

The effects of privatisation on girls' access to free, quality public education in Malawi, Mozambique, Liberia, Tanzania and Nepal

Summary Report





Acknowledgements

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Tanzania.
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Executive summary

This report shows how the right to education in Liberia, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania and Nepal is undermined by the low quality of public education. Governments have a duty to ensure the right to free, public education of good quality for all but the low quality of public schools is driving parents to pay for private education. Privatisation aggravates existing inequalities and marginalisation of vulnerable groups and children from poor families. Governments must fulfil their responsibility and ensure free, public education of good quality for all children.

The right to free, quality education is established by the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*,¹ and reaffirmed with the *Sustainable Development Goals*.² However, despite much progress, the obstacles to achieving free public education for all are still numerous. In recent years, the growing trend of for-profit privatisation within the education sector has emerged as yet another serious challenge. One of the concerns is that it aggravates existing inequalities and marginalisation of vulnerable groups within the education system, as these groups are not able to pay for education. The purpose of this study was to conduct research on the education landscape in five countries (Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Nepal and Liberia) and to analyse the effects of privatisation on girls' access to free, quality public education in those countries. The study focusses on privatisation at the primary and secondary school level and looks at the different providers of private education, as well as the development in privatisation between 2010 and 2015. The research is based on a desk study, field visits (to Nepal, Malawi, Mozambique, and Tanzania) and interviews with key education stakeholders.

The education landscape and privatisation

Privatisation of education can be understood as the process by which a growing proportion of the education system is owned, funded, or operated by non-State actors (Global Campaign for Education, 2016, p. 16). Another definition of privatisation is “the transfer of activities, assets and responsibilities from government/public institutions and organizations to private individuals and agencies” (Belfield and Levin, 2002). In the present study, privatisation is looked at from both of these perspectives. On a global scale, the share of private institutions in total enrolment in 2014 was 13% in primary education and 25% in secondary education (UNESCO, 2016a)

In Mozambique, Tanzania and Malawi private education at the primary level is low, ranging from 1.5% to 6% of enrolments. At secondary level however, the level of privatisation is significantly higher in all three countries, ranging from 18.7% in Tanzania (Government of Tanzania, 2016, p. 125), to 10–30% in Mozambique,³ and 20% in Malawi (Hall & Mambo, 2015, p. 12). In Liberia, private schools made up 54% of primary and 77% of secondary schools in 2015/16. In Nepal the total share of private school enrolments in primary and secondary was 19% in 2015 (Government of Nepal, 2015).

The main explanation given by informants for the growth of private schools in the five countries was the low quality of education in the public sector and in some contexts a lack of public school places, particularly at secondary level. None of the informants felt there were any noticeable pressures from donors pushing countries to engage in privatisation or public-private partnerships (PPPs). With regards to governments, only Malawi and recently Liberia have been strong drivers of the privatisation process. In 2016 the government of Liberia launched the Partnership Schools for Liberia (PSL) with the aim of finding new ways of improving learning outcomes through a 3-year pilot (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2017). This initiative has caused intense debate and attracted widespread disapproval, not only in Liberia, but also on a global level (GI-ESCR, 2017a). In the other countries the overall tendency has been a relatively laissez-faire attitude to the private sector that has been allowed to expand with very little regulation. There are however indications of economic and political interests overlapping between the private sector and the political system, as in several countries private schools’ owners are also politicians. According to international human rights law the private education sector should comply with regulations set by the State (Global Campaign for Education, 2016, p. 41). However, international research shows that state regulation of the private education sector in many countries is very limited (Ron Balsera, 2016, p. 981).

Table 1: Financing of public and private education

	Nepal (2014)	Liberia (2012)	Malawi (2014)	Mozambique (2013)	Tanzania (2014)
Government expenditure as a % of GDP – 2014	4.7%	2.8%	6.9%	6.5%	3.5%
Government expenditure as a % of total government expenditure – 2014	18.3%	8.1%	16.3%	19%	17.3%

uis.unesco.org

The five countries in the study are largely failing to meet their education commitments of allocating at least 20% of government spending and investment in education has generally not expanded in line with the large increases in enrolment in primary and secondary school. In 2013/14, Malawi spent 16.3% of its total budget to education and its allocation for 2016/17 was 17.45%. Since 2011, Mozambique’s allocation to education has been in the region of 17-19%. Tanzania is spending around 17% of the government budget on education, and the budget has been static in recent years. Nepal’s allocation to education has fallen in recent years, from 19.5% in 2010/11 to 16.1% in 2014/15 during 2009-2013 (UNESCO/IIEP-UIS, 2016). Of the five countries, Liberia has demonstrated the lowest dedication to education with the share of government expenditure to education averaging just 12% over the past six years. In 2015 government expenditure on education was 13.5% of the total budget, and 4.2% of GDP (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2016a).

