admirable government efforts, the public system is still far from “free” (Musani, 2008; Tooley, 2005; Tooley, 2009; Tooley and Dixon, 2006b; Tooley et al, 2008; Verspoor, 2008a). Providing statistics from the slums in Kibera, Tooley (2005) finds that approximately 6,500 students left private schools at the introduction of FPE in 2003 and 4,500 more students were lost because they were enrolled in private schools that closed at that time. However, only 3,300 students enrolled in Kibera’s public schools during that same timeframe. This leads to an estimated net loss of 8,000 students enrolled from one slum alone¹³⁸. With regard to the latter point (that FPE did not actually lead to free schools), Musani (2008) sums up the consensus well by noting that the MOE is having trouble providing education for all and that high fees (textbooks, materials and uniforms), high student/teacher ratios (up to 100 students per class), insufficient schools and limited facilities and activities are all still major problems despite the FPE initiatives. Additionally, Verspoor (2008a) notes that out-of-pocket costs are on the rise in public schools and that more than half of the funding of public schools came from fees and parental contributions as of 2008.

History and Characteristics of Non-government Schools

Although less than a decade ago James Tooley had a difficult time convincing certain governments that private education for the poor existed in their respective countries, the Kenyan government has been aware of the low-fee or community private school sector since the early

¹³⁸ These numbers are based on private school managers’ estimations and therefore may be exaggerated. Additionally, Tooley did not necessarily account for all possible schools to which students may have transferred (and these numbers do not take into account the transfers from one private school to another).

1960s.¹³⁹ Shortly after independence in 1963, grassroots organizations in Kenya took it upon themselves to expand the secondary education sector to places beyond the reach of the government system (Verspoor, 2008a). These *Harambee* schools (or “Let’s all pull together” in Kiswahili) were established without approval from the Ministry of Education and were therefore not only unrecognized but also technically illegal. Despite initial funding shortages and regular conflicts with the government, by 1973 government provisions and recognition were offered to *Harambee* schools (such that students were allowed to transfer from *Harambee* to government schools) (Kitaev, 1999). Although these provided limited course offerings, with limited resources and a high proportion of unqualified teachers, the provision of schooling opportunities for low-income students who could not afford to travel to government schools significantly increased secondary school enrollments throughout rural Kenya (with 19 government-assisted and 244 unassisted schools in 1969 and 1,142 assisted and 741 unassisted schools in 1987). Bray (1997) offers that this expansion is not due to increases in quality but because these schools were the only options available to certain populations. This is supported by the fact that in the early 1990s, *Harambee* schools were subsumed by the government system and they are currently no longer distinguished from public, government schools (Verspoor, 2008a). However, a new brand of private schools has emerged. This review examines some of the underlying causes for this newly expanded private education sector, as well as some of the implications of private schools for the poor in Kenya.

In one of the earliest pieces on private education in Kenya, Karmokolias and Maas (1997) offer a useful starting point for understanding the main impetuses for private education expansion throughout the last 15 years or so. Providing a list of reasons—not particularly constrained to the Kenyan context—the authors assert that the reasons for increased demand in Kenyan private education are as follows: 1) population growth; 2) fiscal constraints in the public sector; 3) better image of private schools; 4) increased parental expenses for parents (i.e., government cutbacks); 5) opportunity costs (lack of efficiency leads to wasted time—i.e., less time to contribute to labor); 6) long waiting lists at private schools; and 7) significant increases in private enrollments (cyclical effect). While it may appear on the surface that some of these reasons are somewhat outdated (especially in light of the move toward Free Primary Education (FPE) in 2003), the majority of the more recent literature still draws upon a very similar set of causes for the expansion of the private school sector. More specifically, the low quality of public schools, inadequate supply of public schools spaces (and schools in remote areas) and high school fees (e.g., “hidden costs”) have become the most prevalent responses to the question of why the private school sector has expanded so rapidly in Kenya in recent years (Lewin and Caillods,

¹³⁹ A note on terminology: In the Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services non-government schools are referred to as ‘*self-help groups*’ or ‘*community projects*’; in the Ministry of Education, Department of Basic Education they are referred to as ‘*private schools*’. In the Ministry of Education, Directorate for Adult and Non-Formal Education, they are referred to as ‘*non-formal schools*’. They are additionally referred to as ‘*independent schools*’. These terms are used interchangeably throughout this section.

2001; Lewin and Sayed, 2005; Musani, 2008; Somerset, 2008; Tooley, 2005; Tooley and Dixon, 2005; Tooley and Dixon, 2006a; Tooley and Dixon, 2008; Verspoor, 2008a; World Bank, 2008).

The supply of low-fee private primary schools is highest in slum areas but is not limited to them. Fieldwork by our team, as well as that of James Tooley, found that low cost primary schools are found throughout the country, in urban slums, small cities and rural areas. However, due to the high population density in urban slums, these types of schools are often viewed as more necessary in slum areas. For example, in an interview with a school owner in the Mathare slum of Nairobi, we were taken to the roof of the school and shown the expanse of slum area while being informed that there are only three public primary schools to serve the nearly 600,000 people who live in Mathare—and that each of these schools was located on the outskirts of the slum, which made it difficult (and in some cases, impossible) for students to attend even if space were to be made available.

Low-fee private primary schools in Kenya are almost universally run by local community members or local organizations (such as churches and/or small NGOs). In both the slums and rural areas, they are generally housed in small rented buildings or semi-permanent structures, with electricity being an uncommon luxury. While the facilities are typically not up to the standards of public primary schools, Tooley and Dixon (2005) found that low-fee private school students in Nairobi did at least as well as their public school counterparts in all subjects (except English).¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, our fieldwork found that while these schools charged low tuitions—averaging approximately 700Ksh/month (under \$9)—they regularly placed at or above the level of nearby public schools in terms of district-wide, grade 8 exam rate rankings. [Complete school descriptions of all 23 schools can be found at the end of this case study analysis.]

Degree to which Non-government Schools Accommodate Low-income Children

Due to a combination of poor data collection and the fact that so many private schools (and therefore students) in Kenya are unregistered with the government, it is difficult to find accurate (or even consistent) private school enrollment figures in the literature. Therefore, while much information from the literature (and our field research) does point to a relatively large low-fee private school sector, the exact figures on the degree to which non-governmental schools accommodate low-income children are non-existent. That being said, there are some relevant statistics that are useful for gaining a deeper understanding of low-fee private schools in the Kenyan context:

¹⁴⁰ Although Tooley and Dixon control for family/background characteristics in their analyses, it is not entirely clear that they sufficiently account for selection bias (i.e. controlling for unobserved characteristics, such as motivation, that would cause students to enroll in private versus public schools and might influence their achievement).

- Private enrollment as a percentage of total primary enrollments in Kenya increased from 4% in 2005 to 11% in 2008 (World Bank, 2010).
- 76 private primary schools serving 12,132 students were found in the Kibera slum in 2003.
 - One-third of these schools were managed by women.
 - Average fees ranged from 4.7 to 8.1% of monthly income for someone at the “absolute” poverty line (Tooley, 2009).
- 700 primary and 300 secondary private schools in Kenya in 2001 (Bauer et al, 2002)
- 2001: Private school fees ranged from 3,000 to 30,000 Kenyan shillings (Bauer et al, 2002)
- 2008: Private school fees ranged from 5,000 to 500,000 Kenyan shillings per year.
 - Public fees ranged from 10,000 to 26,000—therefore a subsection of private schools were cheaper than public (Verspoor, 2008a).
- Private school enrollment in Kenya dropped from 15% in 2001 to 9% in 2004 due to economic stagnation (Verspoor, 2008a).
- 5,000 independent schools (i.e., low-fee private) serving 500,000 students in Kenya.
 - Schools are concentrated in urban slums
 - Many serve HIV/AIDS orphans (and provide subsidies)
 - Lower student/teacher ratios and better facilities than public schools
 - 2008: Monthly fees ranged from 200-1400 Ksh—with one-time costs for textbooks and uniforms (as opposed to recurring costs in public schools) (Musani, 2008).
- 2008: 1,115 member schools in Kenya Independent Schools Association (KISA) (Musani, 2008).
- Estimated one public school for 10,000 students in a 5km radius in some urban slums (Musani, 2008).
- 60:1 student/teacher ratio in government schools; 21:1 in low-fee private schools in Kibera slum (Tooley and Dixon, 2005).

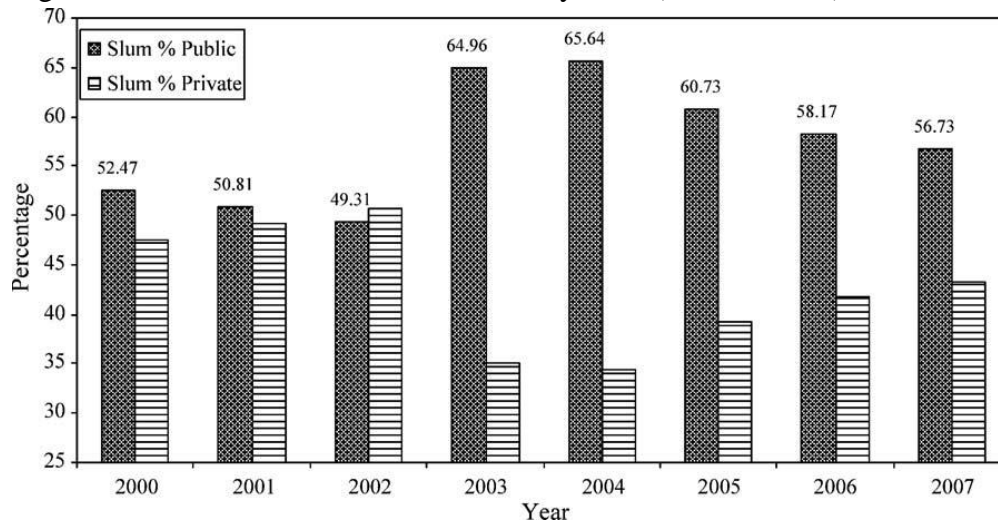
Perhaps most important are the following figures from recent work by Oketch et al (2010), which show that (in their sample) more than 40% of the poorest students in slums attend private school and that this number has increased steadily since the introduction of Free Primary Education in 2003. While these numbers are high, with so few public schools (and so many unregistered low-fee private schools) in many of Kenya’s slums, they are not necessarily surprising.

Table 6: Private School Enrollment by Wealth

Number of children enrolled in private schools by study site and wealth index.

Variable	Private	Total	% Private
Site			
Korogocho	1,712	3,921	43.66
Viwandani	703	2,235	31.45
Jericho	97	779	12.45
Harambee	112	348	32.18
Total	2,624	7,283	36.03
Wealth index: all			
Poorest 20%	705	1,559	45.22
2	542	1,361	39.82
3	558	1,450	38.48
4	514	1,457	35.28
Least poor 20%	305	1,456	20.95
Wealth index: slum			
Poorest 20%	529	1,232	42.94
2	490	1,231	39.81
3	504	1,231	40.94
4	485	1,233	39.33
Least poor 20%	407	1,229	33.12
Wealth index: non-slum			
Poorest 20%	12	227	5.29
2	25	224	11.16
3	39	227	17.18
4	55	228	24.12
Least poor 20%	78	221	35.29
HHG			
Female	720	2,196	32.79
Male	1,904	5,087	37.43

Figure 5: Public and Private Enrollments by Year (in slum areas)



Furthermore, while all of the schools that we visited as part of our fieldwork enrolled poor students and charged very low fees, many of them specifically catered to orphans and street children who could not afford to attend public schools.¹⁴¹ Ultimately, while Kenya does have many high-fee private primary schools, the majority of “independent” and/or “unregistered” schools directly target poor students (many of whom live in the country’s expansive slums) and provide an educational experience that is unavailable in the public system due to a severe under-supply of public school spaces.

The Regulatory Environments

The complex structure of the Kenyan governmental system (with regard to education) is a major barrier to making strides toward effective policy implementation and oversight (Verspoor, 2008b). According to the World Bank (2008) the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (which is comprised of ten divisions), the Kenya Teachers Service Commission, the Kenya Institute of Education and the Ministry of Labour and Human Resource Development are all involved in the provision of education in Kenya. Furthermore, while Boards of Governors (BOGs) report to District Education Offices (DEOs), BOGs are political appointees who are not always qualified for their positions and do not accurately represent their constituents. Additionally, Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs) rely on BOGs to pass on their messages to DEOs but there are often breakdowns in the lines of communication. Finally, transitions from primary to secondary schools are poorly aligned and student files are lost—and this is not helped by the fact that there is little local accountability in schools (World Bank, 2008). While these problems would arguably be sufficient to undermine nearly any implementation and monitoring efforts, private school owners in Kenya are faced with an additionally complex set of procedures for opening a private school. The following was taken from a report on governance, management and accountability in sub-Saharan Africa:

Procedure for Opening a Private School in Kenya

- Application for registration of a school is made in a prescribed form and is submitted to the registrar through the district, municipal, or city education officer.
- The application form is accompanied by the following documents:
 - Inspection report from the public health officer indicating whether the institution complies with the set of health standards
 - Inspection report from the inspector of schools
 - Minutes of the district education board in which the application was discussed
 - Certification of registration of business name from the registrar general
 - An application for the approval of the district manager
 - Names of school managers and copies of their education certificates

¹⁴¹ Free public education is not free of private cost. To be admitted a child needs to have shoes, a uniform shirt, socks, tunic, shorts and shirt, and donate a desk and a chair. Estimated cost: 4,500 KShs.

- School size in terms of land (rules differ depending on locality)
 - Proof of ownership of the land on which the proposed school is now or is to be built.
 - Once the registrar receives the application, it is presented to the ministerial committee on registration of schools for evaluation in accordance with the relevant provisions.
 - If approved, the application is forwarded to the Ministry of Education for authorization.
 - The minister issues two letters to the manager of the school approving and authorizing the operation of the school.
 - The registrar issues a certificate to the institution after the final inspection.
- Source:* (Glassman and Sullivan, 2008).

