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Public-Private Partnerships

**The Power of Public-Private Partnership:
Coming Together for Secondary Education in Africa**

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The Power of Public-Private Partnership: Coming Together for Secondary Education in Africa

Abstract

Private involvement in secondary education in Sub Saharan Africa is ubiquitous. An increasingly diverse group of private providers deliver secondary education, but parents provide an important share of the financing. Much of this involvement has developed by default in the absence of formal policy in response to excess demand for public secondary schooling. In recent years several governments in SSA have developed partnership arrangements involving private providers and parents. This paper reviews the experiences with PPP around the world, discusses the challenges faced by countries in SSA and identifies promising practices that countries may wish to consider as they design policies to accelerated the expansion of access to secondary education. Most important are the recognition of the role and strengths of different partners, the creation of an enabling environment by strengthening the capacity of the governments to manage their relation the private sector, helping private sector providers improve the quality of the instruction, establishing clear policies for the involvement of parents and communities and targeting public funding to ensure that poor children can access public and private schools. The paper concludes that well structured PPPs can make an important contribution to the acceleration of the expansion of access to secondary schooling.

Executive Summary

Private involvement in secondary education in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) affects both provision and financing. Private provision includes elite schools often owned and operated by faith based organizations; low quality “dwelling house” type schools owned by small private for profit operators; community schools run by parents or community associations; fee paying classes offered by teachers after hours in government schools; private tutoring. Private sources of financing include formal and informal fees and charges paid by parents of public school students; contributions of NGOs who provide support for school improvement or expansion. In addition private suppliers may be contracted to build schools, publish textbooks or provide training of school management services. While governments everywhere have the responsibility to establish a policy framework that ensures access to secondary education of acceptable quality to eligible students, private school operators and suppliers of services, parents and communities all contribute to its implementation. At the school level their contributions are often inextricably intermingled. Sometimes their involvement reflects official policy; and oftentimes it is based on local ad hoc arrangements.

At independence education was considered a central public responsibility in much of SSA; the expansion of secondary education was pursued largely through the provision of government provided or heavily subsidized schooling. Private schooling was forbidden in some countries, tolerated in many others but usually limited to a few elite schools. Non-government schools were only rarely integrated in national education development strategies. This has been changing in recent years. A large expansion of access to secondary education is a policy priority almost everywhere, but at current per student cost public resources are insufficient to fund it; as a result the demand for places is exceeding the available supply in government and subsidized private schools by a very large margin. Communities and private operators are trying to respond to this excess demand by establishing schools which often do not receive any public subsidy; even when they do receive some government funds they almost always still require considerable additional private resources. Often public schools also receive insufficient public funds for their development and

operation and are increasingly forced to rely on parental contributions. In several countries parents pay more than 50% of the total cost of secondary education.

In most countries these developments have taken place by default rather than by policy design. Many education officials and analysts regard the private sector providers –especially the for profit ones- with suspicion, emphasizing concerns about low quality, affordability and the impact of the profit motive on instruction. At the same time, in several countries government schools are overcrowded, underfunded and suffer severe performance problems. In others a two tier system has developed where a few government or grant aided schools are well funded and cater to high performing students most from the upper income groups; while other schools operated by unsubsidized private operators or started with community financing offer low cost-low quality schooling to the low income groups. But even these may be unaffordable for low income parents as few countries have effectively targeted fee waivers or bursary schemes in place. Most governments regard this situation as unacceptable and are searching for sustainable ways to expand access to secondary education of acceptable quality and do so equitably. Public-private partnerships (PPPs) are one way that many are committed to consider. In fact partnerships –many local, small scale and informal- have emerged in almost every country in the region. They usually involve private not for profit providers, re sometimes designed to include for profit operators and are recognizing increasingly the importance of including parents and communities. The challenge often is not to create them, but to strengthen them, broaden them and make them more effective in addressing the challenges of secondary education development in a resource constrained environment. The experiences with PPPs reviewed in this paper suggest five important conclusions.

Private sector involvement is diverse, but significant both in finance and provision. It is present in many forms in public and in private secondary schools. Yet, much about it remains unknown. UNESCO data report 13% of secondary enrollments in SSA as private. But many private schools do not register and are not included in the education statistics. Little is known about what parents spend on private tuition or informal school level charges. At the same time the boundaries between public and private are becoming increasingly blurred: parents are paying fees and other charges for students enrolled in public schools; community schools receive public subsidies; public school teachers moonlight in private schools or run private fee paying classes in government schools. There is considerable variation in school performance. Some private schools are high performing elite schools; many others are low cost-low quality operations. In several countries public schools mainly serve the high performing students from upper income families; in others public schools are low quality and parents prefer private schools. Ultimately, the level of resourcing and the quality of management may be more important than ownership and the sources of funding.

Most governments are committed to develop public-private partnerships. The potential contribution of the private sector providers to secondary education is well recognized officially. At the same time, parents and communities also play a critically important role in secondary education in Sub Saharan Africa – perhaps more so than in any other region. Yet few countries have established the institutions and the policy framework that is necessary for tapping the full potential of partnerships with private providers, parents and communities. Implementation often lags far behind policy intent. In many countries the divide between the public and private providers remains; much of private provision is developing in a public policy vacuum; is unregistered, sometimes illicit, usually underfunded and almost always unaffordable for the poorest. Regulations for parental and community involvement are often unclear. This adversely affects the development of secondary education. Experiences in East Asia and Latin America suggests that within a well designed framework public, private and community provision and financing can complement each other and contribute to accelerated and sustainable access to secondary education of acceptable

quality. Several countries in Sub Saharan Africa have established effective PPPs for TVET and non-formal education programs. Promising broad based schemes for public private partnership in general secondary education are being implemented for example in Burkina Faso, Uganda, South Africa and Mauritius.

Public funds often are not effectively targeted to promote quality and equity for all. Inequities in access to secondary education remain pervasive throughout the region. While equity is a major strategic objective of secondary education policy almost everywhere, in reality the higher income groups benefit disproportionately from public expenditures. The often significant private cost of public and private secondary education precludes disadvantaged students from enrolling or forces them to enroll in low cost –low quality private or community schools. Equity and quality issues will need to figure prominently in private sector regulatory frameworks. Two policy objectives are critically important in this regard. First, ensuring that eligible primary school graduates –including those of poor families, those living in rural areas and in particular girls –will not be excluded from good schools because of inability to pay. Second, moving towards a more equitable allocation of public subsidies to avoid a two tier system with high performing schools for the rich and low performing schools for the poor. Addressing these issues will in many countries require significant and often controversial changes in public resource allocation policies. Public financial support will need to give priority to helping poor children enroll through targeted fee waivers and bursaries at public and private schools.

Recognition of the strengths of all partners is essential for effective PPPs. Governments have the ultimate responsibility to ensure that all children have an equitable opportunity to pursue their education; that the education offered to them is of acceptable quality; and that eligible children will be able to access the opportunities available without regard to ability to pay. This does not imply that government can or should be the sole providers. In fact there is little doubt that separating financing and provision of the secondary education can accelerate secondary education development. There is ample experience in the region –documented for example in the cases of Mauritius, Lesotho, Rwanda, Burundi and the Gambia for example- to suggest that there are non-government providers that can ensure the efficient delivery of secondary education services. International experience suggests that the ability of private schools to produce higher student learning will often be related to their ability to select better prepared and more motivated children; but that almost always they are able to produce that performance at lower cost. These findings apply also to schools that are locally managed have considerable leeway to allocate their resources and select the most appropriate instructional strategy. This suggests that public authorities would do well to consider to what extent they can use management strategies that are common in the better private schools. The efficient use of resources is a precondition for a significant expansion of access to secondary education of acceptable quality in virtually every country in the region. Most countries rely on private for the construction of classrooms and the publishing of textbooks. They may also want to consider exploring the possibility of outsourcing some pedagogical services such as in-service teacher training, inspection and school improvement.

An enabling environment is critical. Overly complex procedures for registration and licensing exacerbated by the weaknesses of the institutions designated to administer the policy have often hampered the development of private sector provision. Policy development for PPPs often takes place without much knowledge of the scope and the performance of non-government operators and with their involvement in the process. It often does not adequately recognize or regulate the contributions of parents and communities. But even where the policy is relatively simple and straightforward it often falters in implementation. Country experience highlights the critical importance of strengthening the capacity of public sector agencies that are responsible for

regulating, monitoring and contracting the non-government sector, creating institutions for discussion of policies and implementation procedures with stakeholders and ensuring public access to information on cost and performance of schools. At the same time it will be important to strengthen the capacity of private providers to mobilize and manage resources and deliver instruction of acceptable quality by facilitating access to capital, enhancing financial management and improving instructional delivery and school leadership. Similarly promoting and regulating the involvement of parents and communities is an equally important part of a well structured framework for public-private partnership.

In sum. PPPs have considerable potential to contribute to a sustainable acceleration of secondary education development. But there will need to be explicit provision to ensure equitable access to secondary education of acceptable quality. Of central importance is strengthening the capacity of the public sector to manage PPPs, creating an enabling environment for private providers to access finance and improve instruction and recognizing and establish a regulatory framework for the participation of parents and communities in PPPs.

The Power of Public- Private Partnerships: Working Together for Secondary Education in Africa¹

Introduction

In much of Sub Saharan Africa secondary education has long been available only to a small group of privileged students. Access to government schools was controlled through examinations while fees rationed enrollment in private schools. As the number of young people that completes primary education grows rapidly and economic growth accelerates these constraints on access to further education are no longer politically acceptable or economically desirable. But many governments have found it difficult to mobilize the resources necessary to increase enrollments in government schools at a reasonable level of quality. This has resulted in an often large unmet excess demand. In response private involvement has become ubiquitous. Parents, communities, faith based organizations and private -for profit and not for profit- operators all contribute to making it possible for primary school graduates to continue their education. Secondary education is provided in elite schools often owned and operated by faith based organizations; public school that rely for their operation on mandatory fees paid by parents of students; low quality “dwelling house” schools owned by small private for profit operators; community schools run by parents or community associations; fee paying classes offered by teachers after hours in government schools; and private tutoring services offered to complement in-school instruction. In addition NGOs may provide support for school improvement or expansion; alumni, well wishers and private businesses often are a source of assistance in cash or kind to public and private schools; while private suppliers are contracted to build schools, publish textbooks, provide training and manage schools.

Communities and private operators have thus emerged as important potential partners for governments that aim ensure that secondary education opportunities are available to a much larger proportion of the young people. Perhaps the most striking feature of secondary education in Sub Saharan Africa is the very large share of the cost of service provision in secondary education that is borne by families who may contribute in public and private schools to the construction of infrastructure and school operating cost as well as purchasing textbooks and uniforms. The discussion of public partnership therefore needs to be one that recognizes that in Sub Saharan Africa, the partnerships include not only the public sector and different private providers but also parents and communities.

Much of this private involvement has emerged spontaneously, in the absence of formal policy. But many governments now recognize the potential of working in well structured partnerships with parents, private providers and other stakeholders and are putting in place policies that provide a framework for more formal public- private partnerships (PPPs) arrangements. This paper explores how these different stakeholders can work together more closely and more purposefully than in the past, identifies promising practices and draws lessons that governments may wish to consider as they design their policies for the development of secondary education and training. It first reviews the policy debate on public versus private sector involvement in education service delivery and it reviews trends and experiences around world with PPPs. It then highlights the challenges faced by PPPs in SSA and identifies promising practices. In conclusion the paper proposes policy options that countries may wish to consider in establishing and strengthening PPPs for the accelerated development of secondary education. It argues that while private involvement is omnipresent and governments are committed to developing PPPs, key issues of equity and quality have often not been addressed successfully; thus limiting the contribution of PPPs to secondary education development. It concludes that who owns a school may in fact be less important than how it is

¹ The discussion in this paper draws extensively on the synthesis paper of the World Bank’s Secondary Education in Africa Initiative (Verspoor, 2008) and papers and country cases commissioned for the 2008 ADEA biennale.

managed. Creating an enabling environment for the efficient and effective operation of public and private schools, enhancing the public capacity to manage relations with the private partners, tapping the ability of parents who can afford it, to contribute to the cost of schooling, and strengthening the ability of school owners and leaders to manage resources efficiently and deliver instruction effectively are essential if PPPs are to contribute successfully to the equitable expansion of access and the improvement of student learning.

Table 1: Models of Financing and Provision		
	Public financing	Private financing
Public provision	Free government schools	User fees complementing public financing
Private provision	Public subsidies complementing or replacing payment of tuition and other charges	Pure private schooling, including unsubsidized community schools
Source: Based on Patrinos and Sosale (2006)		

The paper focuses on PPPs for general secondary education with a few references to the experiences in technical education and vocational training and non-formal basic education programs. The information available did not permit to distinguish junior and senior secondary education.

PPPs have become a popular topic in the development policy dialogue and the term has been used to describe many different forms of collaboration. Sometimes it is used to refer to a framework for promoting the emergence of private providers; in other instances it is loosely used to describe all forms of collaboration between government and non-government stakeholders in the sector. In this paper any form of agreement between public and private parties that contributes to achieving national education development goals² is considered a public-private partnership for education. The discussion includes therefore not only partnerships with private providers; but also and importantly, communities and parents. The contribution of the private partner usually is service provision or financing. More recently some partnerships have also aimed to involve the private parties in the capacity building and technical assistance programs.

The Policy Debate

In almost all countries the government retains the ultimate responsibility for ensuring access to education services of acceptable quality³. But the way the provision and funding of the system is organized to carry out this mandate varies a great deal. In some high performing countries the government ensures both financing and provision; in others the private sector plays a significant role not only in provision but also in financing. Table 1 shows the conceptual structure of the different combinations.