There are also problems of the allocation of funds within the education budget in the five countries. In Tanzania, for example, the education ‘development’ budget, as opposed to the recurrent budget, is very low and highly dependent on donor funding. Most of the budget allocated to primary schools goes to pay teachers’ wages and there is little money available to provide essential books and other teaching and learning materials in schools. Similarly, in Malawi, there is also very little money in the education budget for development and investment projects since so much finances recurrent spending. Further, 25% of Malawi’s education budget goes to tertiary education even though only 1% of all learners are enrolled at that level. In Mozambique, only 7% of the 2013 education budget was available for investment while staff costs accounted for 70%. In all of the countries, a large percentage of the education budget is funded by external donors. This is particularly the case in Liberia, where over 50% of the education budget is funded by external donors.

While the national budget in some countries is limited, one way to ensure better financing of education is to increase the overall national budget through improved taxation. “The Education for All Global Monitoring Report has documented that if governments in 67 low and middle-income countries modestly increased their tax-raising efforts and devoted a fifth of their budget to education, they could have raised an additional US\$153 billion for education spending in 2015, increasing the average share of GDP spent on education from 3 to 6% by 2015 (ActionAid, 2017, p. 41).

Public education is in principle free at primary level in all five countries, and in Nepal, Liberia and Tanzania also at secondary level. However, at secondary level, fees are still charged in Malawi and Mozambique. In addition, in all five countries, there are a number of charges associated with schooling at both primary and secondary level such as uniforms, transportation, meals and textbooks/school supplies, exam fees and in some cases unofficial school fees. These charges may be an additional factor in explaining parents’ preference for the private sector, based on the thinking that if they have to pay for education anyway, they may as well pay for private schooling.

Private schools are a diverse category and they vary immensely in terms of both cost and quality. However, the disparity between private schools are greater in countries with high levels of privatisation, where private education is on offer in different price ranges for different socio-economic groups. In the countries reviewed, private, non-profit schools receive government support to a varying degree in terms of subsidies, payment of teacher salaries, infrastructure etc. Community-run schools are often supported by community in-kind contributions to school construction and maintenance, for example. For-profit schools are usually run on user fees alone, and only in very few cases receive government subsidies, although this study did not look into subsidies in the form of tax breaks to private schools. In Liberia, 6% of the total MoE budget went to private schools in 2015/2016 and these subsidies are in reality unregulated (Ministry of Education, Liberia, 2016b, p. 97)

The effects of privatisation on the right to education

The state has the obligation to guarantee the right to education for its citizens, on the basis of principles of equality and non-discrimination, while at the same time recognizing the freedom of parents to choose the type of education for their children.⁴ The growth of the private sector affects the attainment of the right to quality education for all in various ways. Fees and other costs limit access to private education for the poorer parts of the population. Public and private schools differ in terms of quality of education, teacher conditions and other aspects. Furthermore, the growth in private education also influences public education provision.

Education quality is a complex issue, depending on a range of factors, and the data on these parameters in private schools are generally scarce, and even more so is data segregated for the different types of schools in the very heterogeneous private education sector. Another complication is that results in terms of learning outcomes and exam scores are also highly dependent on the family background of students, the level of parents’ education and their resources, and research that control for bias in terms of parents’ socio-economic background is rare.