Glassman and Sullivan (2008) further contend that the main problems with this overly complex procedure have to do with manpower. Whether it is a result of delayed inspections, lost forms, postponed committee meetings or cumbersome paperwork, this process can take a significant amount of time and potentially delay school openings. However, many private school owners will preemptively open their doors (prior to being registered), knowing that there is insufficient monitoring to face any immediate consequences. This also opens the door for private schools to open without even attempting to register with the Ministry of Education—many of which do so because they do not meet the criteria of owning the land on which the school resides (Musani, 2008).¹⁴² However, it is still possible for schools to be registered, even if they are not under the Ministry of Education. Those schools that do not own land can register as self-help groups or community organizations, through the Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services (MGSCSS). While schools under the MGSCSS are then registered as businesses for taxation purposes, it does not seem appropriate that non-profit, basic education institutions following the national curriculum—established in order to meet the excess demand created by the insufficient supply of public school spaces—should be taxed any differently than other formal (government) schools.¹⁴³ Additionally, the dual registration process makes data collection at the national level significantly more complicated, as the two ministries do not appear to cross-reference school databases in any of their statistical analyses.

Financial Sustainability

The financial stability of the low-fee private school sector in Kenya currently relies almost entirely on the business acumen of school proprietors and their ability to attract a sufficient number of students, in order to be able to continue to pay their teachers. This is, however, not overly promising. Nearly all of the school owners we interviewed were local community

¹⁴² Among the primary schools that register with the Ministry of Education, some register with the department of basic education while others register with the directorate for adult and continuing or non-formal education.

¹⁴³ We do not claim that all schools registered with the MGSCSS are non-profit, but the illustration is intended to pertain to the proportion of schools that are.

members who were looking to provide a much-needed service to the community but had no business experience and little understanding of the regulatory framework in which they were working. Additionally, complicated tax structures combined with property rights issues (especially in the slum areas) are likely to play a further role in frustrating the long-term financial sustainability of the sector. While the sector is continuing to grow in the aggregate, without financial assistance from the government or aid organizations, individual schools are unlikely to provide assurance of long-term sustainability their students.

Quality of (Low Income) Non-government School Output

School quality can be measured in a number of ways. For the purposes of this case study (based on the information available), low-income non-government school output is assessed in terms of achievement test scores, national exam results and pedagogical quality.

Achievement Tests

As previously noted, Tooley and Dixon (2005) conducted a study of low-fee private schools in Kenya and found that, on average, students in these schools scored about the same as their public school counterparts in all subjects—with slightly better scores in math and Kiswahili but slightly worse in English. Although only students in Nairobi were tested, this does provide some evidence about the quality of achievement in even the lowest-fee schools.

Exam Results

Based on our field research, private schools, even poor ones, have more success on the Kenyan Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) exam taken at the end of class eight, and on the end-of-year assessment tests offered on the district level in grades four, five, six and seven.¹⁴⁴ For instance, in Eldoret West, only nine private schools took the district or zonal-level assessment tests, but all nine out-ranked the highest performing public school. In Nakuru the top ranked public school (size 1,517, pupil/teacher ratio: 57:1) was out-performed by every private school registered. This included a nearby low-fee private school (pupil teacher ratio: 23:1) in which every eighth grade graduate for the past six years has passed the KCPE exam and has enrolled in secondary school.¹⁴⁵

Pedagogical quality

All parents, rich and poor alike, seek to have their children well cared for and in a supportive environment. The following bulleted list stems from our fieldwork in Nairobi, Kisumu, Eldoret West and Nakuru, provides information regarding several school quality measures (comparing public and low-fee private schools):

¹⁴⁴ The schools visited for our field research were intended to be illustratively representative but there are obvious concerns about sample selection bias.

¹⁴⁵ Fees ranged from 14,000 Kshs in grade one to 19,000 Kshs/year in grade eight.

- In a public school, class size may be 80:1,¹⁴⁶ while in non-government schools, the ratio may be 15:1.
- Public schools may pay teachers as much as twice the salary as in non-government schools and offer pensions and health insurance, but in private schools, absentee rates are lower or non-existent.¹⁴⁷
- In public school, class periods may be 35 minutes whereas in non-government schools class length may be altered according to the demands of the curriculum.
- Public schools are obligated to maintain national schedules¹⁴⁸; non-government schools can open as demanded by the parents. Some may open as early as 6 AM and close at 6PM to accommodate parents in peri-urban areas with long commutes. Public schools are normally open five days/week with three months of holiday (one month after each of three terms); non-government schools may remain open on Saturdays and year round.
- Public schools use teachers of standard quality but find it difficult to transfer or sanction a teacher for absenteeism or non-performance; non-government schools, conversely, have flexibility in hiring and dismissal procedures.
- Public schools may appoint teachers without regard to their education philosophy; non-government schools often appoint teachers because of their education philosophy.
- Public schools may appoint teachers from widely dispersed areas; non-government schools often appoint teachers from the same village community and frequently those who have graduated from the same school in which they teach.¹⁴⁹
- Public schools depend on the government for financial support; non-government schools depend less on the government for financial support. Often the school management committees, church committees, and parent groups in non-government schools may take a more active role because they may feel a greater sense of ownership of the school.

Donor Experiences

Although there are innumerable international aid and other non-governmental organizations working in Kenya, their experiences in private education are limited. The major bilateral aid organizations in the country (USAID, DFID, JICA and CIDA) are all aware of the burgeoning sector but have yet to develop any projects that focus on low-fee private schools. The World Bank has also been limited in its private education work. However, the recently designed Kenya Education Sector Support Programme II (KESSP) although public-focused, is intended to provide

¹⁴⁶ Estimated average although the pupil/teacher ratio can be as high as 90:1 in lower primary.

¹⁴⁷ Teacher salaries were as low as 1,500 Kshs/month in a private school and as high as 35,000 Kshs/month in a public school.

¹⁴⁸ Public primary schools are typically open from 7:30am to 12:30pm for grades 1-4 and 7:00 until 4:00pm for older students.

¹⁴⁹ This can, however, have adverse effects—as local recruitment may result in a limited supply of teachers (especially those with strong educational backgrounds).

some assistance to private schools by way of textbooks—although the exact supports are still unclear.

On the other hand, the IFC has recently commissioned Grey Matters Capital to map the country's private schools, in order to gain an understanding of the size and need of the sector. Though the fieldwork was expected to have been completed by the time of this report, no information is currently available about the results of the mapping. However, this does seem to be an important step toward larger development organizations entering the sector—especially if the study shows (as expected) that the number of low-fee private schools is actually far greater than any current estimates purported by the government.

One other large organization that has recently been making claims about entering the private education sector is the Aga Kahn Foundation. While its Education for Marginalized Children in Kenya (EMAK) program is intended to serve 800 public schools with its whole school approach (from access to teacher training to educational management), it is possible that they will incorporate 50 private schools into the program once it is underway.

There are also several smaller NGOs working with private schools in Kenya, two of which were interviewed during our field research. The first of these organizations was the Dignitas Project, which is seeking to address key barriers to education (such as access, retention, completion and performance) in Mathare (Cheng and Kariithi, 2008). After a needs assessment, it found that while the people of Mathare highly value education their access is extremely limited to the public system. Therefore, it is working to assist low-cost private schools by providing teachers and schools with professional development, supplies and increased community involvement measures. The second organization working with low-fee private schools in Kenya is Bridge International Academies, which will be discussed in detail in the section on successful models (below).

Outstanding Issues

Arguably, the largest obstacle to the success and sustainability of private primary education in Kenya is the issue of land rights. This stems largely from the fact that slums are technically illegal settlements and land, therefore, cannot be purchased or owned. Since it is a registration requirement that schools own the land on which they reside, this is a matter that will continue to obstruct low-cost private schools in their ability to be recognized as legitimate education institutions. However, removing the land-ownership requirement (or even adding additional categories to the types of registrations that could be obtained) will not be sufficient to remedy this problem. Unfortunately, the land issue is one that has deeply historical roots and is far beyond the purview of the Ministry of Education. Until something is done about this at the national level, property rights issues will continue to plague the private educational sector (as well as many other facets of society).

Another serious impediment is government corruption. Corruption has impacted private schools directly (in the form of bribery) and in terms of development aid, due to a recent scandal at the national level. Nearly 100 million dollars in funds that were donated to the Ministry of Education by the World Bank, CIDA, DFID and UNICEF were found to be unaccounted for in a financial audit conducted by the group of donors (AFP, 2010). This type of corruption could have serious implications for the type and amount of aid that is provided to the Kenyan education system in the future—affecting both the public and private sector.

It should be noted, however, that all is not lost for the low-cost private school system. In addition to the support received by NGOs (as noted above), many private schools also belong to the Kenya Independent Schools Association (KISA)—which, according to the director, claims to support the schools in terms of advocacy, networking, capacity building, micro-finance and scholarships for the most needy students. While the extent of the work actually accomplished by KISA is unclear, membership in the organization does provide a sense of legitimacy to the member schools.

Finally, in addition to accounting for the public system overflow in demand for schooling, low-fee private schools in Kenya have been found to fill a particular niche with regard to parental (religious) preference. Many non-government schools are associated with local religious groups and local community churches. These adhere to a moral philosophy that parents believe is necessary for the proper educational experience of their children. They trust the school to enforce this philosophy in addition to the national curriculum. Although local community churches are quite specific about the role of religion, none requires that a family belong to its local church to enroll a child. In terms of religious affiliation, the private schools visited for our research were found to be non-selective.¹⁵⁰ Ultimately, while the long-term financial sustainability of the system is at risk, the demand for these schools is not likely to diminish anytime soon.

Recommendations

General Recommendations

Differences between categories of institutions should be maintained, but all schools, whether operated by the government or any other organization should be listed under one ministry. The central listing should contain schools in the following categories:

Category A: operated by the Ministry of Education or Municipal Councils

Category B: operated by churches or mosque

Category C: operated by private proprietors

¹⁵⁰ Church-run schools, for instance, regularly enroll Muslim students.

Category D: operated by NGOs¹⁵¹

Category E: operated by the Ministry of Education, Directorate for Non-formal Education

Category F: registered under the Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services

Category G: temporary or provisional license

Public policy should apply to all schools in all categories.¹⁵² This does not imply that the government should assist all categories of schools equally. It does imply that national objectives and concerns should carry over to Kenyan children regardless of where they are being educated, as non-government schools enroll future Kenyan citizens just like government schools.

Cash transfers to the Most Vulnerable Children (MVC), available currently to vulnerable children only in state-run schools, should be applied to vulnerable children in all schools.¹⁵³

Taxation of non-government schools causes confusion. Non-government schools within Municipal Councils are taxed as businesses on the grounds that they charge for services. Some non-government schools may charge for reasons of profit; most reinvest all income in the school. The latter schools should therefore be considered legally non-profit private enterprises but the legal distinction between for- and non-profit institutions in Kenya needs to be more clearly defined. There should be a legal distinction between schools that are established for reasons of personal profit and schools in which the owners may not, other than stated salary, profit from the income. These latter schools should be categorized as non-profit organizations and should not be taxed.

For schools in category G, there should be no fee to register for a temporary or provisional license. This would simply allow all schools to be recognized under one registry and would provide significant benefits for assessing the size of the public and private education sector, as well as determining the overall proportion of out-of-school youth in the country. However, category G schools should be assigned a permanent registration before being eligible for textbook and pedagogical material assistance.

Recommendations to USAID

USAID should include non-government schools in its planning strategies to alleviate poverty in Kenya and should explore both direct and indirect ways to assist them. These should not be limited to, but may include, the following:

¹⁵¹ This category includes schools operated by unofficial ‘organizations’—such as informal groups of individuals from a community.

¹⁵² It would be useful, for instance, for these categories to be included in the new Education Act currently being considered by parliament.

¹⁵³ Eligibility requirements might include some, but not all of those that apply to state-operated schools.

Providing basic pedagogical materials to all registered, non-government schools that cater to low-income families¹⁵⁴

Providing capacity-building to the government and low-cost private schools on database creation and monitoring for said schools

Exploring the feasibility to stimulate a ‘pay as you go’ pension system to teachers in non-government schools¹⁵⁵

Stimulating private sector development of education services for non-government schools. These may include:

- legal services for the acquisition of land, titles, deeds and architectural standards
- rating services of education quality
- assistance to associations that represent the professional interests of non-government schools¹⁵⁶
- on-lending services for small institutional loans
- small business grants to school suppliers
- training of school proprietors in finance and management
- accreditation and quality assurance services
- groundwork study on private secondary schools in Kenya¹⁵⁷
- analysis of codes of conduct (including corruption and sexual harassment) in non-government schools

¹⁵⁴The definition of a non-government school that caters to low-income families is one in which the tuition is one half that at national schools. Currently this would be a tuition of 25,000 Kshs/year or less. [Eligibility may also be determined at the student level—similar to the MVC policy.] USAID may wish to recommend participation of UNICEF, DFID, the World Bank, and CIDA on expanding the Kenya Education Sector Support Programme (KESSP) to low-tuition non-government schools, the principle being that Kenyan children in all schools should have access to a minimum supply of reading and writing materials.

¹⁵⁵ Teachers often cited a pension as a reason to accept a job in a public versus private schools. This measure could be used to keep more teachers in the private sector and to assist them with their savings plan.

¹⁵⁶ The first three recommendations should be prioritized over the rest.

¹⁵⁷ Because of FPE much of the controversy concerning the demand for non-government schools concerns primary education. This can be expected to change in the next five years. The secondary school transition rate is rapidly climbing. Free secondary education is already national policy (though irregularly enforced). A ‘bulge’ in secondary school enrollment is anticipated. Parents will seek non-government secondary education for similar reasons as they now seek it for primary education. Intervention strategies and national policies toward non-government secondary education need to be forged quickly.