Much of the debate on the role of the private sector opposes models located in the top left quadrant to those in the bottom right. In fact in most countries several arrangements exist side by side; and most commonly both public and private schools may receive government subsidies and collect fees and other contributions from parents. Thus the most common models are found in the top right quadrant and the bottom left quadrant. In most industrialized countries the share of government financing under either arrangement is high although there is considerable variation in the arrangements for provision. In the Netherlands and in Belgium for example 75% of the schools are privately operated while in Sweden, Iceland and Russia more than 95% of the schools are publicly

² World Economic Forum Finance for Development Initiative (WEF, 2005)

³ There are of course exceptions but these are mainly failed states, states involved in civil conflict or post conflict situations. Examples in SSA are DRC and Somalia where most of financing and provision is organized by communities without much involvement of the government.

operated. Korea is the most notable exception to the pattern of dominant public funding in that is found in most OECD countries: about half of the students are enrolled in privately operated institutions and fees represent about 45% of the operating cost of public schools and 55% in private schools (UIS 2007). Within Sub Saharan Africa there are similar variations in arrangements for provision, but much larger differences in the share of public financing of secondary education. In Mauritius some 60% of the secondary schools are privately owned but publicly financed; in Burundi some 80% of the schools are privately or community owned of which about half receive public subsidies; in Mauritania more than 90% of the students enroll in government schools; in the Democratic republic of Congo parents are estimated to pay more than 90% of the cost of secondary education; in Mali their share is probably only about 10%.

A fierce debate rages in the academic literature about the relative role of the public and the private sector in financing and providing education. In many countries governments are reluctant to engage with the private sector reflecting this long standing policy controversy. Education is typically classified by economists as a quasi-public good because of the significant externalities that it generates. It can be financed through the public and the private sectors. Key issues of controversy concern who should pay for schooling, what share of the cost should be paid for by tax payers and who should provide it. Some analysts argue for a dominant role of government financing and provision (Colclough, 1979; Lewin, 2005) while others (Patrinos and Sosale, 2007; Woessmann, 2005) emphasize the positive impact of the private sector on the expansion of access and quality.

Arguments for the positive impact of private schooling rests on evidence that

- Private schools can deliver education of at least equivalent quality at lower cost
- Accountability to parents who pay directly will result in better performance and increased efficiency
- Competition from private schools will force public schools to adopt private sector management practices and become more efficient and improve quality

Conversely proponents of public education argue that

- Unsubsidized private education will not be affordable for (at least) the poorest 20% of the population
- Ministries of Education do not have the capacity to accredit or supervise private schools or manage contracts with private providers
- Purported advantages in quality and efficiency are more a function of selection bias than of superior operational procedures
- Private sector providers often have a parasitic relationship with the public sector especially when they use public school teachers

Woessmann (2005) analyzes the impact on student learning of different combinations of public funding and private operation for 29 mostly industrialized countries that participated in the 2000 PISA survey. He concludes that:

“...across countries, public operation of schools is negatively associated with student performance in math, reading and science, while public funding of schools is positively associated with student performance in the three subjects. This suggests that school systems based on PPPs in the sense that the state finances schools but contracts their operation out to the private sector are the most effective school systems. By contrast, school systems based on PPPs in the sense that they require a lot of private funding but keep the operation of schools in the public sector fare even worse than systems where operation and funding is either both public or both private. Thus, the results favor the

particular form of educational PPPs where the state does the funding and the private sector runs the schools” (p. 20).

It is worth to note that this seems to suggest that is the way schools are managed that makes the difference. Public ownerships usually results in constraints on personnel and resource allocation policies, inefficiencies will often lead to disappointing performance. Increasing autonomy and flexibility of school leaders and governing boards may be a way to capture many of the benefits of private ownership.

From policy debate to practice: Trends around world

Private schools enroll a significant share of secondary school students in much of the developing world, especially in the developing world – with the notable exception of the Arab states (Table 2)- especially since the real numbers are likely to be significantly higher. Several high level conferences of education leaders have called the attention of national leaders to the potential of PPPs to support education development. The World Declaration on Education for All adopted at the Jomtien Conference in 1990 issued call for strengthening of partnerships in support of the goals adopted a the conference including

“ ... partnerships between government and non-governmental organizations, the private sector, local communities, religious groups, and families.”

N. America/W. Europe	10
Arab States	7
South and West Asia	18
East Asia and the Pacific	19
Latin America/Caribbean	22
Sub-Saharan Africa	12
Source: UIS 2007	

The Dakar 2000 World Education Forum affirmed the importance of these kinds of partnerships, but stated explicitly that governments have the principal responsibility for ensuring adequate financing of basic education. The Ministers of Education of 96 countries who participated in a *Round Table on Education and Economic Development* during the 34th General Conference of UNESCO (October 19 and 20, 2007) communiqué called for public-private partnerships for education and development in support of general in education, and vocational, higher education and research opportunities.

This recognition represents a remarkable change from the policies that prevailed in many countries through the 1980s. The policy response at the national level has varied considerably, however. Often implementation has often been slow and partial as many analysts and governments still view the private sector with suspicion as profit driven, unconcerned by quality and unable to respond to equity concerns. Yet while public financing of private provision is increasingly common in many countries, the scope of PPPs is widening to provide a broad array of different services. In-service teacher training program are contracted-out in many countries; this allows education authorities to acquire up-to- date knowledge and specialized skills as and when needed. PPPs have also been successfully used other parts of the education system including vocational training and early childhood education. Some examples of PPPs from the US and Europe are discussed below. Box 1 provides additional examples from Asia and Latin America.

The charter school movement in the USA is an attempt to mobilize the private sector on behalf of public education. These schools are independent public schools freed from many regulations, but with public accountability for results. A group of parents, educators or educational entrepreneurs develop a vision for a school and apply for a charter (performance contract) to an authorizing authority that will allow them to establish a board of trustees that runs the school with public funding. Currently there are about 3400 charter schools in the US enrolling 2% of the K-12 students. Other school districts have contracted private companies to run a number of public schools –often schools with severe performance problems.

The UK provides several examples of the outsourcing of education services. Ofsted -the Office for Standards in Education - has worked with private companies of inspection providers for 12 years; it has found them to be flexible, responsive and good value for money and central to the delivery of school inspections. The Private Finance Initiative is the instrument by which the government has outsourced the building and management of the plant, and keep major borrowing commitment out of the government books.

In Latin America Fe y Alegria (FyA), a NGO controlled by the Jesuit Order of the Catholic Church, operates formal school programs in the poorest communities in Spain and Latin America. FyA mobilizes resources from ministries of education, international agencies, and local communities. Ministries pay salaries; foundations, international agencies, and voluntary fees from the local community pay for the land, construction, and maintenance of schools. After the community invites FyA to open a school, it builds the school, trains and supervises teachers, manages the school, and assists the school in its operation as a community development center. FyA operates in 14 countries and its schools enrolled in 2004 1.2 million children. A study of FyA schools in nine Latin American countries shows that when the community contributions are factored in, the unit costs in FyA schools were higher than in public schools. However, at these higher costs, the FyA schools also achieved better results: FyA schools reduced repetition and dropout rates— progression and retention were, respectively, 44 percent and 11 percent higher in FyA schools compared to public schools (Di Gropello, 2005).

Box 1: PPPs in Asia and Latin America

Korea. The government has consistently focused its secondary education policies on quality, relevance, finding innovative ways to involve the private sector in the expansion of secondary education. The high value that Korean society placed on education made that parents willingly contributed to the cost of education. Korean government implemented a national equalization program, which banned the entrance examinations, established catchment areas, and instituted a lottery for schools in high demand. As a result enrollments soared, and private providers stepped up to provide the needed capacity. The equalization program guaranteed any deficit in operating cost (but not in capital cost) of all private schools. Today most private schools receive direct financial assistance, subsidies, and tax exemptions. In return for access to public funding, private schools had to give up control in key areas such as curriculum, tuition, and teachers' salaries.

Chile illustrates a large-scale experience with publicly subsidized private school, introducing per-capita public subsidies for all municipal schools and non-fee-charging private schools in 1981. These were designed to promote competition among schools and lead to higher quality and enrollment. The benefits of competition are still being debated, with some studies finding no evidence that Chile's universal voucher scheme improved average educational outcomes. However, there is evidence that when schools are put on equal footing, not only can they deliver high quality services, they also can compete for good students, improving opportunities for both the poor and the rich.

China. With growing demand for secondary education, especially in urban areas, schools often rely on off-budget revenues. For example, some schools in Beijing use funds from the city almost entirely to pay salaries, and rely on school-run businesses, renting out space (labs, classrooms for night school), fees for an optional foreign language program, and increased tuition collections from foreign students and students who come from outside the catchment area for other expenses. Revenues from such activities can reach half the budgeted funds. In another district, schools charged higher fees to students with low entrance examination scores and sought cash and in-kind donations from local benefactors. Elsewhere, schools run cafeterias and use buildings for discos and other revenue-earning entertainment

Colombia. The PACES program offered eligible poor students vouchers to attend private schools. These were renewable annually, conditional on performance. Key factors contributing to the success of the program were: (a) sound criteria for the selection of the municipalities, such as limited public school capacity and excess private sector capacity; (b) participation of good quality private schools; and (c) effective targeting of vouchers to the poor with performance incentives. Yet the program drew criticism. First, it led to the creation of some new low-quality schools. Second, typically payments to schools were often late. Third, over time, increases in voucher amounts failed to keep up with the costs. Consequently, schools with relatively higher costs (which are also better schools) dropped out of the system. Fourth, because the design targeted urban areas, poor rural students did not benefit.

Vietnam. Contributing to the successful expansion of access to secondary education of acceptable quality has been the emergence of semipublic, people-funded private schools, and the introduction of an official fee system at the upper primary and lower secondary levels. This resulted in the mobilization of additional resources that were used for quality enhancing purposes. However, the financial burden on the poor and near poor was heavy, especially at the secondary level, resulting in high inequity linked to income, gender, ethnicity, and province. That led to national policies that had the elimination of all types of fees for basic education as a core objective. As a result, equity has improved significantly. The current priority is to channel more public resources toward secondary education to sustain equity improvements, while continuing to raise the quality and internal efficiency of service delivery.

India. An extensive PPP system operates at the secondary levels through a system of government grant-in-aid to privately managed schools. Grants to aided schools account for a very substantial proportion of the education budget. Following centralizing legislation in the early 1970s, their teachers are paid at government-teacher salary rates directly from the state government treasury and are recruited by the Education Service Commission rather than by the school. Thus, government and aided schools are now publicly funded and share many of the same performance problems. There is also a large number of private unrecognized and unsubsidized schools with rapidly growing enrollments.

Source: Di Gropello, 2006; Kingdon, 2005.

Private Involvement in Secondary Education in SSA

The policies of severely limited access to secondary education are no longer acceptable in a region that where most countries now aim to step up economic growth and become competitive in global markets. Accelerating economic growth throughout much of the region is increasing labor market demand for higher educated personnel and raising returns to secondary education; more and more primary school graduates seek admission to secondary school as completion rates are going up; and concerns about equity are becoming harder to ignore in progressively more democratic societies. Many countries initiated a dialogue with non-government parties involved in education service delivery. Others returned church schools that had been taken over by earlier governments were to their original owners. A few governments developed formal frameworks for PPPs.

	1991-1996	1996-2000	2000-2004
students	4.8	6.6	7.5
teachers	2.9	5.3	4.3

Source: UIS 2006

But even where there is no formal PPP policy framework, private involvement in provision and financing of secondary education is growing rapidly. Communities are constructing their own schools, hire a teacher and then begin to clamor for government take-over of the financing. Private operators are responding to excess demand for secondary education by opening schools –often without authorization in sub-standard facilities. Much of this was unplanned. While the acceleration in the growth of secondary enrollments was undoubtedly long overdue, the absence of well designed regulatory policies has almost always resulted in negative consequences for quality of instruction and equity.

Public resources alone will not suffice

The demand for secondary education is increasing rapidly almost everywhere. Between 1999 and 2005 primary school intake increased by almost 40%; even though survival rates have remained stable so far, this still implies a very large increase in the number of primary school graduates that are seeking a place in secondary school. With increasing completion rates the number of primary school leavers could even triple by 2020 in many countries in SSA (Ledoux and Mingat, 2007). This creates an enormous challenge for secondary education policy which needs to be designed not only to respond to inevitable rapid increase in demand for access but also to provide the quality of instruction necessary to ensure the supply of personnel with higher levels of education and training demanded by a growing and modernizing economy. Breaking away from the low growth equilibrium that has characterized too many African economies for too long will require sustained investment in the improvement of human resources, including most importantly secondary education (Verspoor, 2008).

All projections of the financing required for a significant expansion of access to secondary education –including progress towards a basic education cycle of 9 or 10 years- come to a similar conclusion: enrollments in secondary education can not be expanded at present unit cost levels (Ledoux and Mingat, 2007; Lewin, 2008). Constrained by limited public resources and in the absence of significant policy reforms countries have responded to the increased demand for secondary places by spreading the same resources over larger number of students (Table 3). Consequently, essential inputs often are in short supply resulting in increasing class sizes, shortages of textbooks, instructional materials and supplies, poorly stocked libraries and double or triple shift use of facilities.

Increasing public funding for education –with an increasing share for secondary education is almost always the preferred solution of education planners and policy makers. In practice this will often be

difficult given competing priorities in other sectors and within the education system itself. Most often, reordering priorities will only have a marginal effect on the availability of resources for secondary education. Economic growth, increases in the share of GDP available for public expenditures will have to be the main source of additional public resources for education. But even large increases in public spending will be inadequate to generate increases in education attainment and learning achievement unless accompanied by reforms that aim at a more efficient use of available resources and find sources of additional funding. Well structured PPPs can help diversify the sources of financing and provision.

The landscape of provision is changing

As government funding can not keep pace with the growth in enrollments and the quality of instruction deteriorates parental and community contributions have become an increasingly important complement to public funding. Communities are establishing their own schools sometimes with encouragement and financial support by the government, but often on their own initiative and with non-government resources; and private providers are opening schools sometimes with government authorization and support, most often without it. In fact the growth of secondary enrollments is often taking place in a policy vacuum and driven by non- government providers – communities and private operators. Malawi (Box 1) is an extreme example of an expansion of non-government secondary strategy that has taken place largely by default.