Nevertheless, the issue of quality holds a central place in debates around privatisation of education, and the belief that private schools offer better quality one of the main reasons for parents to aspire to send their children to private schools. According to statistics analysed in this study, overall there is a tendency for private schools to have better exam pass rates. At the same time, paradoxically in all countries studied, there is a tendency for teachers in the private sector to be less qualified, have lower salaries and poorer working conditions and be hired on contract basis. A number of researchers explain the higher pass rates in private schools by better infrastructure, equipment and school books; accountability to the users; close monitoring of teachers; higher teacher motivation and attendance; and the fact that teachers are hired on a contract basis, risking being fired if they do not deliver exam results. Another important factor is the background and motivation of parents and students. Parents who send their children to private schools are usually better off and higher educated and better able to support their children. According to interviews carried out for this study, there may also be a tendency for exams to be very textbook based, and the results do not give a full picture of the skills, cognitive and social development of students. A particular trait of private education in Nepal and in Tanzania is that the private schools use English as the medium of instruction, whereas the public sector uses Nepali and Kiswahili respectively (in both countries the largest language, but not the mother tongue of all citizens). English as medium of instruction in private schools is seen as a very important factor for parents when choosing to send their children to private schools, a tendency according to research also found in other countries (Day Ashley, 2014, p. 31).

One way in which private education affects public education is that governments may see its expansion as a welcome relief from the burden of providing education for all. In Liberia, the government-launched PSL initiative is an example of this thinking. Another major concern, in terms of privatisation's effect on public schools, is that as students from most well educated and resourceful homes are increasingly attending private schools, the expansion of private schools is weakening the public system by leaving behind the most disadvantaged children, who often require more care and additional resources. In all countries, informants expressed a concern, that this process further damages the image of public schools and the loss of better off parents as advocates for public education weakens calls for reform.

International research points to the fact that private schools, even low-fee schools, are not affordable to all, in fact they are not affordable to most poor people,⁵ and this was also evidenced in the present study. The cost of private schooling is in itself a major factor contributing to social segregation across all countries studied. There is a clear tendency, in all countries reviewed in this study, that for-profit private schools are situated in the capital area. This trend could be seen as exacerbating the urban / rural divide and social stratification, with urban children having a much higher chance of being enrolled in school. There is a wide perception that private schools offer a better quality of education with children getting better exam results, and this means that the students attending these schools may be better off when it comes to pursuing further studies and job opportunities. However a lack of disaggregated data which takes into account the socio-economic background of the children in public and private schools and the different types of private school means that it is very hard to get a clear picture. Some of the best performing private schools are those serving the elite, they are expensive and have far better pupil-teacher ratios, infrastructure and teaching materials than either the public or low-cost private schools. They also often select the most able students, who would be more likely to do well anyway. The discourse that increasingly portrays the public sector as of poor quality, a place for low class and people who cannot afford to pay for private education, was a problem raised by several informants interviewed for this study. Real or imagined, the mere fact that public schools and their students are becoming increasingly stigmatised further contributes to segregation.

The effects of privatisation on girls' education

The relationship between privatisation of education and girls' education has not been subject to much research, but a few international resources exist that summarise general findings.⁶ The overall findings of these reviews is that girls are less likely to access private schools than boys, mainly due to the fact that, if forced to choose, many

parents will pay to send their son to school rather than their daughter. However, the evidence is not conclusive, and there are also examples of the reverse trend, that girls are more numerous in some private institutions (though this seems to be particularly the case in elite private schools in urban areas where middle class parents are likely to be more aware of the importance of girls' education). This general concern that the cost involved in fee paying private education is hindering girls' education, was confirmed by interviews with key resource people carried out for this study. There are also other discriminatory aspects of privatisation that may hinder girls' education, namely the fact that private schools often suffer from a lack of monitoring and oversight on the part of the state to ensure that girls' rights are protected. In the five countries studied, gender parity has been achieved in terms of enrolment at primary level and in some countries also for enrolment (though not completion) at secondary level. However, when we compare the public and private sector, the trends in gender equality vary significantly from one country to another.

In Nepal, enrolment and completion rates for girls and boys are almost the same at both primary and secondary level, but boys are clearly prioritised when it comes to private education (Government of Nepal, 2016, pp. 125-132). In 2015, girls represented 52% of primary and 53% of secondary school students, but in the private sector they made up only 43% of primary and 44% of secondary students.⁷ According to research and our informants, the significantly lower level of girls in private schools can be explained by the fact that many parents cannot afford to pay for schooling for all of their children, and if they are to prioritise between boys and girls, they normally choose to send the boys to private school. In Liberia, there is near gender parity in terms of enrolment and both primary and secondary level, but gender disparity is more widespread outside urban areas (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2016a, p. 76). When comparing the public and private sector, there is a tendency for higher enrolment of girls in private schools. However, this difference may partly be explained by the fact that there are very few public schools in the capital area in Liberia, while girls' enrolment tends to be higher in urban areas (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2016a, p. 58). In Mozambique in recent years, the proportion of girls enrolled in primary education has increased steadily. However, there is a serious problem of retention of girls after grade 5, especially in rural areas. The main issue with regards to gender equality is not between private and public schools, but between the different mentality in urban and rural areas. In Malawi, the percentage of girls in primary education is very similar across all types of schools at around 50%. However, in secondary education, the GPI was only 0.88 in 2015 (EMIS, 2015, p. 54). Girls make up a bigger proportion of students in private schools than public schools, but again this may largely be a result of choices made by wealthier, more educated parents. For Tanzania it was not possible to find figures highlighting gender differences between public and private schools.