School Descriptions - Kenya¹⁵⁸

Mathare – Nairobi

Naioth Education Centre [Category F]

Located next to a public school in Mathare, Naioth offers low-cost education to 160 students in classes 1-7. Tuition is 550 Ksh/month and covers the cost of uniforms, teaching materials, breakfast and lunch for all students, as well as teacher salaries—although the church has also donated some books and learning materials. Twenty-five scholarship students attend Naioth at no cost to their families. There are eight teachers in the school (not all of whom are trained/certified), and the salary range is 3,000-4,000 Ksh/month. The school is open from 7am to 6:30 PM, Monday to Saturday. Students have access to the school library, where they can borrow over 500 books on a range of subjects. Although Naioth is church affiliated, students from a variety of religions attend both classes and the Saturday Club (which is akin to bible study). The school was started in 2007 but registered as a non-formal school (or self-help group/project) with the Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services (MGSCSS) in January, 2009. The student/teacher ratio in Naioth is about 20:1, and all classrooms are equipped with chalkboards and enough desks/tables and chairs for every student. While the school does not currently offer class 8, the head teacher claims to prepare students well for the KCPE exam due to the school's "close relationship between teacher and pupil" in combination with the fact that it is the teachers' "duty to exceed expectations."

Valley View School [Category F]

Valley View is a top-performing, non-formal school in Mathare that provides education services for 856 students from nursery school to class 8. Tuition is 600 Ksh/Month and covers the cost of uniforms, teaching materials and lunch for all students, as well as teacher salaries—although the school also received FPE benefits from the Ministry of Education in 2005 and 2008. There are 180 students who attend Valley View at reduced costs (some of whom are orphans and street-children who attend for free). There are 25 teachers in the school (many of whom are not trained/certified), and the salary range is 5,000-10,000 Ksh/month. The school is open from 6:00 AM to 6:30 PM, Monday to Saturday. There is currently no library at Valley View, but they expect to have one within the next two years. The school was started in 1996 and registered with the MGSCSS as a non-formal school in 1997. The student/teacher ratio is approximately 45:1 in class 1 and 30:1 in class 8. The facilities at Valley View are modest and limited, but the performance has been impressive. In 2009, there were 65 class 8 students who sat for the KCPE exam, and 51 passed—which ranked Valley View 3rd out of all primary schools in Mathare. The school works closely with parents and is run mainly by the School Management Committee (SMC), Development Committee (DC) and Class Representatives (CR)—all of which are

¹⁵⁸ The exchange rate from the Kenyan Shilling (Ksh) to the US Dollar (\$) is 100Ksh to \$1.19. All values in this section are in Ksh, unless otherwise noted.

selected by parents. The head teacher claims that the school's success is a result of the variety of educational offerings (including physical education, singing, recitals, etc.) as well as the school's relationship with the community and their combined ability to "attend to every need of the child."

Nairobi – Korogocho

Super Action "GA" Rehabilitation Centre [Category F]

Located in the Korogocho slums in Nairobi, Super Action provides educational services to 235 students (129 boys, 106 girls) from ECD to class eight. The school employs nine teachers (two of whom teach in the ECD program), and the salaries range from 1,500 to 2,500 Ksh/month. Tuition at Super Action is 200 Ksh/month, although many of the students are orphans, and approximately one-half the student body cannot afford to pay the monthly fees. There is a school lunch program that costs 10 Ksh/day.¹⁵⁹ The school is open from 7:00 AM to 5:00 PM, Monday to Friday and for half a school day on Saturday. Additionally, the school remains open during post-term holidays for those students willing/able to pay 10Ksh/day for review/tutoring. In addition to fees paid by parents, the school has received Ministry of Education funds for books/learning materials twice (in 2005 and 2007) and has received books and newly constructed toilets from HPRC. The original school building was donated by the community, but the school expanded in 2004 and has since rented a second facility for 4,000 Ksh/month. Although Super Action was established in 2000 (and registered with the MGSCSS that same year), it was not until 2008 that the school was a KCPE exam center. In 2008, there were 47 class eight students, 38 of whom passed the exam and enrolled in secondary school. Due to complications with the city council, Super Action did not offer class eight instruction in 2009, but there are currently 15 class eight students who are registered to take the KCPE exam in November 2010. The facilities at Super Action are limited and the classrooms are dark, but the children are attentive and appear eager to learn.

Kisumu

Children First Pre-School [Category D]

Children First is a pre-school in Kisumu that is supported by Cherish our Children International (COCI) and provides pre-primary education to 102 children. The majority of the students are orphans, and while COCI covers the majority of the school costs, families are responsible for purchasing uniforms and books. Porridge is served to all students at 10:00 AM, and there are health checks at the school on a monthly basis. There are four teachers at Children First, in addition to a few interns and volunteers. The majority of students from this school go on to attend public primary school.

Covenant Academy [Category D]

¹⁵⁹ A daily rate is given because lunch is provided to those children who bring 10Ksh on any given day.

Covenant Academy provides education for 412 orphans and street-children ranging from nursery school through form 4. With the great majority of students being supported by the Covenant Trust in the UK, only about 10-15 students pay the 600 Ksh/month fee to attend Covenant. An additional 400 Ksh/month is paid for the lunch program (often by the Covenant Trust). All non-fee paying students stay in dormitories at the academy. Since the focus of the school is on orphans and vulnerable children, social workers check on family/home situations before students are admitted—and the school only has about a 30-40% acceptance rate. There are three teachers in the nursery program (38 students), 11 in the primary grades (286 students) and nine at the secondary level (88 students). Teacher salaries range from approximately 6,000 to 12,000 Ksh/month. All teachers at Covenant are trained and certified, and they are hired through a selective application/interview process. The school began as an informal school in 1993, was established as a home in 1998 and registered as a private, NGO-supported school with the Ministry of Education in 2000. Covenant Academy is a member of the Kenyan Private School Association (KPSA). In 2009, all 20 class 8 students passed the KCPE exam and went on to secondary school—17 of them attended secondary school at Covenant. Covenant High School (the secondary section of the academy) had 30 students take the KCSE exam in 2009, seven of whom enrolled in a university. This ranked the school sixth out of more than 30 schools in the district. The grounds of this school were immaculate, and the facilities were impressive.

Joodon NFE School [Category F]

Joodon offers educational services to 586 students from nursery school to class 8 (209 of whom are in nursery). Tuition is 200 Ksh/month for those who can afford to pay—this money goes to teacher salaries, lunch and rent (which is 6,500 Ksh/month). The school makes a point to accept two orphans for every three paying students and therefore currently provides completely free education (including uniforms) to 201 students. The school employs 17 teachers, as well as the director, two cooks, a gardener and a security guard. University students also volunteer at Joodon during their school holidays. Starting teachers make between 3,500-4,000 Ksh/month (with 500 Ksh increases every year). The Deputy Head Teacher makes 6,000 Ksh/month, and the Head Teacher makes 12,000 Ksh/month. (The Head Teacher actually gave up a job making 150,000 Ksh/month with the United Nations in order to work at Joodon—and began in 2005 with a salary of 1,000 Ksh/month.) Nursery school students attend school from 8:00 AM -3:30 PM, while class 1-8 students attend from 8:00 AM- 5:00 PM. The school does not close at the end of each term (as most other schools do); in fact, the school only closes seven days out of the year for national holidays. The school was started in January 2005 and is registered as a non-formal school with the MGSSCS. It received government funding for textbooks and exercise books in 2006 and 2007 but has received no money since then. The facilities at Joodon are modest, and some of the classrooms have recently started to collapse, so new classrooms are currently being built on the Director's own land. The Director noted that although the school's performance is relatively high, those who can afford to pay more will often opt for other schools because Joodon's facilities are unimpressive. 2010 will be the first year that Joodon will have students sit

for the KCPE exam, but in 2009 Joodon ranked #11 out of 52 schools in Otonglo zone for class 6 achievement and #12 out of 50 for class 7. Many of the teachers at Joodon are college-educated (and certified), but they return to Joodon because they came from this community and, according to one teacher, “It was worth us helping our younger brothers [and sisters].” The teachers concede that if they were offered a position in a public school, they would take it but only upon first ensuring that their spot at Joodon was filled.

Korando Faith Centre [Category F]

Korando Faith was started in 1997 by the current Director and her husband (who is the Head Teacher). Using their family assets (30,000 Ksh/month), pensions (9,600 Ksh/month combined) and current income (mainly small-scale farming) to run the school, Korando Faith is entirely free for all 170 students (the great majority of whom are HIV/AIDS orphans) from nursery to class 8. Additionally, the couple supports 40 high school students and two students in teacher training. There is a specific focus on girls’ education at the center, and nearly 75% of the students at Korando are female. The school employs nine teachers, and they all receive 4,000 Ksh/month; due to financial constraints, however, they have not been paid for the past three months. Yet none of the teachers has left the school—this is due in part to job scarcity but also because the teachers are all from the local community and believe it is important for them to “give back.” The school has received donations from individual donors, as well as the National Aids Control Council in 2003 and the Ministry of Education (for books and learning materials) twice since 2003. Many of the students are housed at the center—their lodgings and food are covered by the Director and her husband. 2010 will be the fifth year that Korando Faith will be used as a KCPE exam center. In 2009, 17 class 8 students took the exam, and 14 of them went on to secondary school. The highest scoring student posted a 385 in 2009 (out of 500). The facilities at Korando are modest, but the history and the school’s success are impressive.

Janvera Children’s Centre [Category G]

Janvera is a small, independently run non-formal school that was started in 2009 for out-of-school youth and now provides education for 56 students from early childhood development (ECD) to standard one—though the Director is looking to expand in the future. The school employs three teachers, all of whom are volunteers (only receiving small gifts as payment). Janvera is open from 7:00 AM to 1:00 PM, and porridge is served to all students in the afternoon. Many of the students are orphans, some of whom stay with guardians, and six of whom stay with the Director of the school. The school receives no outside assistance and is not registered with the government in any way. The Director of the school makes tablecloths and sells them in order to purchase supplies for the school. The school consists of one, small building with three classrooms. There are no desks, but there are sufficient chairs, pencils and notebooks for all students.

Ring Road Orphans Day School [Category D]

Established in 1997, Ring Road is a day school for orphans and other vulnerable children, providing education for 397 students from class one to class eight. The majority of students at the school are orphans, but about one-quarter of them are not. Ring Road is sponsored by the Christian Relief Fund (CRF) and is free of charge for all students. Sponsorship comes in the form of about 1,750 Ksh/month/child for food, books, etc.; however, approximately 200 students are not sponsored and while they still do not have to pay school fees, they do not receive certain things, such as uniforms. Sponsorship dropped by about 40% in recent years due to the financial crisis in the U.S. In addition to CRF sponsorship, the school has received FPE money from the government the past three years (231,540, 494,000, and 416,860 in 2007, 2008 and 2009, respectively). Fourteen teachers provide instruction to the 203 girls and 184 boys at Ring Road, with salaries ranging from 3,000-9,000 Ksh/month. Many of the teachers house students who do not have guardians in the community. The school is open from 7:45 AM until 4:00 PM and provides both a standard curriculum as well as vocational training for a small proportion of its students (approximately 5 last year). In 2009, there were 37 class 8 students at Ring Road, 30 of whom passed the KCPE exam and enrolled in secondary schools. At the secondary level, half of the school fees are to be covered by parents, while the school covers the other half. The Principal of Ring Road claims that the success of the school is due to the holistic approach, which includes spiritual, physical and mental education.

The following table shows how the 2009 government funds from the Ministry of Education were used by Ring Road:

Table 7: Ring Road Spending

2009 FPE Spending for Ring Road (Ksh)		
	Per Student (408)	School-level
Textbooks	680	277440
Exercise Books	160	65280
Supplementary Readers	140	57120
Pencils	15	6470
Registers	15	6470
Charts, Wall Maps	10	4080
Total	~1020	416860

New Generation Academy [Category C]

New Generation is a school and rehabilitation center for orphans, street children and other vulnerable youths in Kisumu. With the motto “Rescue. Redeem. Rehabilitate. Reintegrate.” the schools provides education for 143 students (only 22 of whom are girls) from class one to class eight. The school is made up of both orphans and non-orphans, some of whom stay with their guardians and some in the dorms at the school. The school is free for all students, with “prayer partners” from the U.S. sponsoring the students. The funding covers food, medicine, education

and clothing.¹⁶⁰ Additionally, the school has received government assistance for learning materials for each of the past three years. New Generation employs 10 teachers, whose salaries range from about 7,500 to 11,000 Ksh/month. The staff is made up of both certified and non-certified teachers. Both standard curriculum and vocational training are offered by the Academy, the latter of which is currently being provided for approximately 20 students. In 2009, nine of twelve class 8 students passed the KCPE exam while 14 of 15 passed in 2008. The Head Teacher explains that the success of this school is a result of extended class sessions (one hour per lesson as opposed to 35 minutes per lesson in public schools), as well as psychosocial assistance and breaking down stigmas for street children. (The facilities at this school were well beyond those of any other schools we had visited up to that point.)

Eldoret West

Railway Adult Education Centre [Category E]

Located on the grounds of the Eldoret West district government building, *Railway* serves 45 adults and out-of-school youth in multiple sessions throughout the day (12 of whom are in primary grades). Some students come from 10:00 AM -12:00 PM, while others are in class from 1:00 PM -5:00 PM. There is one paid staff member (the Director) and two volunteer teachers who are not paid. The government owns the building, so no rent is paid, and the books, as well as the Director's salary, are funded by the Adult and Continuing Education department in the Ministry of Education. In 2009, one class 8 student scored 345 on the KCPE exam. The school appears to be understaffed, the facilities are modest and the materials are sparse.