The private sector involvement that is emerging is, however, very different from the one that existed before. In many countries the private sector was for a long time almost exclusive dominated by FBOs – churches- often under an agreement –“convention” - with the government that specified the conditions under they could operate and the subsidy that the government provided. As a result many schools operated by FBOs were and still are subsidized by the government, to the point that they are indistinguishable from government schools. Lesotho is an example of a country where the churches are the dominant fully subsidized providers of secondary education. In Mauritius provision is also dominantly private and fully subsidized, but with the range of providers that is much broader. In Zimbabwe most schools which are classified as private are in fact founded by communities and receive government support in the form of payment of teachers’ salaries, and a per capita grant for non-recurrent expenditure and building grants (Lewin and Caillods, 2001). In other countries the traditional, usually faith based- non-government providers, receive partial subsidies -

Box 2: Malawi Growth without a Policy Framework

Secondary enrollments have more than doubled since 1994 with much of the growth occurring in the government supported Community Day Secondary Schools (CDSSs) and in private schools. In 2004 180,000 students were enrolled at the secondary level; with 38,000 enrolled in government schools; 16,000 in grant aided schools operated mainly by FBOs; 83,000 in CDSS and at least 42,000 in private schools. Public funding per CDSS student is probably no more than 25% of that for a student in a conventional government or grant aided school. CDSSs came in existence when distance education centers were converted into day secondary schools. Enrollments surged, class sizes increased dramatically; instructional quality was very low and examination results often lower than those of private schools. After constraints on class size were imposed, enrollments in CDSSs have dropped by as much as 50%. But many parents still prefer to enroll their children in private schools. CDSSs can only survive by charging fees of about 3,000-4,000 Kwacha (\$20-30) a year. Low end private schools -many so called “dwelling house” schools- typically charge around K. 5000 (\$35). The older established private sector schools mainly serve a rich clientele. Most of those enrolled are there because they do not have the grades required to access government schools, but can afford the fees, and value what the schools offer (including denominational education). The non-government –community and private schools- have developed without a clear policy or regulatory framework. They do increase access, but even the low cost schools are only accessible to households with incomes well above the poverty line.

Source: Lewin and Sayed, 2004.

often salaries of the teachers- and the remaining funds are raised from fees paid by students of subsidies form the sponsoring organizations.

But increasingly today’s private sector is in many countries dominated by low-cost-low quality schools that provide access to secondary education to students who cannot afford cannot afford high cost elite schools and who do not have the grades necessary to enroll in low cost-high quality government or grant aided schools . Table 4 provides estimates from selected countries on the variation in the arrangements for provision of secondary education and shows several countries where official data report that about half of the secondary students are enrolled in private non aided institutions.

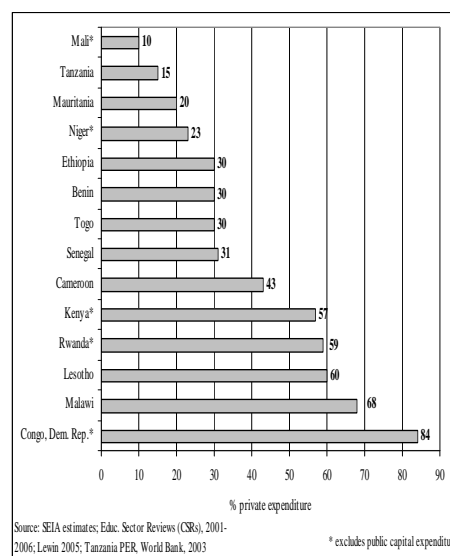
Ultimately, the demand for private schooling is strongly affected by the performance of public schools. In some countries – for example Burundi, Mauritius, Malawi, Rwanda and Senegal and South Africa- government funding ensures that public and some grant aided schools offer a good quality education at comparatively low cost. Often admission to these schools is merit based and they consequently mainly serve the upper income families. In other countries parents prefer private schools. In Benin for example there is a strong demand for private education driven by widespread concern about the performance of public schools which are often unable to function because of strikes and similar disturbances (25% of the hours of instruction were not delivered) and a perceived better learning environment and examination results in private schools.

On the whole, the scope of private provision remains uncertain, although table 2 suggests it is significant in many countries, especially where there is a large grant aided sector. But official data will almost always underestimate enrollments in unsubsidized non-government schools as any private and community schools are not registered and are not reported in official statistics. Uganda for example captures only 35% of the registered private schools in its Education Management Information System. Financial data are especially unreliable. Often only the officially authorized fees in public schools are reported; data on grants-in-aid are often incomplete and difficult to attribute; and data on operating cost and fees are rarely available.

Country	Public	Private grant aided	private unaided
Burkina	64		36
Benin	83	-	17
Burundi	10	80 ¹	10
Cote d'Ivoire JSE	62		38
Cote d'Ivoire SSE	57		43
Gambia JSE	72	12	16
Gambia SSE	14	41	46
Madagascar JSE	55		45
Madagascar SSE	50		50
Malawi	68 ²	9	23
Mauritania	92		8
Mauritius	36	59	5
Rwanda	20	50	30
Senegal	84		26 ³
Tanzania	72		28
Zimbabwe ⁴	13	86	1

1) Community schools; 2) 21 % in CSSs and 47% in CDSSs; 3) large unregistered sector; 4) 1990 data

Figure 1: Private/Household Expenditure as % of total secondary expenditure,



Parents and communities are a third partner

Private contributions to the financing of government schools are increasingly important even in countries where public education has traditionally been free. In public schools in Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia more than half of the total costs per student are financed through fees and other

parental contributions (Lewin, 2008). In Kenya many Board of Governors hire additional teachers paid from fee income to fill teaching positions for which no government teachers have been assigned and virtually all physical facilities for government secondary schools have been funded by parents. Zambia established in 1996 Education Production Units which enroll students who fail to find regular places in fee-paying afternoon sessions run by teachers (who participate on a voluntary basis to supplement their income) in school premises. In Rwanda 80 % of the students are enrolled in private schools, almost 40% of which receive no public subsidy and have to rely on fee income. In Benin the majority of the teachers in junior secondary schools are local contract teachers paid at least in part by from fee income paid by parents. In DRC parents pay more than 80% of the cost in both private and public secondary schools (World Bank, 2005a). In Burkina Faso the government provides two government paid teachers for every newly established lower secondary school; communities and other providers are expected to contract additional teachers as needed. In Chad half of the teachers in junior secondary schools are community teachers mostly paid by parents (World Bank, 2007).

Clearly, parents are an increasingly important source of funding for secondary education (Figure 1). They pay tuition and other fees to private and public schools hire private tutors, purchase books, supplies and uniforms and provide for formal or informal boarding. After food, education often is the largest household expenditure. The resulting burden on households is significant. In Zambia, for instance, it amounts to some 16 percent of spending on items other than food, with similar numbers in Ghana and Uganda. The poorer the family, the greater the burden of education spending is (Bentouaet-Kattan and Burnett, 2004).

Nevertheless, as governments find it increasingly difficult to mobilize the resources necessary for the expansion of access to secondary education at prevailing levels of unit cost, they are looking for ways to reduce unit cost and tap private –most often parental- contributions to complement public funding. Diversifying sources of funding by building partnerships with non-government providers (non profit and for profit) has allowed in several countries to expand access even when resources are constrained (Vawda and Patrinos, 1999). Fees and other parental and community contributions reduce the public finance burden of expanding access to public schools. Especially when fee income is retained at school level it can help finance

higher levels of enrollment and support greater availability of learning materials. Yet, the high level of privately borne cost clearly is a barrier for the enrollment of students from poor families.

Box 3: PPPs can help reduce the cost of textbook supply

- A transparent procurement process based on stable funding, competitive evaluations that include price as a factor resulting in approved limited list of titles
- Longer term contracts with physical production and presentation specifications that are designed to extend book life but avoid unnecessary cost
- Tax exemptions for raw materials (paper)
- Curricula with fewer subjects
- Textbooks that focus on core content
- Book sharing and thus reduced book:pupil ratios through careful timetabling
- School libraries where students can consult reference materials, borrow textbooks
- School managed second hand markets and possibly loan/rental schemes.
- Reduce wastage in manufacturing, warehousing, distribution, school storage and school usage

Private providers supply many goods and some services

Most countries no longer rely on public entities for the provision goods and services –classrooms and textbooks in particular. Textbooks are procured from private publishers and private contractors- sometimes hired by schools or communities- now build most classrooms. A review of textbook provision in 18 countries in SSA by Read et al. (2008) found that secondary textbooks were entirely financed by parents in 11 countries; entirely financed by government in 5 countries (although not

always adequately); and financed by government in 2 countries with funding levels that assumed significant parental contributions. Secondary textbooks especially at the senior secondary level are often imported and produced at high cost production and presentational specifications that are unaffordable for many parents and governments in SSA. Effective textbook supply strategies (Box 3) will depend on a vibrant local publishing industry and effective booksellers network. In smaller countries regional cooperation is essential to keeping cost down.

The cost of construction classrooms and specialized facilities is another important cost item that needs careful consideration. At the junior secondary level facilities can resemble primary school facilities, which can often be constructed at reasonable cost by communities without expensive specialized rooms (as is the case for example in Kenya where the government has only constructed classrooms in the most disadvantaged areas). Where classroom need to be constructed a transparent process of procurement that is decentralized, managed at the school level and simplified to allow tendering by smaller local contractors will usually be the most cost effective.

Effective PPPs exist for formal and non-formal skill development programs

Technical education and vocational training program increasingly are delivered through carefully structured PPPs typically involving training authorities with representation of public and private sector employers and training providers. These have been most effective where they have been given authority for developing training markets and allocating resources. The institutional changes together with the shift towards (i) providing individual training institutions with increased autonomy and accountability for results and; (ii) financing performance and outcomes instead of inputs has improved the relevance and quality of skill development (Johansen and Adams, 2005). Public-private partnerships among governments, agencies and private sector actors have also contributed to the development of non-formal education (NFE) initiatives (Glassman et al, 2007). Box 4 summarizes the experiencing in Senegal with a PPP for the delivery of non-formal basic education services to children and adults

Box 4: Outsourcing in Senegal with the “Faire-Faire” strategy

In 1991 Senegal developed a policy and action plan for a partnership between government and civil society organizations. The government retained responsibility for regulating providers, coordinating, monitoring and evaluating program implementation, and mobilizing and allocating resources. Civil society organizations became responsible for designing and implementing programs, building community capacity and action-research focused on learning improvement. Communities participated in identifying needs, and developing and taking part in management and follow-up. The [program involved more than a dozen adult functional literacy programs and alternative models for young people’s education, which have made it possible to enroll more than a million learners. Based on its openness to the local environment and to pedagogical change, “faire-faire” has made it possible to provide basic training opportunities responding to community demand, facilitate the introduction of national languages into elementary school, and integrate education and training programs into local development plans. Key lessons include: (1) the development of partnerships should be include coordination, support, sharing and participation; (2) the formal frameworks for cooperation constitute the basic tools of the partnership and guarantee success; (3) building capacity of providers and communities is essential ; and (4) close monitoring and evaluation of outcomes, is vital for success.

Source: Nordtveit (2004)

In sum, there is little doubt that accelerating the expansion of access to secondary education at an acceptable level of quality is a task that most countries will only be able to accomplish if they leverage public resources through collaboration with private sector providers, parents and communities. While governments are faced with several constraints on public resources, parents and communities have emerged as important partners in the financing and provision of secondary

education. In addition governments are increasingly relying on private suppliers of goods and services to increase the efficiency of public expenditures. Moreover effective public-private partnerships have been developed in several countries for the delivery of technical and vocational training and non-formal programs. Public-private partnerships are attractive in theory; in practice implementing a PPP policy framework has often been fraught with difficulties.

The challenges of PPPs

Many governments in SSA have formally committed to partnerships with the private sector for the development of education. Several have passed legislation or administrative regulation for this purpose. But few have been ready to implement policies that go beyond the traditional subsidization of established faith based organization. There usually is a wide gap between stated policy and actual implementation. Non-government providers are often weak, poorly organized and have little incentive to seek formal recognition. The government's ability to effectively manage its relations with private providers is often limited. Where public schools rely increasingly on fee income, the poor are often excluded from enrolling. In addition public funding is often poorly targeted. These challenges are discussed further below.

Implementation takes time and effort

Many countries have adopted policies that are "private sector friendly". Senegal, for example, liberalized the creation of private schools in 1994 and requires only that the owner registers before starting operation. National development programs in Mauritania, Benin, Burkina Faso, Uganda and Kenya formally recognize the important contribution the private sector can make in the implementation of their education development strategies. But often action does not follow the intention. The Senegal 10 year plan for example states the intention to provide subsidies to allow private schools to enroll poor children. A consultative council with private school operators has been established, although in practice the private sector has not been involved significantly in policy development. Moreover there is no agreement with the private sector operators on the criteria that determine eligibility for public subsidies. Unsurprisingly, there are a large number of private operators that have not registered, and operate without authorization what are in fact illicit schools. Similarly the Mauritania national education development plan proposes to expand education service delivery by private providers through a subsidy mechanism, but no concrete action is reported in the case study. A similar limited or slow implementation follow-up is reported in country cases from Benin, Kenya and several other countries.

Conversely, there are several examples of countries that actually have followed through on their policy commitments with effective implementation. Uganda has put in place an explicit policy that allows children in districts where there are no public schools to enroll in private schools with public subsidy paid to the operator. Cote d'Ivoire has for many years paid a fee to accredited private secondary schools for publicly sponsored students. Burkina Faso has an elaborate framework for partnerships with the private sector including public sponsoring of students assigned to private schools and provision of loans to private operators for building classrooms. Benin provides a subsidy to PTAs which allows them to hire teachers on a local contract. Zimbabwe at independence in 1970 rapidly expanded access to secondary education through a partnership with communities (Box 5). Mauritius has a formula funding frame for subsidizing the private schools that enroll 66% of its secondary students that provides incentives for efficient deployment of resources. South Africa has a well established set of policies for the subsidization of its independent (private) schools.