Eldoret Rescue Centre [Category E]

This rescue center is designed specifically for out-of-school and troubled youth. The Centre is a large facility that contains far more than a school, but this description focuses specifically on the learning environment. The majority of the students are brought to the Rescue Centre by the juvenile court and/or children's services. The Centre houses children from age one to over 20. There are 210 total children at the Centre, approximately 140 of whom are boys. The school offers pre-primary to class 8 educational services and employs three teachers. There are currently only three children in class 8, all of whom are boys. The national curriculum is followed from 8:20 AM -12:40 PM, while the remainder of the day is used for non-formal schooling activities such as bread baking. In 2009, there was one class 8 student, but he ran away prior to taking the KCPE exam. In 2008, one female student passed the KCPE exam and went on to secondary school. The church and well-wishers provide funding for the facility, while the government supplies books. The teachers appear to be compassionate and invested in the children's educational success, but the facilities were austere and not conducive to learning.

¹⁶⁰ During our visit, we were told that the upkeep per child was 1,000-2,000 Ksh/month, but we have since been informed that the actual figure is 10,000 Ksh/month (90,000KShs/academic year), which arguably places it outside the purview of low-cost education.

Eldoret Adventist School [Category B]

This church-sponsored school currently provides education to 120 students (56 girls/64 boys) in classes 1 to 6. (Class seven is expected to be added next year, and class eight the year after.) There are 12 teachers at the school, and they earn between 6,000 and 8,000 Ksh/month. Tuition is 1,200 Ksh/month, with an additional 500 Ksh/month for those who want the lunch program. Some students with financial constraints attend Adventist at a subsidized cost (or even attend for free). Approximately 90% of students pay tuition fees, and 40 students currently pay for the lunch program as well. The school is registered with the Ministry of Education as a private, mission school and receives no funding or monetary assistance from the government. Aside from the school fees, some income is generated from church contributions—and the church provides the facilities for the school. In the final term of 2009, Adventist had the four highest scoring students in each class on the zonal exams. The Head Teacher offered that the school's success is largely a result of the small class size and certified teachers. The school grounds were extremely clean, and the learning environment more impressive than the majority of schools we visited.

Champion's Preparatory School [Category F]

Established in 2007 and registered as a community-based organization with the MGSCSS, this school currently serves 83 children (35 of whom are girls) from ECD through class six. (Class seven is expected to be added next year and class eight the year after.) The school employs 10 teachers and their salaries range from 5,000 to 9,000 Ksh/month—some of which is covered by school fees and some of which is covered by church donations. Of the 83 students at Champion's, 35 are orphans who pay no fees at all (and who live in dorms on the school's premises—many of whom are Sudanese or Rwandan). For those who do pay, the fees are as follows: ECD – 2,500 Ksh/month; Class 1-3 – 3,000 Ksh/month; Class 4-6 – 4,000 Ksh/month. These fees cover uniforms, learning materials and a food program. All students are served porridge at 10:00 AM and lunch in the afternoon—those in the boarding program are also served breakfast and dinner. The school day begins at 8:20 AM and ends at 4:30 PM. In addition to the student fees and church donations, the school has also received money from individual donors—including nearly 10 million Ksh to purchase the land and construct the school buildings. The school has done well on zonal exams and even ranked second in the Rift Valley for French, among all primary schools. The school owes its success to an impressively low student/teacher ratio (8:1), impressive learning facilities, a rigorous approach (including a monthly testing policy used to assess progress in all subjects) and highly motivated teachers.

Dream Rock Complex Academy [Category C]

Dream Rock is an independent, private school that was established in 1998 and is registered with the Ministry of Education. Serving 150 students (77 girls and 73 boys) from nursery to class eight, the school employs 14 teachers whose gross salary is 3,000 to 10,000 Ksh/month.¹⁶¹ As

¹⁶¹ Payments to a social security fund (NSSF) and health insurance (NHIF) are taken out of each teacher's monthly wage.

with all private schools registered with the Ministry of Education, all teachers at Dream Rock are trained and certified. Tuition is 3,950 Ksh/term (or about 1,300/month) for classes one to seven, with an additional 335 Ksh/term for class eight students (to cover exam prep and exam fees). Porridge and books are additional, costing 350 Ksh/term and 200 Ksh/term, respectively. There are optional computer classes offered for 600 Ksh/term, and a lunch program is available for 2,100 Ksh/term. Seven of the 150 students pay no fees, and only about half the students can cover the full tuition costs. The land and school are owned by the school's Director, and there is no outside funding for the school from either the government or the individual donors) [Note: In addition to a 15,000 Ksh fee for registering with the Ministry of Education, private schools are also required to pay yearly fees of 10,500 to the Municipal Council to receive a business permit.] In 2009, all of Dream Rock's class eight students passed the KCPE exam, scoring between 262 and 408.¹⁶²

Joy Nissi Academy [Category C]

Joy Nissi is an independently owned, private school that is registered with the Ministry of Education. Although the school was established in 1999, 2010 will be the first year in which the school will have class eight students take the KCPE exam on site. There are 227 total students (115 boys, 112 girls) from nursery to class 8 (152 of whom are in the primary grades). The student/teacher ratio is relatively low, with 13 teachers (plus the Director) working at the school. Teacher salaries range from 4,000 to 9,000 Ksh/month. While full tuition is 5,200 Ksh/term (or about 1,700/month), orphans and "needy" children started coming for free in 2001. In class eight, for example, two students pay no fee, four students pay only 1,000 Ksh/term and 14 students pay the full 5,200 Ksh/term. Students in classes six to eight receive tea and bread if they arrive on time in the morning (at 6:30 AM); all other students arrive later and have the option of paying for lunch (which costs 600 Ksh/month). The school is open from 6:30 AM to 6:00 PM. The school has not been able to finish its registration with either the Ministry of Education or the KPSA, so it is currently a partial (or probationary) member of both—but it has already been registered as an exam center for the KCPE. On the most recent zonal exams (last term of 2009), Joy Nissi showed varied success. It ranked eighth of 12 in class one, tenth of 13 in class two, third of 12 in class three, first of 12 in class four, sixth of 10 in class five, first of nine in class six and seventh of eight in class seven. The facilities are modest, and there are some apparent security concerns (as all student desks were padlocked and students carried keys around their necks).

Haruma Baptist Academy [Category B]

Established in 1987 as a kindergarten program, Haruma Baptist is currently registered as a private, mission school with the Ministry of Education and serves 210 students (exactly half of whom are girls) from kindergarten to class eight. The school employs 12 teachers, and their salaries range from 3,000 to 6,000 Ksh/month. Tuition fees vary by grade and are as follows (by

¹⁶² Five Sudanese students were registered in the school as 'guests' to take the class 8 exam. None gained entry into secondary school.

term): ECD – 2,000 Ksh; Class 1-3 – 2,500 Ksh; Class 4-6 – 3,000 Ksh; Class 7-8 – 3,200 Ksh.¹⁶³ Nearly half the students have difficulties paying the full fee, and about 30% of them can't pay anything. The church has donated the property and facilities, but the school receives no additional assistance from the government or individual donors. The school is open from 6:30 AM to 6:00 PM, but does not provide lunch to any students. In 2009, 28 class eight students took the KCPE exam, and 20 passed. Additionally, the school ranked first of 12 schools in the zone in 2009 and fourteenth of 81 schools in the district.¹⁶⁴ Despite the low salaries paid to teachers, the Director claims that much of the success of the school is because “teachers want to be a part of this school.” Combined with the low student/teacher ratio and moderate facilities, teacher motivation is a major factor in Haruma Baptist's success relative to the zone and district. [Note: Prior to the post-election violence, Haruma Baptist enrolled 350 students. The significant drop in enrollment since that time is representative of the majority of private/non-formal schools that we visited in Eldoret.]

Samro School [Category C/D]

Samro is located on a large plot of land in Eldoret West and serves 253 students (126 girls, 127 boys) from ECD to class eight; 91 of the students at the school are orphans. The school was established in 1997 as a kindergarten, has since expanded and is now registered as a private school with the Ministry of Education. However, it is unclear whether it is registered as independently owned or as an organizational school (seeing as it is closely tied with a Kenya NGO called Empowering Lives International). The school employs 13 teachers, whose salaries range from 4,000 to 10,950 Ksh/month. Tuition is 3,000 to 4,000 Ksh/term for ECD (depending on whether or not they participate in the food program). For primary grades, the tuition is 15,000 Ksh/year for day students without lunch, 18,000 Ksh/year for day students with lunch (of which there are more than 90) and 27,000 Ksh/year for boarding students (of which there are 25). All students receive 10:00 AM porridge regardless of whether or not they pay for lunch. There are 10 students who currently pay nothing, two who pay half tuition and more than 40 students who currently have large balances.¹⁶⁵ Additionally, Empowering Lives International sponsors orphans at the school (paying for school fees, housing, food, etc.). The school is open from 7:00 AM to 6:00 PM (although the majority of non-class 8 students go home at 4:00 PM). The school has only received assistance from well-wishers (to build a few offices). When asked about government funding, the Director said, “In fact, they want to take the money that we have.” In 2009, there were 21 class eight students who took the KCPE exam, every one of whom passed and subsequently enrolled in a public secondary school. This year 35 class eight students are registered for the exam. The Director of Samro claims that much of the success of the school is due to the school's focus on “good morals and Christian principles.” The school grounds are

¹⁶³ Monthly fees therefore range between about 670 and 1070 Ksh.

¹⁶⁴ This includes both private and public schools. As a matter of fact, the top-scoring public school in the district ranked 22nd overall. In other words, the top 21 schools in the district were all private schools—many of which were low-cost schools such as Haruma.

¹⁶⁵ 10 students left the school last year due to their inability to make any progress toward their large balances.

clean, and new buildings/facilities are currently being constructed. The dormitories for boarding students are extremely impressive.

Shining Crescent Academy [Category G]

This two-year-old, non-formal school was established in 2008 by a man who lost his house and livelihood in the post-election violence. Currently providing education for 35 students from ECD to class one, the school employs three teachers who make between 3,000 and 5,000 Ksh/month. Tuition is 2,000 Ksh/term for ECD and 2,500 Ksh/term (about 830/month) for class one (extending to class two next year). While 15 students pay an additional 400 Ksh/month for lunch, the majority of students cannot afford the full school fees. The school is currently not licensed or registered in any way. The grounds and facilities were in poor shape, but the children were bright-eyed and vibrant.

Happy Times Academy [Category C]

Registered with the Ministry of Education as an independently owned, private school, Happy Times has an enrollment of 82 students in the primary grades (43 girls, 39 boys) and 13 students in ECD (nine girls, four boys). There are 10 teachers for classes 1-8 and two for ECD. Tuition is a set fee of 6,000 Ksh/term for all classes, but only two or three students have actually been able to pay the full amount. Some of the students are provided with lunch (mainly those who have no food at their homes). Additionally, some of the students are orphans and live with either the Director or the teachers. The students took the zonal exams last term, but the school has not yet received the results. Furthermore, 2010 will be the first year in which class 8 students (20 of them) will take the exam, so there is no information by which the success of this school can be measured against others at this time. The classrooms were dark and cramped, but the buildings were in decent shape. (Similar to Haruma Baptist, the enrollment at Happy Times dropped by more than 50% after the post-election violence.)

Rock Mirror School [Category B]

Among the most impressive schools visited, Rock Mirror is private, mission school affiliated with the House of Prayer church and registered with the Ministry of Education. The school provides ECD services to 28 children and class 1-8 education to 205 students¹⁶⁶. The male-female ratio in the school is almost exactly 50/50. The school employs nine teachers in upper-primary, three in lower-primary and two in ECD. The starting salary at Rock Mirror is 5,000 Ksh/month, but the Head Mistress did not provide us with an upper range. There is a one-time admissions fee of 2,000 Ksh, and the tuition is as follows (by year): ECD: 9,000 Ksh; class 1-6: 14,000 Ksh; class 7: 16,000 Ksh; class 8: 19,000 Ksh.¹⁶⁷ Lunch is an additional 1,700 Ksh/term (or about 565 Ksh/month). Many students cannot afford the fees. In class eight, one of three

¹⁶⁶ There were 350 students at Rock Mirror in 2007 and only 20 when the school re-opened after the post-election violence.

¹⁶⁷ The monthly tuition therefore ranges between 1,000 and 2,100 Ksh at Rock Mirror.

students attend for free. These students are financed through cross-subsidization from those who can afford to pay. The school is open from 7:00 AM to 5:00 PM (ECD students go home at 3:00 PM). There is an impressive library at the school with over 2,000 books in it, as well as a room that contains all of the students' previous tests, which are used for test prep in subsequent years. In 2009, there were 34 students in class eight, every one of whom passed the KCPE exam and enrolled in secondary school. Rock Mirror has never had a class eight student not pass the exam and enroll in a secondary school. Despite the relatively low fees, the grounds were immaculate (with stones on which the names of all previous class eight students and their subsequent secondary schools were painted), and the facilities were impressive. Students were obviously performing at an extremely high level. Rock Mirror is an exemplary school.

Chebichii Academy [Category C]

A difficult school to find (due to the lack of a sign), Chebichii provides ECD to class 8 education to 131 students (35 in ECD, 96 in classes 1-8)¹⁶⁸. The school is registered as an independently owned private school with the Ministry of Education and is therefore a registered exam center. The school employs twelve teachers, but we were unable to obtain salary information. The tuition at Chebichii varies by grade, and the scale is as follows (by term): ECD: 1,800 Ksh; class 1-3: 2,000 Ksh; class 4-7: 2,500 Ksh; class 8: 3,500 Ksh.¹⁶⁹ Fees were higher in 2007 but were dropped after the post-election violence in order to help the community. Many of the families have to pay in installments, but they are still behind in their payments. Meals are not provided to day schoolers, but ten students board and therefore receive breakfast, lunch, and dinner. The school is open from 7:00 AM to 5:00 PM. Chebichii is a KPSA member, but it feels its membership has not been worthwhile in the past couple years because the KPSA has done little since around 2008. The school receives no outside assistance in kind or funding. In 2009, 46 students sat for the KCPE exam at Chebichii, 16 of whom were Chebichii students. Of the 16 who were enrolled at the school, all received letters from secondary schools. (The highest student at the school scored 322. One of the highest scoring students of all-time at the school (424) is now the manager of Chebichii.) The success of the school is owed in part to the small class size and motivated teachers, most of whom come from the community and have returned to help those in need.

Nakuru

Royal Elites Academy [Category B]

Only four years old (and still expanding), this school serves 95 students in its ECD program and 160 students in classes one to four (91 girls, 69 boys)¹⁷⁰. Owned by the Full Gospel Church, Royal Elites is registered with the Ministry of Education as a private, mission school. While the church owns the land and buildings and provides lunch to all students, there are additional school fees for families. For ECD, tuition is 3,800 Ksh/term. For primary grades, tuition is 4,500

¹⁶⁸ There were nearly 300 students at Chebichii Academy in 2007 and only 30 when the school re-opened after the post-election violence.

¹⁶⁹ The monthly tuition therefore ranges between 600 and 1165 Ksh at Chebichii.

¹⁷⁰ Approximately 70 students left Royal Elites after the post-election violence.

Ksh/term (or 1,500/month)¹⁷¹. Parents purchase textbooks, which cost about 4,000 Ksh/year, and additional learning materials, for a total of about 6,000 Ksh/year (on top of tuition). Five students are sponsored entirely by the church and therefore pay no fees. There are seven primary teachers and five ECD teachers at Royal Elites, and the salary range is 6,000 to 8,500 Ksh/month. The school is open from 7:00 AM to 4:00 PM, Monday to Friday—and class four also has Saturday school from 8:00 AM to 12:00 PM. Royal Elites is not yet a member of the KPSA. This school has shown impressive gains in achievement in just the past few months. In the final term of 2009, Royal Elites was ranked ninth of 20 schools in the western zone of Nakuru district in classes one, two and three¹⁷². In the first term of 2010, classes one, two and three ranked eighth, eighth and ninth, respectively, while class four ranked second in the zone overall. The new Head Teacher of the school is also the class four teacher—and combined with the Saturday school lessons, his approach of increased parental involvement appears to be working.

Harambee Khalsa Primary [Category A]

Harambee Khalsa was the first public school we visited. With a large enrollment of 1,517 students in classes 1-8 (665 girls, 852 boys) and only 27 teachers, there are some classrooms at Khalsa (especially in the lower classes) that have student/teacher ratios of nearly 90:1¹⁷³. The senior teacher informed us that prior to FPE, the student/teacher ratio at the school was about 35-40:1. Teacher salaries range from 14,000 to 35,000 Ksh/month, but teachers are also provided with payment into a pension plan, as well as health insurance. There is no tuition fee for students (due to FPE), but parents are still responsible for food, uniforms, transportation, as well as a desk and chair.¹⁷⁴ A male student's uniform costs approximately 2,100 Ksh, the desk and chair cost about 2,500 Ksh and the lunch program is 400 Ksh/month (approximately 300 students participate). Class 4-8 students are in school from 7:00 AM to 4:10 PM, while class 1-3 students attend school from 7:30 AM to 12:30 PM. In 2009, there were 101 class 8 students at Harambee Khalsa, 76 of whom scored about 250 on the KCPE exam (although the senior teacher said that the school does not know how many of these students ultimately enrolled in a secondary school). Despite the incredible overcrowding problem (caused partially by the fact that the school must admit any student who shows up with a desk, chair and uniform), Harambee Khalsa was one of the top public schools in the western zone of Nakuru district for nearly all classes in 2009 (and the first term in 2010). Its success has unfortunately only exacerbated the overcrowding problem, as students are continually transferring to Khalsa from other public (and some private) schools.

*Bridge International Academies*¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ School fees have increased by nearly 30% over the past four years, from 3,500 to 4,500 Ksh.

¹⁷² This placed them 9th out of 9 for private schools. Only 9 private schools participated in the zonal exams, all of which scored about the top-performing public school.

¹⁷³ While many private schools experienced large drops in enrollment as a result of the post-election violence, Harambee Khalsa has increased its enrollment by nearly 400 students since 2007.

¹⁷⁴ Students have to physically bring a desk and chair to school with them when they register.

¹⁷⁵ Schools run by Bridge International could be placed in a number of categories—depending on how they are ultimately managed and registered.

Bridge International Academies is a private equity-owned company that seeks to provide high-quality, low-cost private primary education. The goal of Bridge International is educating ‘at scale, ‘with a focus on sustainability and accountability to parents and communities. The company has employed a franchise approach to the development of what it is calling “school in-a-box,” which costs under \$4/month per student. The package includes a scripted curriculum, teacher/management training and all necessary educational facilities/materials. The process for starting a school begins with the purchase of land (generally untitled land in slums),¹⁷⁶ followed by the building of a school, which costs approximately \$2,000 per classroom, ‘fully-loaded’. Bridge International Academies has approximately 100 employees (95% of whom are Kenyan citizens), including those involved in real estate, school construction, and pedagogy. Bridge International recruits and trains a local school manager, as well as local teachers (all of whom must have at least completed secondary education). The manager has a ‘performance contract’ in the sense that he or she may begin with a salary of \$1,000/year and may, with good performance over many years, end up with a salary six times the original level. After training, schools open for operation. The entire process can take as few as five months from the procurement of land to the opening of the school. Much of the support and financial measures are centralized, with payments to schools and teachers occurring mostly via mobile phone.¹⁷⁷

The company launched its first school in Nairobi (Kibera) in January 2009 and currently operates 12 schools, enrolling over 1,000 total students in Kenya. Upon opening, schools offer education to children from kindergarten through class three, with the goal of expanding up to class eight—ultimately enrolling between 800 and 1,200 students per school. Ninety percent of the pupils live within 400 meters of the school they attend. The start-up capital for schools comes from both commercial and philanthropic investors from the United States and the United Kingdom.¹⁷⁸ Once open, schools become self-financing by charging monthly tuition fees of 295 Ksh for all students. Bridge International Academies is currently registered with the Attorney General in Kenya as a business, with each school considered a separate location of the same organization, but the company is hoping to register as a non-formal school with the Ministry of Education.

Although Bridge International Academies operates only in Kenya, its ambition is to operate across Sub-Saharan Africa with as many as a million pupils enrolled. It does not currently plan to expand into secondary education, but acknowledges that parents and local community leaders may well ask it to undertake such an expansion.

¹⁷⁶ In many cases, they do not gain clear title to the land, but with the permission of local community leaders and municipal authorities, they agree to operate the school without clear title. They reduce the risk of expropriation by diversifying the locations of their school, by maintaining good relations with political leaders and by registering with two agencies that insure against political risk: the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) of the World Bank Group and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) of the U.S.

¹⁷⁷ All data transfers between school managers and Bridge International are conducted via specially encoded SMS texts.

¹⁷⁸ Year 1 costs are approximately \$25,000 for land and construction—at peak capacity it is estimated that each school will cost approximately \$50,000.

PAKISTAN

History and Characteristics of Non-government Schools

Private schools have existed in Pakistan since the country became independent in 1947. At the time, they were limited to large urban areas and were mainly religious institutions (madrasas) that served a subset of the population seeking more religious education than that which was provided by the government (Andrabi et al, 2008). While the number of private schools in Pakistan grew steadily for a few decades—due in part to the additional funding provided by the government—in the 1970s the growth of the private sector was curtailed. Former President and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto helped create the Education Policy for 1972-1980, which nationalized the education system and limited the impact of the private sector. By the end of the decade, however, the policy was reversed because of low education participation rates at all levels. The National Education Policy of 1979 stated that the government was unable to finance and provide all education throughout the country and therefore enlisted communities to assist in the educational development of the country. Consequently, non-government schools increased significantly in number during the 1990s (Das et al, 2006).

By 2000, the private sector accounted for 35% of all primary school students in Pakistan and has grown rapidly ever since, especially in rural areas and among the country's poorest households (Andrabi et al, 2008). Furthermore, according to Andrabi et al, "this rise in private schooling is decentralized, market based, and totally unaided by government subsidies or support" (p. 330). That being said, not all private schools are the same—there are actually two main types of private primary schools in Pakistan: madrasas and individually owned nonreligious private schools. While the government claims that the latter group is small and only serves wealthy students, recent research has found that this is not actually the case—and that private schools for low-income families are growing rapidly in both urban and rural areas (Alderman et al, 2001; Alderman et al, 2003; Andrabi et al, 2008).

Degree to which Non-government Schools Accommodate Low Income Children

Although the government of Pakistan has made great strides in the development and expansion of their public education system, the private primary sector continues to grow to meet both excess and differentiated demand. In the oversimplified case, excess demand occurs in rural areas where public school supply is insufficient, while differentiated demand refers to those students/families that are unsatisfied with the public system and feel that the private sector has something greater to offer. Although excess demand is likely to disproportionately affect low-income families, their schooling choices are also driven by differentiated demand. In other words, low-fee private school enrollment rates have been increasing over the past decade and while some of this is the result of enrolling students who would otherwise have had no

opportunity to attend school, much of it comes from families making choices due to their dissatisfaction with the public system.

In order to examine the extent to which private schools in Pakistan accommodate low-income children, it is useful to look at both enrollment figures and tuition rates. Beginning with tuition rates, Andrabi et al (2008) found that typical private schools in villages charge approximately 1,000 Rupees (or \$18) per year in tuition, which is less than the average daily wage of an unskilled worker. With tuition levels this low, it is not surprising that the low-cost private primary sector in Pakistan is expanding as quickly as it is. For example, while none of rural household expenditures for the country's poorest families went to private schools in 1991, by 2001 the share of expenditures was up to 6%—during the same time, spending on private schooling doubled among the poorest families in urban areas (from 9 to 18%). Ultimately, by the end of the 1990s nearly 10% of children from the poorest families in Pakistan were enrolled in low-cost private primary schools (Andrabi et al, 2008). This share is likely to have increased with the growing private sector and programs such as the Education Voucher Scheme that enrolled 10,000 low-income students in 52 private schools by March 2008 (Salman, 2010).

The Regulatory Environments¹⁷⁹

As part of the government's efforts to decentralize control, private schools in Pakistan are regulated by provincial ordinances. Fieldwork conducted for the Pakistan Report examined two of these ordinances: the Punjab Private Educational Institutions (Promotion and Regulation) Ordinance (1984) and the Sindh Private Educational Institutions (Regulation and Control) Ordinance (2001). While both ordinances focus mainly on the issues of registration and inspection, the Punjab ordinance takes a further step toward decentralization by establishing district committees for the registration of private schools. The Sindh ordinance establishes no such committee, although it does establish a directorate of private schools, in order to regulate and control the private education sector.¹⁸⁰ The directorate is additionally responsible for school inspections and registration renewals.

The government does not set limits on the number of students allowed to enroll in a school but private schools must meet the requirement of no more than 40 students per classroom. Tuition/fee limits are also not set by the government but increases in tuition from year to year cannot exceed 5%. As far as facilities are concerned, schools must contain a staff room, a playground and a library in order to pass registration.

¹⁷⁹ Information for this section was taken directly from USAID sponsored fieldwork conducted by Naveed Shaikh, heretofore referred to as the Pakistan Report.

¹⁸⁰ The private sector here refers to privately owned schools but not madrasas.

Guidelines for teacher qualifications are determined by the government and require that private schools have a minimum of one-third trained teachers on staff. It is important to note, however, that the training requirements of the public and private sectors differ. In order to be considered “trained,” public school teachers must have two teaching certificates, as well as a Bachelor’s and master’s degree in education. In the private sector, on the other hand, teachers must simply provide any certificate of training in order to meet the “trained” requirement.

While private schools are expected to follow the public education academic calendar, some high-fee schools have been found to close on Saturdays—thus having shorter academic years (in terms of total days) than public or low-cost private schools. High-fee schools (those registered with the Cambridge Board) are also often found to avoid the requirement to follow the national curriculum, which is required for all other private schools. Government textbooks are used in some schools but are perceived to be of lower quality and are therefore often replaced by local publishing house textbooks in the wealthier private schools.

Registration fees are calculated based on the location and level of school. For example, urban primary schools are required to pay 1,000 Rupees for registration, while rural primary schools pay half that. Regardless of the fee, all schools are required to keep registers of student admissions and graduation, as well as financial records (including teacher salaries, school fees and expenses).

Financial Sustainability

The financial sustainability of the low-cost private school sector in Pakistan is based on more than just tuition and school fees. Both the government and donor organizations have been providing assistance to private schools throughout the country for nearly two decades. The largest threat to long-term financial sustainability, however, is that the government programs have often not met with much success. For example, shortly after the education nationalization plans were abolished, the government attempted to support private schools through public-private partnerships (PPP). Unfortunately, few of these projects were able to survive. One of the most promising was the National Education Policy 1998-2010, which was to provide concessions to private schools (including free land, subsidized gas and electricity rates, and tax-exempt status). Recent fieldwork determined that despite the government’s best intentions, the policy was ultimately unsuccessful because private school owners were never made aware of the possibility of these concessions.

One PPP that has been successful is the Promotion of Private Schools in Rural Areas of Sindh (PPRS). Under the PPRS, the government of Sindh has allocated nearly 3 billion Rupees for the provision of per-child subsidies, as well as capacity building for the promotion of quality education through community and private sector organizations and individuals. A mid-program

assessment recently completed by the World Bank found increases in primary school enrollments after just one year and provided some evidence that the program may prove to be cost-effective, according to the Pakistan Report.

Under the Adopt a School Program (initiated by the Sindh Education Foundation), individuals or NGOs are responsible for managing public schools. While the school has yet to be fully funded publicly, the oversight is entirely in the hands of the private sector. Currently there are no comprehensive data on these schools and their effectiveness.

If programs such as these are found to be successful, it could have a significant impact on the long-term sustainability of the sector, which would be receiving both private and government support.

Another factor regarding the financial sustainability of the low-fee private school sector is that tuition fees are used to determine teacher salaries. With a minimum wage set by the government (e.g., teachers are to be paid no less than four times the fee charged to a single student), the concern is that schools charging extremely low tuition fees will be unable to pay teachers at a rate any higher than the minimum and might therefore have difficulties with teacher recruitment and retention. By raising the fees in order to pay teachers more, however, their students will be unable to pay. Either way, this issue could be an impediment to the long-term financial sustainability of the sector.