Much of private provision is unregistered, underfunded and of poor quality

Policy making and particularly policy implementation is hampered by the very weak data base on private schools. Many of these schools are in fact what the Senegal case study (Sanwidi and Diagne, 2007) calls “clandestine” operations. They do not register, do not have a license and are not included in the official statistics. They are rarely inspected and their staff is not invited to participate in training seminars. Yet they often enroll a significant number of –often poor– students. Research in urban slum areas in Kenya, Ghana and Nigeria by Tooley (2005) found that the large majority of these children attended private schools. In other countries the figure may even be higher. Lewin and Sayed (2005) estimate that in Malawi they enroll more than 20 % of the secondary students.

The reasons for the proliferation of these schools are multiple. First registration procedures are often complex in cumbersome. In Kenya for example this is a process that involves multiple steps (Box 6) and takes a long time to complete. In Rwanda it also is a process that involves multiple steps and subsequent approvals of three levels of education administrators. Even where the process is not exceedingly cumbersome on paper – such as in Senegal and Uganda- implementation by understaffed units of the Ministry of Education is often painfully slow and unwieldy. Second, registration may subject the school owner to taxation, something many are eager to avoid. Third inspection often focuses on formal standards of provision that often are costly, not respected in many government schools and that would result in fee levels that would be unaffordable for the school’s clientele. As a result there is little incentive for private school owners to seek formal recognition, especially since closing unauthorized schools is most often politically unattractive and unlikely to happen. Community schools on the other hand have more incentive to integrate into the formal system and establish eligibility for some public support.

Most often these private schools are low cost low quality operations that –as in the case of Malawi- cater to the needs of lower middle class children that did not have good enough grades to enter conventional secondary schools and who cannot afford the fees of the elite private schools. Many community schools fall in the same category even when they receive some subsidy from the government. Often these are started by communities in the hope of convincing the government to provide teachers and possibly a subsidy to the operating cost. But when the subsidy comes it is often far less than the subsidy allocated to government and aided

Box 5: PPPs for secondary education at independence in Zimbabwe

School development committees comprising 7 parents, the school head, a teacher and the elected local councilor- were formed and responsibilities were defined: (i) Parents and community built the school infrastructure; (ii) Parents paid and controlled fees for construction, furniture, learning materials, and the payment of additional teachers; they also run the schools and ensured attendance; (iii) Government provided assistance to ensure safety standards and paid a building subsidy for the purchase of specialized building materials including pre-fabricated pillars and roofing; (iv) Government provided and paid for teachers at the fixed teacher pupil ratio of 1:30; (v) Government paid a per capita grant to the school for teaching and learning materials.; and (vi) Government provided free materials and in-service training courses for teachers. Regulations allowed parents to charge themselves a fee and improve upon state provision. Parents who could not afford the fee were supposed to pay in kind or provide labor

Box 6: Registering a private school in Kenya

- An application for registration of a school is submitted through the District/ Municipal/City Education Officer accompanied by the following documents: (i) Inspection reports from the Public Health Officer and the inspector of schools (ii) Minutes of the District Education Board in which the application was discussed (iii) Certification of registration of business name; (iii) Names of school managers and their education certificates.(iv) proof of land ownership
- Once the Registrar receives the application, it is presented to the Ministerial Committee on Registration of schools for evaluation
- If approved the application is forwarded to the Ministry of Education for authorization.
- The Minister issues authorization to operate
- The Registrar issues a certificate after the final inspection.

Source: Glassman, 2006

schools.

Most often the community schools are the “poor people” schools. In Burundi for example the provision of secondary education at the junior secondary (grade 7-10) is dominated by the community schools which enroll 80% of the students as compared to 10% in government schools. Community schools receive much less support from the central government than the government schools: the student:teacher ratio is 41:1 compared with 26: in the government schools; the student:non-teaching personnel ratios are 60:1 and 15:1 respectively. Moreover only one third of the teachers in the community schools have a secondary school teaching certificate compared with two thirds in government schools. These disadvantages are reflected in the costs per student estimated in 2005 at BF 40852 (\$35) for community schools and BF111533 (\$98) in government schools. These differences in resource availability are reflected in higher repetition rates and low examination pass rates. Many private unaided schools in Rwanda struggle financially as they are not able to generate the fee income necessary to offer reduced fees to poor students or finance capital investments. In addition loan financing is inaccessible to most private school operators as Banks have little experience in the sector and consider education a risky sector. This constrains their ability to upgrade the quality of education they offer.

The cost of secondary education is unaffordable for many

The central issue faced by PPPs aiming to enhance private provision is whether fees and other payments will be affordable by poor households and what effects they will have on participation. Even for public schools the government is often unable to contribute much to the school's operating cost beyond the teachers' salaries. Parents are expected to pay for textbooks, uniforms and consumables. And where government fully subsidizes private schools -as in Mauritius where secondary education has been free since 1977- books, stationery, transport, uniforms, examination fees, and the like are met by the students and their families. In addition families also pay for private tuition which as a percentage of the income of families, represent a significant investment that increases as more subjects are taken.

Lewin and Sayed (2005) in a study of non-government secondary schools in Malawi and South Africa, relate fee levels to household income data, and conclude that many families will be excluded by poverty from participation at secondary level in full-cost non-government schools. For-profit organizations will not operate at a loss. Not-for-profit organizations are unlikely to be able to offer schooling opportunities on a national level to large numbers. The same may be true where public schools expect parents to make substantial fee payments. In Malawi the effect is so strong that few outside the richest 20% of households can afford to participate. For Ghana senior secondary education is out of reach for the poorest 60% (Akyeampong, 2005).

	Public*	Private
Annual spending per student (FRw)	38,173	56,644
As % of per capita GDP	46.6	69.2
US \$	98	145
Composition of spending per student (%)		
School fees	54.4	68.4
PTA contribution and charges	5.6	1.9
Books and School supplies	11.8	9.0
School uniforms	11.6	9.0
Transport to and from school	6.1	4.8
Other expenses	10.5	6.9
*includes state and grant aided schools. Source: World Bank, 2004		

In Uganda “high cost” was the most important reason (70%) for dropping out of secondary school (Liang, 2002). In both Uganda and Tanzania those outside the top 25% of income will not be able to afford unsubsidized secondary schooling (Lewin, 2008). Table 5 provides an example of household spending on secondary education in Rwanda, illustrating the high private cost of both public and private secondary schools.

Few countries have effective mechanisms – such as fee waivers and bursaries- in place to help poor students meet the private cost of secondary education. South Africa has fee

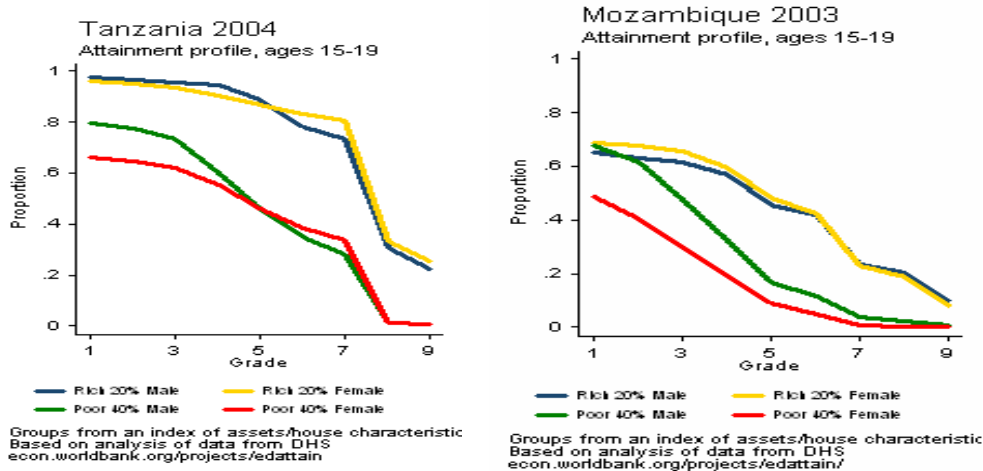
exemptions for the poorest students. Some countries –Mauritius for example- have full public funding of secondary education. Uganda is implementing a Universal Secondary Education program which prohibits participating government and grant aided schools to charge students and replaces the lost fee income with a publicly funded grant; participating private schools are paid a fee for government sponsored students that enroll. Kenya has declared free secondary education with parents expected to pay only for uniforms and boarding. These policies are designed to allow poor children to enter secondary school; their success will depend on the ability of the government to make available additional resources for secondary education, implement efficiency measures, build PPS and ensure that the quality of instruction is effectively protected.

Public financing often is inequitable

Public or grant aided schools often enroll a very large proportion of students from the higher income families. Admission policies are usually merit based; as most poor students attend low quality primary schools, they rarely score high grades on the secondary qualifying exam and do often not qualify for public or subsidized secondary schools. And even when they do, they most often cannot afford the fees. Moreover, public bursary schemes are often poorly targeted. Ensuring that access to secondary education is equitable available to all children irrespective of gender, ethnicity or wealth is a challenge few countries have effectively addressed. Figure 2 illustrates the point for Tanzania and Mozambique but the picture is similar in many countries in SSA.

As more and more children from disadvantaged families complete primary education the challenges of equitable access will become increasingly urgent. In Senegal financial support to non-government schools has benefited mainly a few urban schools that cater almost exclusively to the higher income groups (Sanwidi and Diagne, 2007). In Malawi the older established private sector schools mainly serve a rich clientele. Most students enroll are there because their grades are not good enough for admission into conventional government schools but can afford the fees. In Uganda publicly financed staffing ratios are more favorable in many high fee grant-aided schools than in government schools that offer free education. Public expenditures thus mainly benefit the rich: their children will go to reasonable quality primary schools, they will perform well on the primary school leaving exam and will go to highly subsidized secondary schools. The poor will go to bad primary schools, and will rarely have good enough grades to make it into public or grant aided schools so they have no choice to enroll in fee paying low quality CDSS or private dwelling house schools.

Figure 2: Access to secondary education by gender and wealth



Source: Edstats

Community schools mainly cater to the students from lower income groups who are unable to enroll in regular government funded schools. Even when they receive public subsidies they usually operate with fewer resources than government schools and find it difficult to offer quality education. In Burundi for example the better resourced teaching environment in government schools is reflected in the rates of repetition that exceed 20% in every grade and in pass rates at the end of junior secondary education examination of 41% for public schools, 32% for community schools and 24% for private schools. In Malawi public expenditure per student in community school is probably 25% of that for a student in a conventional secondary school.

But there are examples of good practice, where governments are taking action to promote equitable access without regard to ability to pay. In the Gambia the government has established a Scholarship Trust Fund for Girls. The fund is managed by a Board of Trustees including senior government officials and supports scholarships to all girls in all public and grant-aided upper basic and senior secondary schools in the two poorest regions of the country. The scholarship, which covers school fees, textbook costs and examination fees, is provided directly to schools. This resulted in a sharp increase in the girls' share of enrollment in upper basic and secondary school in rural areas which rose from 32 percent in 1998-99 to 65 percent in 2004-05 at the upper basic level and from 11 percent to 24 percent in at the senior secondary level. A scholarship scheme in Burkina Faso helps students from poor families attend private schools while the private sector and NGOs manage facilities with no recurrent cost for the government Schools managed and operated by municipalities and NGOs deliver secondary education at low school fees, which has been proved affordable by parents in rural areas and poor communities. South Africa has an explicit policy combining public and private resources to fund secondary education with an explicit targeting of public expenditures to the poorest learners (Box 10).

Contracting for services remains limited in scope

There are few examples in the Africa region where governments are contracting out for services other than textbooks and construction. A number of governments outsource research and M&E task to universities of specialized autonomous government agencies. Some externally financed in-service teacher training programs are contracted-out to external providers who typically work in collaboration with a local partner usually a (semi-) public agency. Uganda is contraction external assessors to strengthen the capacity of its Education Standards Agency to monitor quality and support improvement in public and private schools. In some countries national NGOs or private

education service providers provide support to improve the performance of schools especially in disadvantaged areas. Much of this is tied to external financing, remains fragile and rarely results in local private sector capacity.

An Emerging Policy Agenda

Almost all countries in Sub Saharan Africa are formally committed to the development of PPPs for education development. But while some countries have well established and effectively implemented policies for PPPs, many others do not or when they have one, it is often not implemented. As result governments remain the main official provider of secondary education – sometimes in collaboration with a few selected FBOs- often for the better-off segments of the population while communities and private providers are forced into low cost-low quality models of provision. Yet with equivalent resources private schools are often the more efficient providers. The economic and social cost of the divide in the opportunity for rich and poor to access secondary of acceptable quality is considerable.

But such a divide is not inevitable. There are models in SSA where public and private efforts are effectively combined to expand secondary education opportunities of acceptable quality to an increasing number of young people who successfully complete their primary education. Successful approaches have at least four common element (i) splitting the traditional combination of provision and financing; (ii) creating an enabling environment for public, private and community partners. (iii) making explicit provision to ensure equitable access to education of acceptable quality. These are further discussed below.

Separating financing and provision

There is little doubt that separating financing and provision of the secondary education can accelerate secondary education development. Governments have a pre-eminent responsibility to ensure that all eligible children have access to secondary education and that the service that is provided corresponds to national development needs and social priorities. At the same time it is clear that (i) many different providers can deliver education services; and (ii) given the scarcity of public resources for secondary education it makes sense to use the leverage of public funds to

Box 7: Multi-faceted PPP in Burkina Faso

To respond to the rapidly expanding demand in the face of severe constraints on public resources the Ministry of Education (MOE) has established a formal partnership with the private sector including secondary schools with religious affiliations, schools owned and operated by individuals, NGOs or voluntary associations and evening classes operated by associations and teachers unions. Agreements with the Catholic Church, Association of Private Secondary Schools and individual private secondary general and technical schools have been signed. These allow the private providers to establish secondary schools reflecting their specific objectives, recruit staff and students, provide religious instruction, benefit from public subsidies and charge the fees as necessary for their operation provided they respect the national legislation, implement the national curricula, ensure the quality of instruction and accept the pupils assigned to their schools by the government. New lower secondary schools that are created are provided with two government paid teachers; communities and other providers are expected to contract additional teachers as needed. Furthermore, the government has been providing no-interest loans for the construction of classrooms in private schools on condition that the owner builds one classroom within at most a year for each one constructed with government funds. The Ministry scholarship scheme to students from poor families to attend private schools have been proven effective in allowing students from low income families to get secondary education.

mobilize complementary private resources. Mauritius and Lesotho are examples of countries that rely very heavily on faith based and private providers for the delivery of education services. Burkina Faso and Burundi have established partnerships with community providers. Uganda relies on private schools to provide access to secondary education to children who live in districts where

there is no government school. Provision in South Africa is largely public, but fee income from parents is for many schools an important complementary source of revenue. Most successful partnerships are multi-faceted providing a framework for working with different providers and shared funding of operating cost (Box 7).