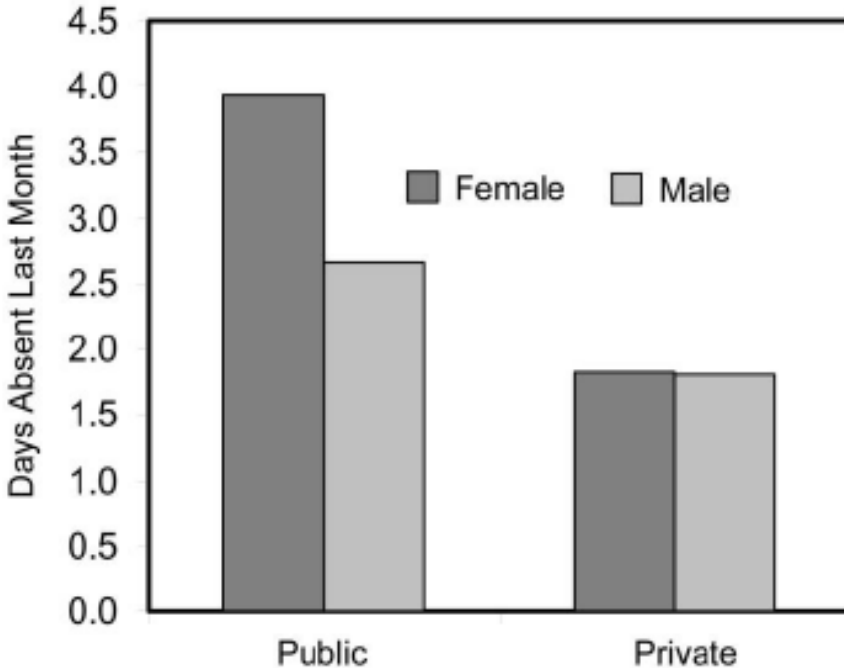
Quality of (Low Income) Non-government School Output

Several studies have been conducted in recent years to examine the quality of private primary schooling in Pakistan. One of the earlier pieces specifically examined why low-income parents choose to enroll their children in private schools. Adlerman et al (2001) ultimately found that while lowering private school fees was effective in attracting more students, parents were also more likely to choose private schools if they were closer to home than other schooling options. Additionally, instructional expenditures and pupil-teacher ratios were found to be significant predictors of why parents chose to enroll their children in private schools, as compared with local public school alternatives.

In an examination of low-cost private primary schools in Punjab, Andrabi et al (2008) found that teachers in these schools are often un- or under-qualified young females from the local community. Despite having under-qualified teachers, however, the study found that teachers in private schools were less likely to be absent than their public school counterparts. Figure 6 (below) shows that the absentee rate of female teachers in the public schools was twice that of private school teachers (Andrabi et al, 2008). Finally, the authors found that having a private

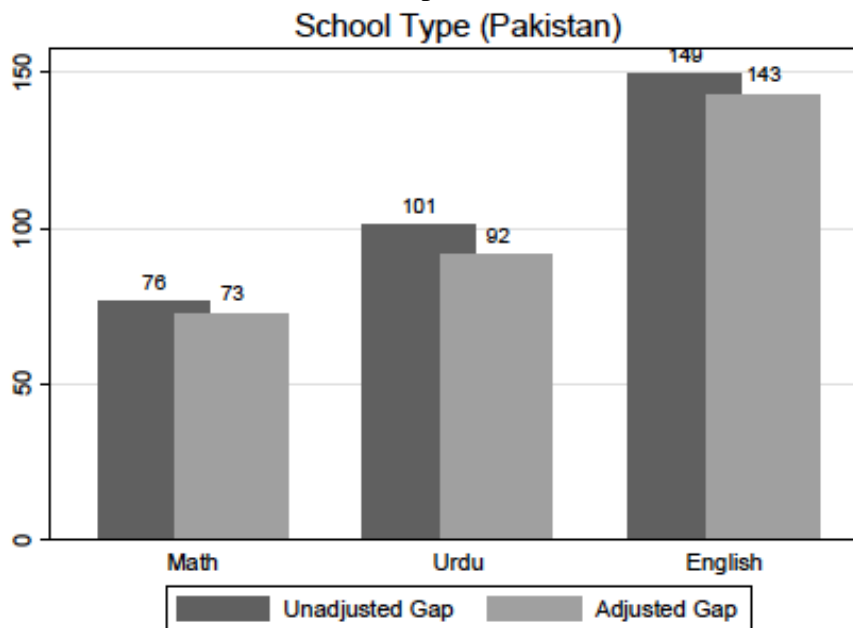
school in a village led to significant increases in enrollment by boys but even greater increases by girls—which is a major focus of many schooling initiatives in Pakistan.

Figure 6: Teacher Absenteeism (Punjab Schools)



Das et al (2006) noted in their study that while absolute learning in the country is low by international standards, private school students have higher test scores than public students, even after accounting for individual, household and community characteristics. Specifically, the gap in English test scores between government and private schools was found to be 12 times the gap between rich and poor students. As English is purported to be a greater focal point in private schools (often used as the medium of instruction—especially at the pre-primary and primary levels), this result is not surprising. As Figure 7 (below) shows, however, the test score gap between public and private school students is significant in mathematics and Urdu as well.

Figure 7: Public/Private Test Score Gap



Source: LEAPS Exam, 2004

Note: School type gaps are mean differences between children in private schools and government schools. The adjusted gap for Pakistan is the coefficient on private school in a child level OLS regression that includes wealth, father literacy, mother literacy, gender, age, age squared, and a village fixed effect.

In a study on the returns to education, Asadullah (2009) finds that private school students in Pakistan have earnings advantages over public school students. Although interesting in the aggregate, this study does not account for selection biases and does not provide any information specifically on low-income schools. Therefore, the implications of the results are quite limited for our current study.

Lastly, many education experts and researchers have raised concerns about low-cost private schools taking advantage of low-income families. Alderman et al (2001) note on the contrary that “rather than being exploited by private schools, evidence suggests that strong demand for [low-cost] private schools is in response to better quality and learning opportunities offered by private schools” (p. 324).

Ultimately, the research on low-cost private school effectiveness provides mixed results, with some evidence that these schools may provide educational opportunities that are at least on a par with the public system. However, further research on the topic is necessary.

Donor Experiences

In addition to the public-private partnerships discussed earlier in this paper, some of which are supported by the World Bank, the majority of donor experiences in the private primary education

sector have involved NGOs. For example, the PEF is an autonomous body recognized by the Punjab government with the goal of promoting quality education through public-private partnerships. Through the provision of fee subsidies to private primary school students, as well as the provision of bonuses to private school teachers (based on Quality Assurance Test results), the PEF's assistance program (FAS) has been found to assist in learning gains for many private school students—while relieving some of the financial burden on low-cost private schools. Additionally, the PEF has implemented a voucher program for students in Lahore—the original survey for and design that were created with assistance from the Open Society Institute of the George Soros Foundation.

Outstanding Issues

One of the greatest obstacles to increased primary enrollment in Pakistan is the reluctance of parents to send their daughters to public schools.¹⁸¹ In order to gain a more complete understanding of this issue, two pilot programs were implemented in the Balochistan Province. Urban and rural private girls' schools were started in order to induce attendance among girls in the province. Scholarships were provided to the girls to attend them and attendance rates in these communities (total) were then compared with similar communities without the pilot schools.¹⁸² The urban program was found to be successful, due in part to a larger supply of students not enrolled in the public system, higher teacher availability and wealthier, more highly educated parents. School operators also played a large role in the success of the program. All of the urban schools were also found to have the potential to be self-sustaining, while only one of the rural schools was likely to continue without the subsidies (Alderman et al, 2003). Ultimately, these pilots provide some evidence that girls' education is not an insurmountable obstacle but it remains to be seen whether low-cost private schools can fulfill this need. This is further complicated by the findings of Aslam (2007), which state that within households, families are more likely to send boys than girls to private school.

Another issue with regard to the private school sector in Pakistan is the capacity of the Directorate of Registration of Private Schools. While the number of private schools is quickly increasing, the directorate appears to be struggling to keep up. In Sindh, for example, only 4,000 of the more than 11,000 private schools are registered. This stems from the fact that access to some districts is limited, as well as the fact that there are only two regional offices for the province's 22 districts.

Among the most telling of the problems with public schools in Pakistan, and one of the important reasons for the demand for private schools is the relative difference in the absenteeism

¹⁸¹ Demand for girls' schooling has been found to be higher in urban areas than rural.

¹⁸² Due to the fact that communities had to apply to become part of the pilot program, it is likely that selection effects will bias the results.

among teachers. While recent studies (Andrabi et al, 2008; Das et al, 2006) have shown serious issues with teacher absenteeism, Ghuman and Lloyd (2010) argue that the issue in Pakistan can be ameliorated by having more local teachers. They say:

Local teachers are at an advantage when it comes to opportunities to learn as reflected in the lower absences among teachers who live close to the school. Given that a sizeable share of private schools teachers in our sample are women, the importance of living close to the school for reducing absence may reflect less restrictions on female mobility and other related factors noted above for government girls' school teachers and greater oversight in the community by private school owners or parents. Private schools are equipped with greater...working conditions along with greater monitoring of teacher performance may create the conditions that encourage a teacher who comes to work and puts in an effort despite being less experienced or trained than government school teachers. (p. 551)

On the other hand, given Pakistan's political difficulties and the lack of consensus in the wider society, many of its education problems parallel those of fragile states in which service delivery is often absent or only occasional (Berry, 2010; Commins, 2010). In these circumstances the only viable alternative is the non-government provider—often from religious authorities—which may in this context be the only viable authority available (Bano, 2010).

Recommendations¹⁸³

Though consecutive national education policies have repeatedly pledged to recognize and promote the private education sector, little has been done to support it. Interconnected incentives in the realm of sub-sector specialization, regulation, finance and quality/monitoring are required to enhance the private sector's role in education sector, especially in localities where low-income families live.

Regulations

- Establish a complaint/redress mechanism to check corruption and undue interventions by regulatory authorities
- A consortium of universities could be established with the authority to issue licenses to teachers. Initially, private schools may be asked to join the regime voluntarily.
- Register religiously affiliated non-government schools, and provide assistance for the teaching of a national curriculum. More than 80% private schools are located in urban cities. However, demand for private schooling is strong even in rural communities, as discussed above. A solution for channeling the demand and capacity of the

¹⁸³ These recommendations come directly from the Pakistan Report

communities could be found in 'Cooperatives'. Communities should be encouraged to establish education cooperatives, possibly with the government incentivizing the cooperatives in managing the schools. The education cooperatives can also be used to consolidate the mushroomed private sector, especially in urban/town areas. These cooperatives should incorporate religiously affiliated schools.

Finance

- Banks and other commercial entities should be encouraged to include financing to private education as a sector eligible to acquire credits/loans
- The government may insure lending for establishment of schools by the private commercial sector in underprivileged areas, hence, encouraging innovation and risk taking
- The pension and gratuity benefits should be extended to teachers working in private schools, perhaps through the already established institutions like Social Security Institution and Employees' Old-Age Benefits Institution.
- Teacher salary credits could be given to schools working in underprivileged areas and charging fees below region specific ceiling
- Similar salary credits may also be given to schools that voluntarily join teacher license regimes; specialized credits may be extended to teachers in religious schools
- Demand-side incentives like free text books and stipends to girl students (post primary classes) may also be extended to private schools to equalize operating environment in public and private schools
- The concept of Grant-in-Aid should be reintroduced, especially for schools serving in underprivileged areas or that are ready to accept students from low-income families and religiously-affiliated schools
- If cooperatives/communities provide the buildings or rent for the schools, the Education Department should provide teachers or the salary budget of the schools.

Monitoring for Quality

- The government has established the National Education Assessment System at the federal level and Provincial Education Assessment Systems in four provinces. The assessment exercise should also cover private schools.
- The capacity of the Directorate of Private Schools should be enhanced and the body should be mandated to assess and publish the rankings of private schools at the district level.
- The Provincial Institute of Teacher Education provides in-service training to teachers working in public schools. The same service could also be extended to teachers working in private schools. The government may subsidize the training through a matching grant formula, with the cost shared by the Education Department and the schools.

TANZANIA¹⁸⁴

Non-government schools in Tanzania have played a role in the education of the country's youth since the turn of the Twentieth Century but the most recent expansion began in the 1980s when excess demand caused the government to relax constraints on the sector. This expansion was initially driven almost entirely by private secondary schools, as free primary education initiatives offset increases in demand in the private primary sector (Tan and Sumra, 2000). While wealthy families in Tanzania continue to choose private schools for their children (based on perceived quality), poor families are often unable to afford school fees. However, church-run schools and those supported by other philanthropic organizations serve low-income students by providing fee concessions and scholarships to those most in need (including but not limited to AIDS orphans).

History and Characteristics of Non-government Schools

From independence in 1961 through the nation's first five-year development plan (1964-1969), publicly provided education in Tanzania was purposely limited due to financial and capacity constraints. However, due to increasing demand throughout this period, the non-government primary sector grew from approximately 60% (1961) to nearly 69% (1965). This non-government provision of education was provided by volunteer agencies, such as NGOs and Christian missions. However, in 1969 the government passed the Education Act No. 50, which nationalized and decentralized all non-government schools (except for seminaries and schools that were run by the Tanzania Parents Association (TAPA)) (Samoff, 1987). This restriction on non-government schools continued through the country's 1974 free primary education initiative¹⁸⁵, until 1982 when a Presidential Commission on Education recommendation caused the government to relax the restrictions in order to meet excess demand for education (particularly at the secondary level).

Throughout the 1980s the public education system continued to suffer and by 1985 user fees and other compulsory charges were reinstated (despite the claim just six years earlier that all schools were officially user-fee free) (URT, 1986). This led to the 1995 Education and Training Policy, as well as the 1995 Education Act No. 10—both of which further relaxed regulations on the establishment and management of schools. As a result, Tanzania saw an expansion of private schools at all levels (pre-primary, primary and secondary)—most of which were labeled “English medium” or “international” schools and catered specifically to wealthier students. However, poor

¹⁸⁴ The information in this section comes from Hillary Dachi's “The role of private schools for low income children: The case of Tanzania”, which was intended to complement the research we conducted in the other case study countries. (Heretofore referred to as the Tanzania Report)

¹⁸⁵ Although the number of students attending primary school increased, the secondary sector did not have the capacity to meet the increased demand, which led to a significant drop in the proportion of students who transitioned from primary to secondary school (Ishumi, 1984; URT, 1999).

students, although arguably the most at risk, were often unable to afford private school fees and were therefore relegated to the failing public school system.

Today non-government primary schools can be placed into two broad categories: private and religious. Private schools are those owned and managed by a private entrepreneur (or group of entrepreneurs) and are often seen as for-profit institutions. Religious schools are owned and managed by religious organizations and are often run more like charities than for-profit institutions—although there are high-fee religious schools that charge tuition levels nearly equal to that of the privately-owned schools (private entrepreneurs). While both categories contain schools that charge high fees, they both also contain schools that provide concessions and/or scholarships to those most in need—including AIDS orphans.

Recent government statistics show that primary school enrollment in non-government schools increased by 87% from 2007 to 2010. However, this still only accounts for approximately 1.8% of the total primary school population and does not provide any specific information regarding low-cost primary schools. Furthermore, the Tanzania Report offers that there are a significant number of unregistered schools that are operating in urban areas throughout the country. Therefore, it is important to obtain an understanding of the extent to which non-government schools accommodate low-income children.

Degree to which Non-government Schools Accommodate Low Income Children

One of the simplest ways to assess the degree to which non-government schools can accommodate low-income children is to examine the tuition rates of these schools. Table 8 (from the Tanzania Report) provides fee information for non-government schools in selected regions of the country, as obtained from a field survey conducted in September 2010. This table shows that low-income families are unlikely to be able to pay full tuition fees at even some of the lowest fee primary day schools.

Table 8: Fees Charged by Non-Government Primary Schools: Selected Regions¹⁸⁶

Region	Category	Highest Fees	Lowest Fees	Per Capita Income
Kilimanjaro	Primary-Day	1,178,000	700,000	733,000
	Primary-Boarding	1,468,000	900,000	
Dar es Salaam	Primary-Day	1,170,000	440,000	1,442,200
	Primary-Boarding	1,550,000	990,000	

¹⁸⁶ All values in Tanzanian Shillings. The exchange rate from the Tanzania Shilling to the US Dollar is TZS10,000 to USD6.60.

Tanga	Primary-Day	720,000	600,000	626,000
	Primary-Boarding	1,090,000	1,000,000	
Pwani	Primary-Day	720,000	600,000	443,536
	Primary- Boarding	1,300,000	1,200,000	

Source: Field Survey, September 2010.

Furthermore, according to statistics from the 2007 Household Budget Survey, an average household in Dar es Salaam would have to spend approximately one-third of its monthly household expenditure on tuition to send just one child to a low-cost private primary day school (three children would require all expenditures to go toward education). With just under 6% of expenditures spent on education in Dar es Salaam, on average, it seems unlikely that many families at or below the median household income level would be able to afford to send their children to private schools¹⁸⁷ (URT, 2009).

However, no matter how unlikely it may appear from these statistics, it is still possible to find private primary schools that cater to low-income students. These schools are often religious-oriented institutions and either charge low enough fees for some parents in the lower economic quintiles to afford or provide concessions on tuition fees for those most in need. Additionally, these schools often provide additional support in terms of textbooks, school supplies and uniforms. In the fieldwork conducted for the Tanzania Report, we found that a significant number of low-income parents were working to find a way to amass small amounts of money in order to send their children to low-cost private schools at the pre-primary level but less evidence was found at the primary level. As far as private primary education was concerned, the majority of schools that accommodated low-income students were unregistered schools that could not meet the requirements for full registration. These schools often have very low tuition rates but are also supported by a philanthropist or religious organization in order to cover the fees for orphans who are unable to pay even the smallest fees.

Another complication with serving low-income families in the private sector is that tuition may only account for approximately 30-55% of total school fees—which places a further burden on families even when tuition fees are waived. Ultimately, while private primary schools do serve AIDS orphans by providing tuition remission and/or scholarships, the low-cost private sector seen in the other countries throughout this report does not appear to play much of a role in the primary education system in Tanzania. However, this claim is based only on the literature, government statistics and the selected schools for the Tanzania Report. Since unregistered schools are purported to exist in large numbers, a further examination of these particular schools

¹⁸⁷ The increased expenditures on education would prove especially problematic in rural areas of Tanzania, where nearly 65% of expenditures are for food.

could provide more information about the low-cost private sector and its role for serving the poor in Tanzania.

The Regulatory Environments

The two major acts that regulate the private education sector in Tanzania are the Education Act No. 25 (1978) and the Education Act No. 10 (1995). Article IV of the latter act describes the requirements for establishing and registering private schools. These requirements include having a declaration of ownership, a clearly delineated mission (and goals) and a completed application for registration, which plays the role of a contractual obligation for schools to meet the expectations of the government. While the application itself may be cumbersome for some, the application process is complex as well.

Non-government school managers are to apply to the Commissioner of Education through the Zonal Chief Inspector of Schools via form RS8—which includes information on the name and location of the school, as well as the infrastructure, financing, curriculum, target enrollments and staff qualifications. Additionally, the application must be accompanied by the following (directly quoted from the Tanzania Report):

- (a) A certificate from the District/Town/Municipal/City engineer indicating that the use of the site for school purposes is consistent with the plans of a particular locality
- (b) A certificate from the District/Town/Municipal/City health office indicating that existing buildings conform to the health and safety regulations
- (c) Land particulars—letter of offer/title deed/ right of occupancy
- (d) Architectural drawings/plans of existing and proposed buildings
- (e) Initial inspection report from the inspectorate department

In addition to meeting the registration requirements, private schools in Tanzania are required to follow government regulations for management as well. Article V of the Education Act No. 10 covers these regulations, which include student and class size limits; teacher qualifications and student/teacher ratios; school building regulations; teaching and learning materials; number of school days per year (194); inspection; public examinations; and student registration, as well as data on students—which is to be reported to the government. Furthermore, the Tanzania Education and Training Policy (TETP) contains further regulations on facilities, infrastructure, working conditions, teacher professional development and even the issuance of land title deeds.

Financial Sustainability

As noted earlier in this report, many private schools in Tanzania rely entirely on school fees for their financing. While some schools do receive funding from philanthropic and/or religious

organizations, the long-term sustainability of the sector as a whole will be most directly impacted by the ability of private schools to continue to attract students and to receive tuition/fee payments on a regular basis. This latter necessity is of greatest concern with regard to low-income parents, who are less likely to have steady incomes and are highly susceptible to downturns in the economy. As a result, some schools have taken to raising additional school funds through extracurricular activities and fundraising efforts, such as farming and baking. However, these schools still rely heavily on student fees and directors of schools interviewed for the Tanzania Report noted that difficulties in collecting fees from parents have led to difficulties in paying teacher salaries.

Some private schools have taken to applying for loans from the Tanzania Education Authority (TEA) and/or banks—although banks are unlikely to loan to low-cost schools due to the high risks and lack of lending collateral. The Tanzania Association of Managers and Owners of Non-Government Schools and Colleges (TAMONGSCO) has since formed a Savings and Credit Cooperative Society (SACCO) in order to provide micro-finance loans to its members (i.e., private schools). The work of SACCO in Tanzania (especially with regard to private school credit financing) is promising but has yet to be examined thoroughly.

Finally, private schools are treated as for-profit businesses by the Tanzania Revenue Authority. This means that all income (school fees and otherwise) are fully taxable and private schools have no ability to file for tax-exempt status or to receive any tax relief. This additional financial burden, combined with concerns about being able to collect regular fees from parents puts the long-term financial sustainability of the entire sector in danger. The concerns are exacerbated for low-income private schools.

Quality of (Low Income) Non-government School Output

There is little information on the quality of school outputs by low-income private primary schools in Tanzania. The literature and studies on private school effectiveness in the country nearly universally focus either on the private sector as a whole or specifically on secondary schools. While both of these approaches provide some evidence that private schools are at least as effective—in terms of academic achievement—as public schools, this provides no information about the particular sector of interest for this study (Cox & Jimenez, 1990; Lassibille & Tan, 2001; Tan and Sumra, 2000).

Ultimately, the only evidence available (specifically on low-cost private primary schools) for this report comes from the Tanzania Report and claims that while high-fee private schools are touted as having better pedagogical approaches, as well as better test scores, low-fee non-government schools provide low quality education—at least in terms of academic achievement.

Donor Experiences

Aid organizations are expected to provide support that fits within the framework of the Joint Assistant Strategy (JAS) for Tanzania. Not surprisingly, therefore, there has been no shortage of international aid and donor work in the private secondary education sector in Tanzania.

Beginning with the relaxing of regulations and the expansion of the system in the 1980s and 90s, organizations such as the Finnish International Development Agency (FINNIDA), the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the Norwegian Agency for Development (NORAD) and the World Bank have all been part of private secondary school initiatives over the past couple decades. Some of these endeavors met with success, while others proved to be unsustainable. However, support for private primary education has been limited.

Due to continued government efforts to nationalize free primary education, donor support for private primary schools in Tanzania has been minimal. Much of the financial and technical support provided to primary education comes through the Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP) but little of this support has been focused on private schools. Ultimately, while low-cost private primary schools in the country are in need of both financial and technical support, donors have yet to enter into this sector to any significant extent.

Outstanding Issues

While the private secondary school sector has been expanding in Tanzania since the early 1980s, private school enrollments at all levels have been increasing since the mid-1990s. These trends have become even more pronounced over the past few years, especially at the primary level. The majority of these increases, however, have involved wealthy parents choosing to take their children out of the public system—although there is evidence that religious-oriented private schools are making strides toward the inclusion of poor students (most often focusing specifically on the needs of AIDS orphans). At the pre-primary level, private school enrollments are increasing because of English instruction, which many parents feel will more adequately prepare their children for entrance into the nation's top primary schools. The language of instruction continues to play a role at the primary level but by secondary school, all schools (public and private) are expected to use English as the medium of instruction.

Ultimately, there is little evidence on the quality of low-cost private primary schools in the country but recent fieldwork has found that these schools may be of inferior quality (in terms of test results) to both high-fee private schools and public schools. The evidence concerning this aspect of the system is, however, limited. One final concern for the sector as a whole is its financial sustainability, which is put at risk by the lack of external support and funding for schools that rely almost entirely on tuition and fees.

Recommendations

The main avenue by which private primary schools in Tanzania accommodate low-income children is through the provision of scholarships and/or concessionary spaces for AIDS orphans. Therefore, there are two main ways in which USAID can provide support to the low-cost private school sector:

- Direct assistance to schools that enroll AIDS orphans:
 - Textbooks, uniforms, breakfast/lunch for all enrolled orphans
- Assistance to low-cost private schools to allow them to enroll poor children not currently being served by the private sector (due to financial constraints):
 - This could take the form of a matching grant system that targets poor children for particular schools—or conditional cash transfers that would allow parents to have more freedom in their choice of schooling options for their children
 - Assistance to low-cost schools for construction and/or renovation. This could come in the form of direct funding or assisting schools to obtain low-interest loans (or micro-credit financing).¹⁸⁸
 - School owner and teacher professional development

School Descriptions – Tanzania¹⁸⁹

Case 1:

The school is registered as a boarding pre-primary and primary school in Hai District (Kilimanjaro region). The school is owned and managed by a male retired education officer.

Case 2:

The school is registered as a day and boarding school. It provides pre-primary to primary education in Hai District. The school is owned and managed by Shilela Education Trust, which was founded by three female entrepreneurs.

Case 3:

The school is registered to provide pre-primary and primary education. It is located in Ilala District in Dar es Salaam. It is a family business. The wife is the Headmistress of the school and the husband is a Director.

¹⁸⁸ For example, the Tanzania Education Authority charges 6% to 8% of the principal on its loan for projects related construction, renovation or rehabilitation of infrastructure.

¹⁸⁹ The exchange rate from the Tanzania Shilling (TZS) to the US Dollar (\$) is TZS10,000 to \$6.60. All values in this section are in Tanzanian Shillings, unless otherwise noted.

Case 4:

St. Catherine, popularly known as Montessori, is a registered girls' boarding primary school located at Ubiri ward in Lushoto District (Tanga Region). The school is owned by the Roman Catholic Church and managed by the congregation of Usambara Sisters.

Case 5:

Alfarouq primary school is located in Ilala Municipality, Dar es Salaam. It is owned and managed by the Africa Muslim Agency, an organization whose headquarters is in Kuwait.

Case 6:

Grace Nursery and primary School is among the oldest English medium schools in Tanzania; it was established in 1993. It is owned by the Deeper Life Ministries and managed by a Board of Trustees.

Case 7:

Temeke Muslim Seminary is located in the mosque premises near the Uhuru Stadium and Mandela express junction in Temeke Municipality, Dar es Salaam. When visiting the school, one meets students (both boys and girls) in full Muslim attire, giving the impression that the school is only for Muslims. The truth of the matter is that a 'hijab', an Islamic headscarf predominantly worn by Muslim girls and women, is part of the school uniform and has nothing to do with the Muslim religion.

Case 8:

Loyola high school is located Kinondoni District in predominantly low income Mabibo Ward. It is owned by the Roman Catholic Church and managed by Jesuit fathers.

However, not all schools that are registered using religious names are owned and managed by religious organizations.