Government direction and leadership clearly is important to accelerate and sustain progress towards national goals for secondary education development. But in a context of decentralization of resources and decision making to districts and schools which is happening in almost every country in SSA the central government role is increasingly focused on setting policy, establishing and monitoring performance standards and supporting capacity building and policy implementation at all levels of the system rather than direct control of service delivery. Partnerships between national level authorities, parents and government and non government providers and complementary private financing are increasingly important instruments in this environment

International and broad regional experience - documented in more detail in the SEIA synthesis paper (Verspoor, 2008) - suggest that decentralization policies hold considerable promise and that local autonomy in the management of schools can have a positive effect on school performance. Yet, in SSA in particular, the results so far have been mixed; progress has been hampered by weak institutions and local level capacity constraints. But where these are addressed parents can be expected to contribute to the cost of schooling of their children taking account of their financial situation; government and non-government schools can be asked to take explicit responsibility for student learning within a framework of national core instructional objectives, supervised and supported by central and district authorities with money and technical assistance. Ultimately ownership may be less important in determining school performance than managerial processes, procedures and incentives.

Creating an enabling environment

Strategies for this purpose have at least three different components. First they are grounded in a policy framework that supports and facilitates the non-government sector; second they include explicit action to strengthen the public capacity to implement the PPP policy framework; and third they recognize the need to strengthen the financial and school management skills of small community operators and private providers.

Establishing effective PPPs has been hampered by overly complex procedures for registration and licensing exacerbated by the weaknesses of the institutions designated to administer the policy. Often the registration process is lengthy and complex (see Box 6). But even where the policy is relatively simple and straightforward it often falters in implementation as the case for example in Senegal (Sanwidi and Diagne, 2007). In several countries managing the relations with the private sector is the responsibility of a single person. Onsite reviews of applications are rare. Few private schools are ever inspected. Reliable information on school performance is rarely available to the public. Some countries –Burkina Faso, Rwanda and Lesotho are examples- have established a mechanism for dialogue and policy coordination with organizations of private providers, but many others have not and even where consultative frameworks exist, they often are barely functional. And in many countries large numbers of non-government school operators stay outside formal organizations.

Box 9: Elements of a non-government sector friendly policy framework

- Effective legislation for private schools that provides an enabling policy and regulatory environment and a strong legal framework, including
 - requirements for new providers that are clear, objective and not unduly onerous;
 - provision to offer programs with no limitation on scope or delivery mode
 - legislation that does not unduly restrict schools' ability to operate effectively and efficiently;
 - obligation for all schools to provide reliable information to parents on the performance of schools.
 - exemption from taxation
- Provisions to support access of academically eligible students from poor background..
- Arrangements for consultative mechanisms to discuss policy and operational issues.

It is not surprising that policy development for PPPs often take place without much knowledge of the scope and the performance of non-government operators. Surveying private provision and establishing a reliable data base is a precondition for the creation of a framework that will allow the creation of successful PPPs (Box 9). Often there are lots of disincentives –including taxes and official service delivery standards- and few incentives for private providers to come out of the informal environment and seek official registration. But the regulation of informal providers will often be difficult; especially where the government's regulatory capacity remains limited. In such contexts an incentive based strategy –where informal providers may elect to register in exchange for access to credit, eligibility for government sponsored students, subsidies, training and other resources may be more feasible (Moran and Batley, 2004). These issues will need to be carefully considered in the development of a non-government sector friendly regulatory framework.

It is equally important to establish a framework for partnership with parents and communities. In many countries around the world- the USA, Korea and Kenya are examples- the role of parents in the development of secondary education has been central. Any PPP policy framework will need specify clearly the expenditures that parents are expected to cover – for example boarding, uniforms, school meals, supplies and sometimes textbooks and other instructional materials- will need to be clearly specified. At the same time measures will need to be in place to ensure that no child is excluded because of inability of the parents to pay the charges associated with enrollment.

But even the best designed framework is meaningless if measures are not implemented to strengthen the MOE's capacity to implement it. This will usually require hiring additional staff, training them and making sure that policies of benign neglect are replaced by policies of positive encouragement. Uganda for example has recently created a Department of private education, reflecting the importance of private sector providers in the drive towards universal secondary Education. Ultimately it is this kind of small investment in capacity building that can have a significant pay-off.

As important as strengthening the capacity of Ministries of Education to work with non-government providers is strengthening the capacity of private providers to provide an education service of acceptable quality. This will often involve access to capital, enhancing financial management and improving instructional delivery and school leadership. Governments may have to provide financial support to communities to help them expand and improve their school, possibly through matching grant schemes. The International Finance Corporation (IFC) of the World Bank Group has funded operations that provide access to capital for educational entrepreneurs for example in Ghana. It has recently launched a micro-credit program in Kenya that targets private school operators and that includes a technical assistance facility; IFC is now aiming to expand this program to 10 countries in SSA (Box 9).

Another example of support for private sector capacity development is the Promotion of Private Training Providers Programme (PPTP) in Uganda supported since 1999 by the Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW). The objectives of the PPTP program are to support the sustainability of training centers, improve the quality of training and increase the number of trainees in private institutions. The PPTP program, provides a range of support, including management, pedagogical and technical training; construction of classrooms and workshops; provision of technical equipment such as tools and machines; training materials such as textbooks; and the implementation of tracer

Box 9: Micro-credit facilities for Education

Private schools in Sub-Saharan Africa have limited access to medium and long capital for investments. Few local banks are lending to private schools and mostly only for very short durations (2 years.). Many schools also require technical assistance to improve their financial, managerial and administrative capabilities, and to improve operational efficiency. The IFC Africa Schools Program, an integrated investment and advisory services program, attempts to address these constraints by encouraging local banks to provide local currency financing to private primary, secondary, vocational and tertiary schools at duration suitable for capital investments in education. The Program would help partner banks develop unfamiliar education business lines or, for banks already familiar with the education sector, grow their education portfolios at a pace otherwise not possible. The program will consist of \$50 million of risk participation facilities to cover education sector loans and an advisory services program of \$5 million. . The investment component will support the provision of individual school loans originated by the partner banks which are expected to range from \$10,000 to \$300,000. These loans will be used to finance construction, purchase of educational materials, and other capital expenditures. To be eligible for financing, schools will need to meet the partner bank's underwriting criteria. While all Sub-Saharan Africa countries would be eligible, the Program will initially focus 10 countries, which have a high private sector enrollment, where IFC is familiar with the education sector or could begin to develop opportunities quickly. IFC's risk-sharing would encourage the partner Banks to extend maturities to 3-5 years, more appropriate for financing education capital investments. The program is based on IFC experience in Kenya and Ghana

Source: IFC (2008)

studies. In order to be eligible for PPTP, a provider must be private, must have been in operation for at least two years and must own the school or have a long-term lease on its space. During its first two phases, 59 private institutions were assisted under PPTP (LaRoque, 2007). The average investment per training provider was Ush150 million (\$88,000).

In several countries governments have contracted NGOs to help improve the instructional effectiveness and sustainability of community schools. The focus of their efforts is often on disadvantaged children as was described earlier for the case of Fe y Alegria in Latin America. In Africa programs by international NGOs such as Action Aid, Plan International and Save the Children provide quality improvement services. Most are currently targeting primary education but as countries aim to provide a basic education cycle of 9 or 10 years to all children lower secondary may be included. Many of these efforts are important but many remain small scale. Expanded partnerships with the government could lead to a broader application of their often effective quality improvement programs.

Targeting the poor in public expenditures allocations

Secondary enrollments in most countries remain highly biased against disadvantaged groups (Figure 2). The root cause of the problem is in primary education –inequitable access and perhaps most importantly very unevenly distributed resources for quality instruction- and will need to be addressed there. But this only reinforces the critical importance of ensuring that eligible primary school graduates –including those of poor families, those living in rural areas and in particular girls - can access secondary school. Addressing this issue will in many countries require significant and often controversial changes in public resource allocation policies. While equity is a major strategic objective of secondary education policy almost everywhere, in practice the higher income groups

benefit disproportionately from public expenditures. South Africa (Box 10) may be the exception where resource allocation policies are explicitly and specifically pro poor and targeted to redress inequities. Korea (Box 2) has an explicit quality equalization framework including the placement of to students by lottery to public and private schools. Some countries for example Burkina Faso and The Gambia provide scholarships to needy students. Uganda and Kenya are attempting to move towards broadly accessible publicly funded secondary education, replacing fee payments with public grants to schools. In most countries access to public resources for secondary education remains largely merit based, i.e. students with the highest grades can enter heavily subsidized public or private (most often faith based) schools. A very large majority of these students tend to come from the higher income families. Poorer students –usually with lower grades- tend to enroll in community schools or low cost low quality private schools. These kind of financing arrangements tend to perpetuate inequities in society and contribute to social unrest.

To address inequities countries may wish to consider moving towards needs based funding arrangements where public resources are allocated to those that need it most. This would imply funding of government and non-government schools on an equal footing with subsidies tied to the students' family income. In practice this would mean that schools that attract a large number of students from higher income families would charge higher fees and that more resources be allocated to community and low-cost/ low quality schools which would then have the possibility to upgrade their programs, thus reducing the performance gap between schools. Publicly subsidized fee

Box 10: Targeting education funding in South Africa

The national norms and standards for school funding, which became national policy in 1999, aim to achieve equality and redress poverty at schools in terms of non-personnel expenditure. The norms are clearly progressive, with 60% of a province's non-personnel expenditure going to the poorest 40% of learners in public schools. The poorest 20% of learners receive 35% of non-personnel resources, while the richest 20% receive 5%. Poorer schools are given larger state subsidies, and so have lower school fees, while wealthier schools are given smaller subsidies, and so have higher fees. Schools in the lowest two quintiles receive all their required funding from the government. If parents' annual earnings are less than 10 times the yearly school fees, the child qualifies for a full fee exemption.

Independent schools can receive a subsidy. Each school requesting funding is subject to a checklist including indicators of sound management, such as whether it keeps proper admissions and attendance registers, maintains fee payment and other financial records and must allow unannounced inspections by the provincial education department. Refusal results in forfeiture of the subsidy.

Subsidies reflect the socioeconomic circumstances of a school's clientele. The level of school fees charged by an independent school is taken as an objective, publicly-available indicator. Schools charging the lowest fees qualify for the highest level of subsidy. Subsidy levels are related to fee levels on a progressive scale. Schools that charge up to 0.5 times of the provincial average public cost per learner are entitled to a subsidy equal to 60% of average public cost per learner.

Source: South Africa, Department of Education, 1996

waivers and bursaries for the poorest students would remove obstacles for attending public or private schools.

In Conclusion

The above review of the way stakeholders -private sector providers, communities, FBOs, NGOs, parents and governments- are all contributing to the development of secondary education demonstrates how education history and policy have resulted in many different arrangements to suit national conditions. The “landscape” of secondary education in Sub-Saharan Africa is changing rapidly. A large expansion of access is a policy priority almost everywhere. At current per student cost public resources are, however, insufficient to provide sufficient public school places and unsubsidized private schools are usually not affordable for low income students. Almost

everywhere the demand for places is exceeding the available supply in government and subsidized private schools by a very large margin. This is likely to continue and even intensify in future years. Communities and private operators are trying to respond to this excess demand by establishing schools which often do not receive any public subsidy or require considerable complementary private resources. In fact the boundaries between public and private financing and provision are blurring as the private involvement in both has increased dramatically. Most of it has not happened based on the implementation of public policy decisions; but in the absence of them - by default. In fact the boundaries between public and private are becoming increasingly blurred. Public-private partnerships –many local, small scale and informal- have emerged in almost every country in the region. The challenge often is not to create them, but to strengthen them and make them more effective in addressing the challenges of secondary education development in a resource constrained environment. This review has documented how this is happening in different countries in secondary education in SSA. Five conclusions stand out.

First. Private sector involvement in the financing and provision of secondary education is ubiquitous. What is emerging is, however, very different from what existed before. Until recently the private sector in most countries was small and dominated by faith based organizations operating heavily subsidized schools. Today in most countries the private sector provision consists of a large number of community schools; low cost low quality private schools many operating outside the established legal framework; public schools that depend on fee income for their operation and use facilities and staff to deliver private instruction; and public school teachers that offer private tutorial services and moonlight in private schools. In many countries parental contribution to the cost of secondary education match the resources provided by the government. Public and private resources have become inextricably mixed to the point that the traditional concepts of public and private schooling and have become almost meaningless. Ultimately, the level of resourcing, the rules, regulation and incentives for operation and the quality of school management may be more important than ownership and the sources of funding.

Second. The potential contribution of the private sector is well recognized and most governments in the region are committed to building public-private partnerships to ensure progress towards the triple goal of secondary education development: expansion of access, improving quality and enhancing equity (Verspoor, 2008). But very often implementation lags far behind policy intent. In many countries the divide between the public and private providers remains and much of private provision is unregistered, underfunded and of poor quality. Where institutions for collaboration and coordination exist they are often not functional.

Third. Much of the public funding is poorly targeted and does not serve the objectives of quality assurance and equity very well. Conversely, private contributions to public schools are important almost everywhere, but often result in the exclusion of poor students. Few countries will be able to address the daunting challenges of secondary education development unless policies for government and non government –including parental and community- financing and provision effectively complement each other in a partnership that ensures progress towards common objectives. This implies not importantly providing public subsidies to helping poor children enroll in government and non government schools and ensuring quality of provision throughout the system.