Case 9:

St. Valentine Elite Academy is located in a quadrangular block in Mbezi Beach along Bagamoyo road. It is privately owned by Mandelly Limited Company.

Case 10:

Kaole secondary school was established in 1975 on the land that belonged to FRELIMO freedom fighters. It is owned and managed by TAPA.

Case 11: Gonzaga Pre-Primary and Primary School

This school is one of the few non-government English medium schools in low-income poor planned settlements in Kinondoni Municipality, Dar es Salaam. The mission of the school is to provide an opportunity for children to receive schooling, especially the disadvantaged and those living under difficult conditions. The school started as a small philanthropist project for assisting orphans; over time, the Jesuit fathers supported it by constructing a school to save a spectrum of disadvantaged children. Parents pay Tshs 500,000, which covers tuition fees, meals (breakfast and lunch), and learning materials. Parents are allowed to pay through installments.

Case 12: True Samaritan Nursery and Orphan Centre

This school is one of many in Dar es Salaam that are not officially registered with the government. It is located in an overcrowded suburb of the city and housed in a commercial premise that was once a bar. Nevertheless, the director claimed that the school is the only hope for low-income children in the area. Among the critical problems facing the school are lack of finance capital for expansion and building of new structures, and a weak human resource capacity to manage the school operations in line with the school's vision and mission.

Case 13: Cilos Pre-Primary School

*Tuition fees, Tshs 480,000; Textbooks, Tshs 20,000; School Uniform, Tshs 20,000; Transport, Tshs 270,000; Meals, Tshs 100,000; Examinations, Tshs 5000.
Total = Tshs 885,000; Tuition fees percentage of the total = 54*

Case 14: Fees Charged by Shilela English Medium Primary School

Standard 1- III; Day: Tshs 1,178,00; of which tuition fee is Tshs 360,000 (31%). Optional charges Tshs 20,000. Boarding Tshs 1,468,000 ; of which the tuition fee is Tshs 360,000 (25%). Optional charges Tshs 44,000.

Standard IV to Standard VII; Tshs 1,268,000 (day); of which the tuition fee is Tshs 450,000 (35%). Optional charges Tshs 20,000. Boarding Tshs 1,468,000; of which tuition fee is Tshs 450,000 (31%). Optional charges Tshs 44,000.

Case 15: Fees Charged by Anglican Pre-Primary School

The school was established in 2007 by the Anglican Church to support disadvantaged children. The current enrollment figure is 100. About 80% of the children are orphans. The language of instruction is Kiswahili. The school charges Tshs 5,000 per month (Tshs 45,000 for a school year). A philanthropist organization called COMPASSION pays for 65 pupils. The school is not registered.

Case 16: Fees Charged by KKKTC Pre-Primary School

This school was established in 2008 to serve children from extremely poor households and children living in difficult environments. The school charges Tshs 7,000 per month (63,000 for a school year). The cost of schooling for 90% of the children enrolled in the school is incurred by the church, supported by donors and philanthropists. The school is small, yet it lacks infrastructure and other resources of acceptable quality for it to be registered.

Case 17: Shelila Academy

The school does not receive financial support from any source. According to the Director, this is compounded by a false premise that the school is 'for-profit', yet the fact is that capital investments have not broken even. The school applied for and obtained a loan from a commercial bank totaling Tshs 200,000,000 to construct boarding facilities. It has to be repaid in five years (60,000,000 per annum; Principal + Interest). The interest rate is currently 19% and it might scale upward without notice. The problem is that parents are not paying their dues on time, which has had adverse effects on the repayments.

Appendix III – Enrollment in Jamaica

Table 9: Enrollment of School-Age Population by Quintile, 1997-2002, 2004, 2006, 2007

(PER CENT)

Age, Quintile	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2004	2006	2007
3-5 Years									
Poorest	76.3	79.5	93.2	91.2	87.6	95.5	98.4	93.9	100.0
2	81.4	86.3	96.2	95.7	89.1	94.5	100.0	97.0	98.7
3	85.9	89.3	96.0	95.7	91.7	98.2	98.7	98.5	98.3
4	94.0	89.6	92.3	98.7	93.0	97.7	98.5	96.5	100.0
5	94.6	91.0	94.2	95.5	100.0	96.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
6-11 Years									
Poorest	98.2	98.5	98.6	100.0	99.5	99.0	99.6	98.7	99.5
2	98.4	99.3	99.5	100.0	100.0	99.5	100.0	100.0	99.5
3	99.5	99.2	100.0	99.5	100.0	99.5	99.5	99.4	100.0
4	99.4	99.4	100.0	98.0	100.0	99.8	100.0	100.0	100.0
5	100.0	99.6	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.6	100.0	100.0	100.0
12-14 Years									
Poorest	93.9	93.8	93.3	96.4	96.4	95.3	97.3	96.8	99.2
2	96.5	97.5	97.2	99.0	97.4	97.2	99.1	100.0	100.0
3	96.2	98.7	100.0	99.0	96.2	98.8	99.0	98.8	100.0
4	98.9	97.9	99.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
5	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.4	100.0	100.0
15-16 Years									
Poorest	71.4	65.2	67.3	74.5	67.6	68.3	76.6	74.6	84.9
2	83.3	79.7	79.7	88.3	82.2	82.0	86.4	83.6	92.6
3	88.5	84.9	87.9	90.9	91.5	86.3	92.6	95.4	86.8
4	87.5	91.8	90.9	88.7	89.8	91.9	95.8	94.1	93.5
5	92.3	94.3	94.4	97.8	94.6	93.9	93.9	95.7	100.0
17-18 Years									
Poorest	22.9	17.8	21.2	28.6	21.7	18.9	26.2	28.3	30.0
2	34.6	30.2	34.6	32.6	41.9	24.5	37.0	34.6	37.2
3	28.6	33.2	50.9	60.5	55.0	39.0	51.1	49.2	61.4
4	49.1	47.2	52.3	57.8	60.0	38.8	63.6	63.9	59.2
5	66.7	62.7	86.7	69.4	71.9	62.1	66.7	68.0	74.5
19-24 Years									
Poorest	2.5	1.9	0.0	2.8	2.2	2.3	4.1	0.9	0.0
2	1.5	2.7	1.7	1.0	1.9	2.4	3.2	3.5	2.1
3	0.7	5.2	2.5	3.6	2.9	3.2	7.5	4.2	6.3
4	5.8	6.5	10.5	7.4	11.3	6.3	7.3	7.9	8.3
5	19.2	13.0	15.8	19.0	15.0	17.6	20.0	11.3	19.9

Source: JSLC 1997-2002, 2004, 2006

Appendix IV – Draft information collection protocol

Interviews with government officials

- Is private school enrollment information collected by the government? All schools? Other data?
- In what ways are private schools associated with the Ministry of Education?
- In what ways to the government support private schooling? Are different types of private schools supported in different ways (for-profit vs. non-profit, religious vs. nonreligious, etc.)?
- Does the public sector assist private schools in obtaining credit?
- Describe the regulatory framework for private schools.
- How is private schooling monitored? Are private schools inspected? How does this inspection differ from public school inspection?
- Ability of business development providers (BDS), both for-profit and not-for-profit, to cover costs for training in the private education sector
- What are the largest concerns about private schools that serve the poor?
- What are the strongest assets about private schools that serve the poor?

Information from lending institutions

- Perceptions of the business and finance management capacities of schools
- Business and finance management criteria of lending institutions
- In what ways do schools increase their business and finance management capacities to qualify for loans and access to credit
- Does the secularization of madrasa schools affects access to credit
- Length of amortization
- Lending amount and purpose
- Rate of interest
- Portion of school loans in arrears
- What are the biggest regulatory obstacles?

Information from service providers (private school associations, software and management companies, testing and rating companies, etc.)

- How large and what are the growth prospects of the business?
- What are the sources of financing?
- What portion of the business is outside the country?
- What are the biggest regulatory obstacles?
- What was your motivation for starting/running a private school (or entering the private school business)?
- Do you provide scholarships/subsidies? If so, on what bases are these awarded (i.e. Need-based or merit)?

- What kinds of challenges do you face in running your school(s)?

Interviews with parents

- How many of your children are enrolled in private schools? (age/gender/etc.)
- How did you learn about the private school that your child/children attend?
- What schooling options were available for your child/children? (i.e. Free, public school, multiple private schools)
- Why did you choose to send your child/children to a private school?
- What criteria do you use to rate the quality of schools?
- What information has been provided (or is available) to you about school quality?
- How do you rate the quality of your child/children's school relative to other schooling options? (viable or not)

Information from (public and private) development assistance agencies (USAID, OSI, DFID, etc.)

- What is the current policy toward private schools for the poor?
- Are these schools an obstacle or an asset toward achieving the MDGs?
- What would be an appropriate public policy toward private schools for the poor?
- Do you intend to assist private schools for the poor and if so, how?

Interviews in schools

Characteristics of schools

- What is the school's "mission"?
- Location
- Year established
- Description of neighborhood in which the school is located
- Grade span
- Enrollment (by grade?)
- Is the school associated with a church, mosque or other religious organization?
- Language of instruction
- Is the school profit-seeking or not-for-profit?
- Does the school belong to an association of private schools?
- What government regulations pertain to the school?

Governance

- Who owns the school? What gender is the school's founder?
- How is the school governed?
- What interest groups does the governing board represent (e.g., community, parents, local business, relatives and friends of the head teacher)?

- What is the level of education and experience on the governing board?
- To what “federations” or private school associations does the school belong?
- How many head teachers has this school had in the last 10 years?
- What are the most important problems that you face as a school principal/owner?

Staff

- # of administrators. Do they have teaching responsibilities?
- # of teachers on the register (male/female) (calculate student/teacher ratio)
- How many teachers are permanent? Temporary?
- How many teachers present today?
- What is the education level of the teachers? What kind of training did they receive to teach?
- What types of in-service training to our teachers participate in?
- Percentage certified to teach in the public system
- What is a typical profile/background (e.g., class, prior experience) of a teacher in the school?
- What is the minimum, typical and maximum teacher salary? Are there other non-financial benefits that teachers receive?
- How many paid days of sick leave are available to teachers?
- Is teacher availability a problem?
- What percentage of teacher positions is vacant?
- Is teacher turnover a problem? On average, what percentage of teachers leaves every year?
- What are the reasons for staff turnover?
- Is teacher absenteeism a problem? How many school days were lost through teachers’ strikes in the past year? Two years?
- Is teacher punctuality a problem?
- About how many teachers in your school have a second job?
- Do you have adequate powers to deal with negligent/irregular staff members?

Organizational

- Does the school operate in two shifts?
- Is there greater demand for places in your school than you can offer?

Instruction

- What are the instructional goals of the school?
- Is there an expectation for what teachers will be teaching?
- Is there an expectation for how teachers will teach?
- What is the curriculum? How was it chosen/developed?
- How is quality of instruction monitored?

- Does the school provide tutoring or remedial tuition? If yes, does this cost extra?

Inspection

- Is the school inspected annually by any external authorities?
- If yes, what did the inspectors do?
- Was there any follow-up action to the inspection? What? Do you think the inspection was helpful in highlighting any problems at your school? What?
- Do you pay bribes or unofficial payments? Approximately, how much does it cost your school in bribes per year?

Students

- What is the typical background (e.g., family occupation) of enrolled students? Is there a particular mix of students that you are trying to achieve?
- Does the school only accept children of a specified religion? If yes, which religion?
- Is the school co-educational?
- What do you do to try and recruit students? How do you get your name known in the community?
- What is the application process? Are you happy with your current applicant pool? Do more students wish to attend than can be accommodated? If yes, how is this selection process made?
- Average days absent per student per year
- Student dropout rate
- Any measures of student achievement --scores on national examinations?
- In what extracurricular activities can students participate?

Parents

- In what ways are parents involved in the school (PTA, volunteer in classrooms, clean or repair facilities, etc.)?
- What formal arrangements are there to encourage parental involvement (PTA if not mentioned above)?
- If there is a PTA, what is its role? What types of issues has it addressed in the prior year?
- Religious affiliation of parents

Facilities

- Are the premises owned or rented?
- How many classrooms?
- Description of the conditions of classrooms
- Textbooks:

- Number/pupil
- Purchased by families or the school
- Occupied space (square feet)
- Free space (square feet)
- Space per child (square feet)
- Is there space for children to play or engage in sport?
- Does the school have:
 - Electricity
 - Lighting
 - Fans
 - Potable water
 - Toilets
 - First aid boxes
 - Fire extinguishers
 - Science lab (if yes, what does it contain)
 - Staff room
 - Computers (if yes, how many are functioning? When and for what are they used?)
 - Surveillance cameras in classrooms
 - Transportation (how do students get to school?)
- Does the school have a library? #Books (calculate books per student)
- Is there an adequate supply of learning materials (e.g., teacher guides, dictionaries, reference books, maps, demonstration kits in science, charts/pictures, etc.)?

Financing

- What are minimum, typical, and maximum fees per annum? What proportion of expenditures do fees cover?
- Do you offer any fee concessions or free seats? How many students have free seats or reduced seats?
- Is financial assistance available for low income or other students? How is this administered? What proportion of students receives financial assistance? Average amount of assistance?
- What items to children have to pay for?
 - Additional private tuition
 - text books
 - exercise books
 - school uniform
 - computer classes

- transport
 - extra-curriculum activities
 - examination fees
- Are income/balance sheets prepared? Are the school accounts formally audited externally?
 - Besides fees, what were the sources of revenue for the school in the prior year? Amount?
 - How does the government aid your school?
 - Teacher salaries
 - Capital grant
 - Other recurrent expenditure? E.g., books, utilities, etc.
 - What are the main expenditures for the school? Amount spent on teacher and staff salaries? Rent?
 - What were total expenditures last year?
 - Does your school or association/trust etc. own or rent from others the school buildings and land?
 - Is credit available if the school needed to borrow money to 1) make infrastructure improvements or 2) pay current expenditures?
 - Do you currently have a loan? What is the repayment rate?