Fourth. The starting point for such partnerships must be recognition of the comparative advantage of the different partners. Governments have the ultimate responsibility to ensure that all children have an equitable opportunity to pursue their education; that the education offered to them is of acceptable quality; and that eligible children will be able to access the opportunities available

without regard to ability to pay. This does not imply that government can or should be the sole providers. There is ample experience in the region to suggest that there a large number of providers that can ensure the delivery of acceptable secondary education services. Finally, parents are willing and ready to contribute to the cost of secondary education. Public policy should recognize the value of parental and community support for secondary education, provide incentives and some regulation for it while ensuring that no children are excluded from schools if their parents cannot afford to contribute financially.

Fifth. Building capacity and creating an enabling environment are critical. The experiences discussed above highlight the critical importance of strengthening the capacity of public sector agencies that are responsible for the regulation, monitoring and contracting the non-government sector as well as the capacity of private providers to mobilize and manage resources and deliver instruction of acceptable quality. But perhaps most important are (i) establishing a climate of trust and collaboration through institutions that provide a forum for consultation with all stakeholders on policy design and implementation; and (ii) a legal framework that treats private providers on an equal footing as regards taxation and instructional outcomes but that at the same time provides with the flexibility to organize instruction as they see fit.

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Annex: Country Case Summaries

Benin: Rapidly Growing Private Provision

The private sector has played an important role in the provision of education in Benin with the exception of the socialist period from 1990 when all private schools were nationalized. The law of 1992 returned the Faith Based schools to their original proprietors, although the government has not been able to reinstate the earlier policy of 60% subsidization of the teacher's salaries.

Nevertheless the growth of the private sector has been spectacular. In 2007 there were 841 private secondary schools (compared to 98 in 1990) and 422 government schools. The proportion of students enrolled in private schools increased from 8% in 1994 to 17% in 2004. Enrollments in secondary government schools increased from 82,515 in 1993 to 313,075 in 2005, increasing by 381%; in the private sector they increased from 3,951 in 1993 to 64,543 in 2005 - an increase of 1633%. The gross enrollment ratio is 35% in lower secondary education and 13% in senior secondary. The strong demand for private education is driven by (i) widespread concern about the performance of public schools which are often unable to function because of strikes and similar disturbances (25% of the hours of instruction were not delivered); (ii) insufficient supply of places in government schools; (iii) a perceived better learning environment and examination results in private schools. Quality problems are pervasive throughout the system. Only 50% of the students entering primary education complete. At the junior and senior secondary level 68% complete.

The Ministry of Education approves the creation of a private school based on a request by the owner that includes evidence that the head teacher is authorized to direct a school and the teachers are qualified to teach the curriculum. The government does not provide financial support to private schools. The government does, however, provide a subsidy to the PTA's of government schools which allows them to recruit teachers on a local contract. More than 85% of the teachers recruited under this scheme are unemployed trained teachers. In 2003 only 10% of the teachers in junior secondary schools in Benin hold a regular government position. Yet teacher shortage persists; the pupil teacher ratio has remained since 1994 at 55 in JSE and 55 in SSE, resulting in very large class sizes.

Fees for private schools are not regulated. They vary between CFA 30,000 and 60,000 per year depending on the geographical location, the salary paid to the teachers. If they can afford the fees parents generally prefer private schools: class sizes are usually lower, the curricula more diverse and the absence of strikes means the time available for instruction.

The challenges facing secondary education are enormous as retention in primary education is expected to increase rapidly from a current low of 50% to a target of 100% in 2015. Even if the transition rate into secondary education were to remain at 74% this would mean that the number of students seeking entrance into secondary education would more than double.

The government recognizes the valuable contribution of the private sector to the development of secondary education in Benin. The 10 year sector development plan proposes a policy of positive promotion by creating a legal framework for a public-private partnership, establish the modalities for public subsidization, improve the dialogue with social partners in order to avoid interruptions of instruction and establish a school environment that is conducive to learning. Government is expected to monitor the private schools through inspections involving the local and the central level officials.

Source: Benin (2007)

Burkina Faso: Multi-faceted PPPs

The surge in primary education enrollment and completion rates and the demand of accelerating development (real GDP growth was 5.6% per annum for 1994-2004) have increased the need to expand access at the lower secondary level. In 2004, more than 50 percent (mainly from rural areas) of the 125,000 completing primary education were unable to enter into secondary education. Primary education has received priority in public spending for more than a decade; allocations to the secondary system declined from 21.4 percent in 1998-2002 to 12 percent for the 2002-2004 period. To respond to the rapidly expanding demand in the face of severe constraints on public resources the Ministry of Education (MOE) has established a formal partnership with the private sector. The private sector includes secondary schools with religious affiliations (Catholic, Protestant, Islamic), schools owned and operated by individuals, NGOs or voluntary associations and evening classes operated by associations and teachers unions). Annual fees in private schools range from CFA 40,000-250,000 (\$90-550), and 8000-15,000 (\$18-34) for evening classes compared to CFA 3000 (\$7) for government schools. Registered private schools enrolled about 35% of the 300 000 secondary school students (2005/6); in addition, an unknown number of students are enrolled in schools that have not registered.

The Ministry of Education has established a Permanent Secretariat of the National Commission for Secondary and higher Education to manage its relations with the private sector. Agreements with the Catholic Church, Association of Private Secondary Schools and individual private secondary general and technical schools have been signed. These allow the private providers to establish secondary schools reflecting their specific objectives, recruit staff and students, provide religious instruction, benefit from public subsidies and charge the fees as necessary for their operation provided they respect the national legislation, implement the national curricula, ensure the quality of instruction and accept the pupils assigned to their schools by the government. The Catholic Church and the Association receive an annual grant of CFA 200 and 250 million (\$450,000-\$560,000) respectively; all participating schools receive CFA 50,000 (\$110) per government sponsored student in their school. For individual schools to be eligible for the subsidy they need to have been in existence for at least 4 years, have an examination pass rate of at least 30% and employ 50% of their teachers on a permanent contract. New lower secondary schools that are created are provided with two government paid teachers; communities and other providers are expected to contract additional teachers as needed.

Furthermore, the government has been providing no-interest loans for the construction of classrooms in private schools operated by NGOs or private providers on condition that the owner builds one classroom within at most a year for each one constructed with government funds. The loan payback period is five years after a grace period of two years. Only those private schools that demonstrate efforts to improve the quality of education are supported by government through this scheme. Finally, the government includes private schools in its quality improvement efforts. Teachers, school directors, and pedagogical advisors of private schools can enroll in teacher training colleges and are always invited to participate in in-service training programs. Private schools can purchase the official textbooks at a full cost.

Although private provision raises challenges of equity of access to education by all socioeconomic classes, the Burkina Faso strategy of mixing provision of services by expanding private where demand is high, and concentrating public resources on lower income and underserved groups. The Ministry scholarship scheme to students from poor families to attend private schools have been proven effective in allowing students from low income families to get secondary education while the private sector and NGOs manage facilities with no recurrent cost for the government. Schools managed and operated by municipalities and NGOs deliver secondary education at low school fees, which has been proved affordable by parents in rural areas and poor communities. Schools managed by the private sector, although they have higher student fees than those managed by NGOs and municipalities, may have ways of ensuring equity and quality of education in non-state secondary schools so as to increase enrollment without placing additional burden on the GoBF budget.

Source: Sanwidi (2007); World Bank 2006

Burundi: Expansion through Community Schools

There are three types of secondary schools in Burundi:

- **Government schools:** directly administered by the Ministry of Education (MoE); these include also “convention” operated by churches but fully subsidized by the state.
- **Community schools:** there under the administration of the Ministry of Interior Affairs and MOE; teachers’ salaries are paid by MoE; operating costs are the responsibility of local communes but in fact paid by the parents with fees of about BF 2000 (\$1.75)
- **Private schools:** owned and operated by private providers; they typically follow the official programs to ensure equivalency of diploma’s; they depend on fee income to cover their operating cost.

The provision of secondary education at the junior secondary (grade 7-10) is dominated by the community schools which enroll 80% of the students, with government and private schools enrolling about 10% each. At the senior secondary level Government schools enroll 70% of the students, community schools 25% and 5% in private schools.

Enrollments in junior secondary community schools have increased by about 15% per year since 2000; in senior secondary schools the rate of increase was more than 50% from a very low base (576) to reach an enrollment of 7800 in 2005/2006. Community schools provide no boarding facilities and recruit their students locally. Some public schools do offer boarding and charge a boarding fee⁴.

In practice the community schools receive much less support from the central government than the government schools: the student:teacher ratio in the community schools is 41:1 compared with 26: in the government schools; the student:non-teaching personnel ratios are 60:1 and 15:1 respectively. Moreover only one third of the teachers in the community schools have a secondary school teaching certificate compared with two thirds in government schools. These disadvantages are reflected in the costs per student estimated in 2005 at BF 40852 (\$35) for community schools and BF111533 (\$98) in government schools. Unsurprisingly the better resourced teaching environment in government schools is reflected in the rates of repetition that exceed 20% in every grade and pass rates in the end of junior secondary education examination of 41% for public schools, 32% for community schools and 24% for private schools. While little is known about the latter the low figure probably reflects the performance of a large number of low cost low quality schools.

Notwithstanding the quality problems the community schools have made a positive contribution to education development in Burundi by (i) providing local, low cost access to junior secondary education (ii) stimulating related local infrastructure development and job creation; (iii) creating an incentive for sustained community involvement in education; (iv) establishing a channel for social communication and mobilization. Yet the system as it currently functions is inequitable as it provides the most public subsidy to the upper income families whose children enroll in the best public schools and attend in disproportionate number upper secondary schools and universities. An equitable PPP will require that public expenditures is redirected to benefit the poor. This may involve a more equitable allocation of teachers and increased fees in the high performing government schools.

Source: Mukene et al 2007; World Bank 2006.

⁴ The fee is however less than the costs associated with boarding; there is thus a de facto public subsidy to boarding students, most of which come from families in the upper income quintiles.

Cote d'Ivoire: Public support for Private Schooling

Since 1995 Cote d'Ivoire has outsourcing part of provision of education to private sector providers many with church affiliations, others non-confessional for profit and not for profit operators. Government assigns pupils to schools operated by accredited private providers. This policy has allowed a rapid growth of the private sector in Cote d'Ivoire and made it possible to increase secondary school enrollments in the face of severe constraints of the government budget. While total education expenditure between 1992 and 2000 increased by less than 4% year and the share of secondary education in the budget declined from 30.3 to 28.7% total enrollments increased by almost 6% made possible by a decline in the cost per student from .85 to .45 of GDP per capita. From 1990 – 2000 private junior secondary enrollments grew at an average rate of almost 10% per year, compared to 4% for public schools and the share of total enrollments at that level increased from 25% to 40%. At the senior secondary level private enrollment grew by more than 17% per year and public enrollments by less than 4%. Private enrollments represented almost half of the total enrollment at the senior level.

Public financial support to private secondary general education is provided through the payment of agreed fees to the schools to which the publicly sponsored pupils are assigned. The fee level is established in the agreement with the private schools. For general education the fee levels for 2000 were 120.000 FCFA (\$200) per student per year in junior secondary schools and 140.000 FCFA (\$233 US) for students in senior secondary schools. The total public support to private education has increased from CFA 15 billion (\$34 million) in 1993 to 23.3 billion (\$52 million) in 2001. Private sector providers have organized themselves in several associations which discuss with the government the policies and specific contractual arrangements. In addition public bursaries are available for the poorest students to help them cover associated with schooling above the tuition fees. There are no data on the extent of their availability since the attribution is administered by several different government agencies.

Estimates of the percentage of family education expenses covered by subsidies across family expenditure quintiles show that, in both the cases of public and private school attendance, there is a clear tendency for the share of family education expenditure covered by subsidies to decline for the higher family expenditure quintiles. This decline, however, is significantly more pronounced for private schools. The subsidy system is intended to be pro-poor, and more so for private schools. In fact it often benefits the better off students who complete primary education in much greater number than poor students and who perform better on the secondary school entrance examination.

While the system has contributed in a major way to the expansion of access to secondary education, its operation has suffered significant implementation problems. The accreditation of schools is largely based on the submission of a request supported by the required documents. There is little direct verification of the documents nor regular pedagogical inspection of facilities and instructional practices.

The procedures for the accreditation of the schools and the selection of the sponsored students are not defined as clearly as they should. Students are selected based on their academic performance on the final primary school examination accompanied by a school level assessment. Little information on the financial ability of the parents that are requesting information is available for consideration. Moreover the payments of the governments to the schools are often late; in 2003 the arrears exceed the annual budget allocation.

Private secondary schools tend to perform better than government schools. Their completion rates are higher (89% vs. 69% in junior secondary and 91% vs. 77% in senior secondary). This notwithstanding fact the facilities are often inferior to those in public schools (especially in the schools that are not affiliated with a church); many teachers lack formal training in education although their academic qualifications are equivalent or better than those of their colleagues in public schools; are paid less than half the salary of public school teachers while working work more hours (19 compared to 15 in public schools).

Source: The World Bank, 2005b; Bih et al (2003). Sakellariou and Patrinos, 2003

Kenya: Building on Community Efforts for PPPs

After independence in 1960 Kenya was able to rapidly increase enrollments in secondary education through its Harambee schools, a spontaneous grassroots community initiative to develop greater access to secondary education than what could be provided by the Government at that time. Communities organized –often with the support of local education officials, churches and NGOs- to build facilities and hire teachers – many poorly qualified- to teach at the secondary level.

The model was highly successful in expanding secondary opportunities in rural areas. In 1969 there were 244 government secondary schools, 19 government assisted Harambee schools and 244 unassisted schools; by 1987, there were 709 government schools, 1,142 assisted and 741 unassisted Harambee schools. From 1963 to 1973 the number of secondary students rose from 20,500 to almost 200,000.

At various times the Government provided financial support to select Harambee schools. However, costs to parents were considerable. In assisted government schools, the government paid the teacher salaries, in assisted Harambee schools the government would pay a few teachers while in unassisted Harambee schools, the entire cost was borne -with difficulty - by the community and parents. In both assisted and unassisted Harambee schools the students paid considerably more than in government schools. Despite the high costs and poor results, some education was generally seen as better than none by parents; motivation remains high because some graduates do succeed and find a place in post-secondary education or in reasonable employment. In the early 1990s, the government took responsibility for all Harambee schools and no longer distinguishes them from government schools.

The experience also illustrates not only the potential for rapid expansion but also the inefficiencies, quality problems and inequities) that can result from this kind of strategy. The students were often less prepared academically because most had not been able to qualify for government schools or afford the expense of studying far from their homes. Subject offering were often limited because of the lack of resources to teach e.g. science. Facilities are often sub-standard. The proportion of qualified teachers was lower and class sizes and student teacher ratios higher. Most schools were rarely inspected by the government or provided with supervision support from the government. Communities that constructed good housing provided a high level of support and respect for their teachers were better at attracting and retaining teachers.

Even today secondary remains very much partnership between the government, parents and local communities. The management of schools is decentralized to Board of Governments and Parent Teacher Associations. About 60% of the cost of secondary education is privately funded. Bursaries are available for poor students but attribution is often determined by political allegiance rather than need and merit. To address these problems of high cost and inequitable access to secondary education the government has launched a strategy that will make secondary education affordable for all qualified students by expanding day schooling, reducing the cost by improving teacher deployment, double shift use of facilities and revamping the bursary systems. It has also become clear that in communities which are economically disadvantaged or which have parents are not motivated for education government intervention –including financial support- is essential.

There are important lessons that can be learned from the Kenyan experience:

- The model can be easily replicated: it can be established with minimal inputs, little expertise, and substandard staff.
- At the same time the model also shows its limitations as differences in economic development and motivation for education may result in inequitable development of education.
- Unless quality rises and better results are achieved (coupled with lower personal financial costs), then local investment in education may not seem worth it to parents.
- Longer term sustainability will require the adoption of policies that ensure an acceptable level of quality, affordability for all and longer term financial sustainability.

Source Rugh and Bossert, 1998; [http://www1.worldbank.org/education/est/resources/-%20Harambee%20schools case%20studies/Kenya%20.doc](http://www1.worldbank.org/education/est/resources/-%20Harambee%20schools%20case%20studies/Kenya%20.doc)

Malawi: Expansion in a Policy Vacuum

There are 4 types of secondary schools in Malawi (i) Conventional government schools; (ii) aided conventional secondary schools, operated mostly by FBOs; (iii) Community Day Secondary Schools (CDSSs) which came in existence when distance education centers were converted in to day secondary schools;(iv) private schools. Secondary enrollments in 2004 totaled 180,000 of which 38,000 were enrolled in government schools, 16,000 in grant aided schools, 83,000 in CDSSs and 42,000 in private schools. The latter figure is almost certainly an underestimate and actual enrollments may in fact be twice as much. Enrollments have more than doubled since 1994 with much of the growth occurring in the CDSS and private schools. Public expenditure per CDSS student is probably no more than 25% of that for a CSS student forcing them to charge fees often amounting to about 3,000-4,000 Kwacha a year. Low end private schools typically charge around K. 5000; many of these are so called “dwelling house” schools which offer a very low quality instruction, although often equivalent to the CDSSs. In comparison fees on government schools are about K2500 9in addition to an estimated government subsidy of K7300) and in grant aided schools K6300. There is no system of fee exemption.

Currently there is no clear policy or regulatory framework on the growth and regulation of non-government schools, or on those parts of the public school system which have substantial mixed public and private finance (the grant-aided schools and the MCDE/CDSS, which both levy significant fees). Te process of registering a school starts with the proprietor applying for a license at Ministry headquarters. The Ministry then sends Divisional personnel to inspect the premises. Registration procedures are slow and arduous, with the result that many providers see little alternative but to operate on an unregistered basis or on provisional certificates. Regulatory requirements include the need to show evidence of: (i) land title; (ii) tenants agreement; (iii) Bank Statement and proof of financing; (iv) staff certificates; (v) partnership deeds/articles of association; (vi) original proprietor’s and head-teacher’s bio-data; (vii) site and building plan; (viii) copy of the contract for the teachers and signed contracts; (ix) school rules/code of conduct approved by Board of Governors; (x) District school inspection report and Health inspectors report. In fact these regulations are not or poorly implemented and enforced. In fact non government schools operate with little regulation.

The non-government schools do increase access, but they are only accessible to households with incomes are well above the poverty line and who cannot get access to mainstream government secondary schools. The older established private sector schools mainly serve a rich clientele. Most of those enrolled in these schools are there because they cannot access government secondary schools but can afford mid to high level fees, and/or they also value what the schools offer (including denominational education). CDSSs or Dwelling House private schools serve a less affluent clientele with mid range incomes. It would seem that this group of schools will grow at a rate determined by affordability in the mid range, and these schools will continue to offer educational services similar to those in traditional government schools. Public expenditures thus mainly benefit the rich: their children will go to reasonable quality primary schools, they will perform well on the primary school leaving exam and will go to highly subsidized secondary schools. The poor will go to bad primary schools, if they pass the PSLE they will rarely have good enough grades to make it into public or grant aided schools so they have no choice to enroll in fee paying low quality CDSS or private dwelling house schools.

Source: Lewin and Sayed (2004); World Bank (2004)

Mauritius: Public Financing, Private Delivery

The private sector plays an important role in secondary education. In 2005 66 percent of the students in the secondary main stream and in 58 percent prevocational education were enrolled in private schools. The introduction of free secondary education, in 1977 transformed the way secondary education was provided in Mauritius. In 1977, nearly 19 out of 20 youth in secondary education were attending private colleges, the rest were in state colleges. Since then the situation has changed drastically. In 2005 only 13 out of 20 students were in private secondary schools. Prior to 1977, only scholarship winners of the Primary School-leaving Examinations were entitled to free education in State schools. A few seats were allocated to non-scholarship winners who had to pay a moderate fee ranging from Rs 10 per month (\$ 1.5) for Form I to Rs 40 (\$6.0) per month for Form VI. The Government collected some Rs 720,000 (\$ 1 million) from school fees in 1975. Private schools were fee-paying too, and fees claimed increased with grade. Fees also varied according to region and category of college. Monthly school fees ranged from Rs 30 (\$4.5) to over Rs 300 (\$45) in private secondary schools. Free education in Mauritius means that pupils do not pay tuition fees. Government pays the wages of staff of private schools and their running expenses based on a Grant Formula, through the PSSA. However there are other indirect costs such as books, stationery, transport, uniforms, examination fees, and the like that are met by the students and their families. In addition families also pay for private tuition which as a percentage of the income of families, represent a significant investment that increases as tuition in more subjects is taken. For very poor families these costs can be too high. Funding assistance is provided to some of these needy families by the Ministry of Social Security.

Most private secondary schools in Mauritius are funded by the government and are non fee paying. The Private Secondary Schools Authority (PSSA) channels assistance to, and exercises control over, private secondary schools (both confessional and non confessional schools), supplemented by a range of incentive grants which are provided to encourage the managers of these schools to improve facilities like playing fields, laboratories and specialist rooms. Denominational schools are administered by Religious Authorities (Catholic, Anglican, Hindu and Islamic). Private non-confessional schools are administered by autonomous private entrepreneurs. Examination pass rates in private school are 5-10 percentage points lower than in publicly owned schools but this reflects mainly the fact that private schools enrol students with lower primary school leaving passes

There remains a disparity between state schools and most private schools. State schools teach a larger variety of subjects than private schools thus requiring staff qualified in the various disciplines. The teaching of sciences and technical subjects which require expensive laboratory and workshop facilities is concentrated in State schools. Many subjects in State schools are taught in small groups resulting in a higher pupil/teacher ratio. Since the resource allocation formula for private secondary schools is predominantly a pupil related formula private schools have an incentive to have larger classes, expect higher teaching loads avoid offering too many specialized subjects.

In an attempt to bring equity in the secondary sector, Government has topped up the grant to the PSSA by other incentive grants, such as Development Bank of Mauritius loans which are made available to private schools at preferential interest rates to upgrade their infrastructure facilities. In addition, a scheme has been elaborated for the construction and management of school buildings to house some 18 private secondary schools, where no scope for expansion or improvement exists. For this purpose a private company, The Mauritius Educational Development Company Ltd (MEDCO) was set up in 1993 and was managing 5 schools and receives grants like other private schools through the PSSA.

Government has always honoured its contractual obligations towards the private schools and in many cases it has made special concessions so that they may continue to offer efficient educational service to Mauritian children. Government in Mauritius is committed to a PPP approach to the provision of education with a policy of parity of esteem between State and private secondary but reserving the right to regulate and intervene to ensure to access, equity and quality. While the total number of schools seems to be on the rise, the public-private participation ratio is likely to change: the public share will increase although the private share will grow for pre-vocational schools.

Source: Mohadeb and Kulpoo (2007)

Rwanda: Pervasive Private Provision

The private school sector in Rwanda is large, varied and well established. Four groups of non-government individuals and organizations are directly involved in providing resources to schools: parents and communities, NGOs, private 'not for profit' organizations and the faith based organizations (FBO). Together they enroll almost 80% of all secondary students with aided FBO schools - *libre subsidié*- enrolling 37%, the aided FBO private schools 25% and other private operators 38%. Private unaided secondary schools enrolled 42,678 students in lower secondary (42% of the total enrollment) and 24,686 students in upper secondary (44% of the total enrollment), but its share of total secondary enrollments declined between 1997 and 2001 from 50% to 40%, although total enrollments increased by 60%.

Any person, or an Association of at least three persons, can own a private school. The curriculum is set centrally. All schools - public and private - must teach the curriculum. To obtain a license a development plan must be submitted to the local District Education Office which provides evidence that a suitable site is available, health regulations will be respected and the curriculum program and proposed staffing meets Government regulations. If this plan is approved, a temporary certificate is issued, which is then presented to the provincial office. If approved, the provider submits a formal request to the Minister of Education seeking full approval. The Inspector General investigates the proposal and prepares a report. If positive the Minister issues a letter of authority to proceed. When school inspectors report that the conditions for the operation of a school are not being fulfilled, the school authority is given notice of the inadequacies and an opportunity to put right the complaints. Failure to implement the required improvements will result in the withdrawal of the license to operate and the school must close. Special conventions have been agreed with the FBOs regarding the establishment of aided schools. Responsibility for regulating non-government education is spread across the Ministry of Education, the Provincial Education Department and the local district with advice being sought from the Ministry of Local Government and the Ministry of Youth. The Secretariat de l'Enseignement Catholique (SNEC) and the Conseil Protestant du Rwanda (CPR) accredit schools affiliated with them. They have their own education committees.

Minimum fees for *libre subsidié* and *libre privé* are determined by the GOR at FRW 21,000 (\$38) for secondary. There is no cap on the amount that can be charged by unaided providers which charge as much as RWF 35,000 (\$64) for day students and RWF 40,000 (\$73) for boarders. Many schools, and most particularly the associations that own and manage these schools, are subsidizing needy students that are unable to pay fees. Yet this means that the schools are unable to generate sufficient funds to provide the necessary improvements in capital works or in purchasing the teaching/learning supplies. A fundamental principle of the finance facility must be that it can lend money at a lower rate than that which is attainable on the regular commercial market. *Libre subsidié* schools receive salaries for the teacher complement that has been recognized by the Ministry. These schools also receive funding toward administrative costs and foodstuffs and sometimes for capital works. The salary scale for public and private teachers is centrally determined. The minimum pay per month is determined by the qualifications of the teachers, as follows: Teacher Training Certificate FRW 24,000 (\$44), Diploma (35,000 FRW(\$64) and Graduate (49,000 FRW(\$90). All schools can add teacher pay bonuses above the minimum recognized rates.

A key challenge is to establish a financially sustainable strategy that will ensure that the number of places in secondary education is expanded; the pressure for expansion is managed equitably and quality of teaching and learning is protected effectively. A key element for ensuring success in the implementation of the targets of the national education development plan is the need to rethink and reformulate ways and means of financing education and to find a mix of public financing, private resources and direct contributions from firms, associations and individuals which most likely will require a greater scope for private supply of education and training. This is recognized in the current education development plan: which states "... to implement the programme at a possible lower cost, the community and NGOs shall be encouraged to stand by the side of the government".

A simplified performance based regulatory environment, transparent and publicly accessible information on fees and performance, targeted public subsidies for private schools, access to finance and strengthening the capacity of the MOE, FBOs and private school managers to manage the partnerships effectively.

Source: Latham; (2003).

Senegal: Waiting for implementation

The National Education Development Plan aims to provide access to lower secondary education to 65% of the primary school graduates by 2010 (up from about 50% in 2007). This would continue the rapid increase of enrollments for lower secondary education. This would be achieved by :

- Establishing a large number of local day schools and rehabilitation of classrooms in existing schools
- Implementing a policy of a class size of 45
- Recruitment of 1800 temporary/contract teacher a year
- Training of polyvalent teachers
- Deploying teachers more efficiently
- Subsidies to enable private schools to enroll poor children and improve quality

The creation of private schools has been liberalized since 1994 and only requires the owner to register the school before starting operation ; this is followed by a process of approval and recognition which entitles the school to receive subsidies if certain conditions are in place. Private schools are operated by faith based organizations (Catholique, Protestant, Islamic) and private operators without religious affiliation. In addition, there is a large number of private operators that have not registered, and operate without authorization. A consultative council with private school operators has been established, although in practice the private sector has not been involved significantly in policy development. Moreover there is no agreement with the private sector operators on the criteria that determine eligibility for public subsidies.

In reality the strategy for the expansion of access to lower secondary education has been one that has focused almost exclusively on the public sector through the « écoles de proximité ». Financial support for private schools has remained extremely limited, and focused mainly on a few urban schools that cater mainly to the higher income groups. Most private schools depend almost exclusively on fee income. Private schools are rarely inspected and their staff are not invited to participate in training seminars.

It is thus not surprising that notwithstanding the rapid growth of enrollments at the lower secondary level, the share of the private sector declined from 40% in 2000 to 26% in 2006.

Source : Diagne and Sangwini (2007)

South Africa: An Equity focused PPP

The education system the democratically elected government inherited in 1994 was highly fragmented and unequal. There were 17 different public systems, and a wide array of private and semi-private schools. Funding inequities were extreme, with severe underfunding of schools in the homelands and townships serving impoverished black communities. To redress these inequities and accommodate a large influx of new students an education policy was established that capitalized on the potential of both independent (private) and public providers while explicitly targeting public spending on the poorest students. Both public and independent schools are eligible for public subsidies.

State funding is organized on a quintile system, in which schools are divided into five categories according to the poverty levels in the areas they serve. Poorer schools are given larger state subsidies, and so have lower school fees, while wealthier schools are given smaller subsidies, and so have higher fees. Schools in the lowest two quintiles receive all their required funding from the government. If both parents' annual earnings are less than 10 times the yearly school fees (before tax), the child qualifies for a full fee exemption. Partial exemptions can also be made for parents with financial problems. Many state-aided schools - which receive a state subsidy as well as fees from parents - are on a par with private schools at a fraction of the price. A good state-aided school, offering small class sizes of about 20 may cost R6 000 (\$875) to R15 000 (2800) per year compared with a private school, offering not much extra, costing from R10 000 (\$1450) to R35 000 (\$5100) per year - excluding boarding, which could cost an extra R20 000 (\$2900) a year.

The Constitution of South Africa allows for the establishment of non-government educational institutions. The school act specifies conditions for their operation designed to ensure quality and combat racism. Provincial education departments typically add further conditions including: (i) guarantee that the school will exist for at least a year; (ii) minimum number of learners of 20; (iii) qualified educators registered with the South African Council of Educators (iv) buildings and resources adequate for teaching and learning; (v) compliance with health and safety norms; (vi) adherence to the National Core Curriculum.

Almost 10 percent of the schools providing secondary education are independent (private), but they enroll less than 4% of the students. They include community schools, religious schools and non-religious for profit and not for profit schools. Several deliver high quality education but many others are low quality providers. Part of the reason why there are not more independent schools in South Africa stems from the ability of some 'ex Model C' schools (i.e. formerly high cost public schools restricted to whites) to remain public whilst also collecting high-fees. Such schools are important in that they effectively operate as semi-private sector within the public attracting middle class parents by using the fees to maintain what is perceived as a quality education system. They act as direct competitors to private schools and are, as intended, an attempt to ensure that there is no middle class flight from the public to the private sector

Independent schools can receive a subsidy based on the National Norms and Standards for the Funding of Public Schools. Each school requesting funding is must provide evidence of sound management, such as whether it keeps proper admissions and attendance registers, maintains fee payment and other financial records and must allow unannounced inspections by the provincial education department. Refusal results in forfeiture of the subsidy. Subsidies reflect the socioeconomic circumstances of a school's clientele. The level of school fees charged by an independent school is taken as an objective, publicly-available indicator. Schools charging the lowest fees qualify for the highest level of subsidy. Subsidy levels are related to fee levels on a progressive scale. Schools charging the highest fees, in excess of 2.5 times the provincial average cost per learner in an ordinary public school, are considered to serve a highly affluent clientele, and no subsidy will be paid to them. Schools that charge up to 0.5 times of the provincial average public cost per learner are entitled to a subsidy equal to 60% of average public cost per learner.

Low-fee independent schools in South Africa often do not have the resources to offer expensive subjects at matriculation level, their facilities are less likely to be purpose built and some have no land at all and exist in rented accommodation. They are narrowly focused on examination success, the quality of teaching can be poor and unimaginative, and pass rates low. About 20% of subsidized schools scored less than 50% pass rates on matriculation examinations in 2001. Their performance may be poor but it may nevertheless be comparable to or better than the worst public schools, probably related to the fact that their teachers are more likely to be present since their payment is often linked to how much they teach.

Sources: Lewin and Sayed, 2005; South Africa, Department of Education; Reschovsky 2000.

The Gambia: PPPs and Targeted Support for Girls Enrollment

There are five different categories of schools in the Gambia: (i) Government-owned schools are directly maintained and control by government; (ii) Grant-Aided-schools: are senior secondary schools controlled by a boards of governors (BOGs), in which most cost are paid by government (iii) Mission schools are owned and maintained by religious authorities but are grant-aided by government to meet the salaries and allowances of teachers; (iv) Independent schools are private or community schools that provide schooling are run for profit or on cost recovery basis.

The Gambia has established strong public-private partnerships in secondary education. Government provides most education at the upper basic level (grade 7-9). Out of 114 schools, 70 are public, 39 are private, and 12 are grant-aided. At the senior secondary level (grade 10-12) private provision is dominant. Public, grant – aided and local agreement schools enroll over 80% of the children. Of the 37 SSSs 4 are public, 17 private, and 16 grant-aided. The transition rate from lower basic to upper basic education is now 100% since the extension of the basic cycle to grade 9 and enrollments in grade 9 are rapidly increasing with students who want to enter grade 10. Government policy is to provide funds to establish capacity in public financed secondary schools for a transition rate of 50% with any amount beyond being absorbed by private sector.

The government owned senior secondary schools and grant-aided schools are managed by BOGs. Their functions include staff appointment and discipline, ensuring educational standards and the general management of the schools in accordance with the provisions of national education policy. Most new secondary schools that are not purely private are initially built and managed by the government, but within the first two to three years their management is handed over to an independent board. Private contributions, and the participation of the private sector, are significant. Upper basic students pay registration fees as well as funds for textbook rentals, and senior secondary students pay school fees, with waivers available for students from poor households. The current school fees charged in private and grant aided schools, including books and learning materials are about D2000 (\$95) per term. Most of the grant-aided secondary schools are located in urban areas where the more affluent groups of the population are located. A significant number of children transit to the public and grant-aided schools where cost is highly subsidized by Government. This has resulted in the drop by 13% in the number of private upper basic schools as enrolment in these schools has declined by 26% between 1999 and 2005. On the other hand the integration of the Madrassa schools owned and operated by individuals and religious organizations to respond to the demand for Arabic and Islamic education in the national school system has boosted enrollments. A General Secretariat for Islamic/Arabic Education (GSIAE) has been established a memorandum of understanding has been signed with Madrassa proprietors and as part of implementing the Revised Education Policy (1988 – 2003), and a unified syllabus has been developed for basic education (Grade1-9).

To ensure that cost considerations do not preclude girls from enrolling in senior secondary schools the government has established a Scholarship Trust Fund for Girls. The fund is managed by a Board of Trustees including senior government officials and supports scholarships to all girls in all public and grant-aided upper basic and senior secondary schools in the two poorest regions of the country. The scholarship, which covers school fees, textbook costs and examination fees, is provided directly to schools. The latest data (2004) indicate that 13,859 girls in junior secondary schools (upper basic level) and 2,624 girls in senior secondary schools received scholarships. This resulted in a sharp increase in the girls' share of enrollment in upper basic and secondary school in rural areas. At the upper basic level, they went respectively from 32, 34, and 32 percent in 1998-99 to 45, 46, and 45 percent in 2004-05. At the senior secondary level, they rose from 25, 23, and 33 percent in 1998-99 to 44, 36, and 38 percent in 2004-05. The direct impact of these initiatives was felt in the girls' enrollment in both upper basic and senior secondary, schools which rose from 32 percent in 1998-99 to 65 percent in 2004-05 at the upper basic level and from 11 percent to 24 percent in 2004-05 at the senior secondary level.

Source: Taal (2004); Republic of The Gambia Department Of State For Basic And Secondary Education (2007).

Uganda: PPPs for Universal Secondary Education

The private sector plays a significant role in the provision of secondary education in Uganda. In 2005, there were over 1,152 registered private schools, representing 58 percent of all secondary schools and 44 percent of all secondary enrolments. In reality the number of students enrolled in private schools may be significantly higher as many schools are not licensed or registered or do not respond to the Education Management Information System (EMIS) Questionnaire.

Government schools are managed by a Board of Governors and funded through fee income and government subsidies which may support the payment of teacher salaries, capitation grants, provision of instructional materials, and infrastructure. Private schools do not receive any assistance from the government and operate solely on fee revenues. About one third are community schools operated by the community (e.g. parents) or by NGOs without government funding. There are a few high quality elite private schools, but most private schools are not well resourced and provide relatively low quality education. Admission to government secondary schools is based on performance on the Primary Leaving Examination – with the best schools getting the best candidates. Admission to private schools is largely determined by ability to pay and performance for the high quality ones.

The MoES is responsible for registering private schools, but districts play a significant role in the process. For approval applications must: (i) Provide building plans, land lease offers, agreements and land titles; (ii) Confirm that buildings have been inspected and approved; (iii) undertake to engage a suitable head teacher; (iv) Provide evidence that the teachers are eligible to teach and that the terms and conditions of employment for staff are adequate.

Successful applicants to operate a school first receive a license to operate a provisionally classified school for two years and then must apply for registration. Inadequate staffing of the units in charge of the process and a lack of coordination among district and national levels results in delays in processing and of up to 2 or 3 years. A large number of schools operate without a license. The weaknesses in the existing registration system arise more from its implementation than its design.

Private Secondary schools in Uganda are free to set their own tuition fees and other charges, although private and public schools participating in UPPET will not be able to charge tuition fees. Private school tuition fees vary widely depending on the school's target market, the perceived quality of instruction and infrastructure, the availability of boarding, its ownership, its location (urban or rural), its grade level and the programs it offers. In general, private secondary boarding schools annual fees range from Ush900,000-1,200,000, while urban day schools would charge in the range of Ush 240,000-450,000 and day schools in poor/rural areas would generally fall in the Ush 120,000-240,000 range. However, fees can be much higher than those levels, with some elite government secondary schools charging Ush 1,500,000 or more.

While the government's UPPET policy is largely focused on expanding provision in government-aided secondary schools, the private sector's role will be mobilized to help deliver secondary education in the 324 sub-counties where there are no government-aided schools. In those sub-counties, the government will pay private secondary schools a Ush 141,000 annual per-student subsidy to enroll students. In contrast, government secondary schools under UPPET will be paid an annual subsidy ranging between Ush 600,000 for less than 30 USE students to 7,000,000 for 540 students and above. There is considerable potential to further expand the public private partnership to accelerate progress towards affordable PPUET of acceptable quality. A recent consultant report suggests that this may involve:

- Establishing a reliable data base on private schooling
- Strengthening the MOE capacity to manage registration and quality assurance
- Capacity building of private sector providers
- Facilitating access to finance for private sector providers
- Provision of bursaries to eligible students wishing to enroll in accredited private schools

Source: Laroque, 2007; Lewin 2006; Liang, 2002

Zimbabwe: Increasing Access and Improving Quality after Independence

At Independence in 1980, less than 4% of the age group could access secondary education. Within three years enrolment at secondary level reached more than 65%. A strong partnership of government and communities made this possible. School development committees comprising 7 parents, the school head, a teacher and a the elected local councilor- were formed and responsibilities were defined: (i) Parents and community built the school infrastructure; (ii) Parents paid and controlled fees for construction, furniture, learning materials, and the payment of additional teachers; they also run the schools and ensured attendance; (iii) Government provided assistance to ensure safety standards and paid a building subsidy for the purchase of specialized building materials including pre-fabricated pillars and roofing; (iv) Government provided and paid for teachers at the fixed teacher pupil ratio of 1:30; (v) Government paid a per capita grant to the school for teaching and learning materials.; and (vi) Government provided free materials and in-service training courses for teachers. Regulations were established that allowed parents to charge themselves a fee and improve upon state provision. Parents who could not afford the fee were supposed to pay in kind or provide labor for school projects.

The program was explicitly designed to empower local communities. In a very short period of time, the number of secondary schools expanded from 157 in 1980 to 1512 by 1990, the majority of them built by parents themselves. By 1990 only 12.7% of the schools were government schools. Enrolments increased from 66000 to almost 700,000 during the same period.

One school out of five primary schools was selected as a potential site for a secondary school. These schools immediately established an “upper top”, that is, one or two secondary classes at the existing primary school, mainly through double shifting. The “upper tops” were to cover the first four years of secondary schooling. At the same time, the community undertook to establish a new secondary school at an adjacent site, with state planning, supervision and subsidies. Schools were to have a minimum of four classrooms, three teachers’ houses, and toilets. Electricity and expensive installations such as laboratories, technical workshops, halls, and libraries, were not included in the initial phases.

This program enabled children to attend day secondary schools close to their homes that cost an average US\$50 per student, rather than the traditional boarding schools that cost an average US\$250 per student. Only 4% of communities were unable to respond to this partnership system and had to be provided for, generally by commissioning an NGO or church to assist them.

To ensure that education was relevant, of acceptable quality and yet affordable, the MOE:

- Developed a science kit, -the Zim-Sci kit- and provided it to all secondary schools. It cost about US\$1,000 and contained materials for experiments during four years with pupil and teacher instruction manuals. Working in pairs, pupils could perform a weekly experiment. Teachers received training through radio and audio-cassettes.
- Created an Integrated National Teacher Education Course (ZINTEC) comprising a short (4 months) pre-service module and 36 distance education modules
- Collaborated with private sector publishers to establish a list of approved textbooks and ensure an adequate supply of textbooks; for subjects with small expected print runs the Ministry would guarantee to purchase a minimum quantity
- Provided a minimum of 20 textbooks free of charge for every subject, in addition to per capita grants to schools.
- Established a compulsory core curriculum consisting of English, African Language, Science, and Mathematics, practical subjects and an optional social studies subject.

In addition to these junior secondary schools, a number of senior secondary or sixth form schools were established, but their establishment was also dependent on both community effort and state grants. There are presently more than 200 sixth form schools in Zimbabwe. The majority of schools in Zimbabwe are known as “private schools”, including District council and community owned schools, elite independent schools, farm schools, church schools, unsubsidized profit making schools and ZIMFEP (Zimbabwe Foundation for Education Production) schools established specifically to provide education for war veterans and ex-refugees.

Source: Chung (2007)