When comparing the findings of this study to the international research there seems to be a clear confirmation when we look at the country of Nepal of the tendency that the cost of private education is negatively affecting girls' education. However, with regards to the four African countries reviewed, the picture is more complex. There is a tendency for girls' enrolment in private education to be either equal or higher than boys. Different factors may explain this, but the most important seems to be the fact that private education is much more prevalent in urban areas, where gender equality is generally higher. Another factor linked to this, according to informants interviewed, is that – at least in Malawi, Tanzania and Mozambique, privatisation is generally a phenomenon at the secondary level, and is mostly expensive and limited to higher middle- or upper classes, where gender equality has become the norm, and in these contexts there is little evidence of discrimination between girls and boys when paying for private education.

All countries reviewed for this study have some form of public policies and strategies in place to promote gender equality in education and implement a range of interventions. Although these different approaches have gone a long way to promote gender equality in education, many challenges remain. In principle private schools are obliged to follow the same laws and policies as the public education systems. However, the schools do not always comply with regulations, and government monitoring and oversight of private schools is weak. Overall this study confirms an alarming lack of data and knowledge, even among duty bearers, on gender policies and practices in private schools. This, combined with the fact that authorities generally have a very low capacity to

monitor private schools, as also confirmed by our research, constitutes a serious concern in terms of ensuring gender equality and even protection of girls in private schools. That said, the present study did not reveal any evidence that girls are treated worse in private than in public schools. Nevertheless it was not possible to find any particular policies or practices used in private schools to ensure gender equality similar to those promoted by governments (such as awareness raising on gender equality, scholarships to girls, efforts to maintain girls in schools, the use of gender sensitive curriculum and textbooks or teacher training on gender equality). Despite this there are indications that girls in elite private schools do as well as their male peers in terms of completion and exam pass rates. The most significant evidence identified in terms of different practices among private and public schools was the availability of gender-sensitive sanitation facilities, generally more prevalent in elite private schools. The most remarkable difference between the public and private sector is the clear tendency for higher shares of female teachers in the elite private schools. This may be seen as a positive side to private schools in terms of promoting gender equality and all informants agree that this may in fact play a positive role in supporting girls' education. Unfortunately, however, female teachers do not seem to be employed in private schools for this reason, but rather because they have less choice between public and private employment and are often paid less and less well trained than their counterparts in public schools.

This research concludes that the perceived low quality of public education - largely resulting from the unmet demand for free and good quality education - is fuelling the growth of private provision. Although there is a great variation, these five countries need to adequately finance education. They need to increase the size, share, sensitivity and scrutiny of their budget in order to meet their obligations. And this would be possible by increasing the share of tax, by putting an end to excessive tax incentives and tax evasion, and then governments will be better able to provide adequate finance. The growth of private providers should be seen as a symptom that public education is not fulfilling its role; private education is not a solution. The privatisation trend, well established in Nepal and Liberia, and incipient in Mozambique, Malawi and Tanzania, is a concern. It is creating and entrenching social and gender inequalities and segregation, and the lack of efficient regulation only adds to the risks.



Schoolboys, Mozambique.
PHOTO: ACTIONAID

Introduction

Access to free, quality education is a human right established by the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, adopted in 1948, and by a number of international normative instruments elaborated by the United Nations, including the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* and the *UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education*. However, despite much progress, the obstacles to achieving free public education for all are still numerous. In recent years, the growing trend of privatisation within the education sector has emerged as yet another serious challenge. Some have argued that public education systems have failed to deliver the desired results in some countries and that the private sector would be better at increasing quality through choice and competition. Lately they have promoted low-cost private schools as a way of expanding access to quality education. However, recent studies indicate that this approach creates more challenges than solutions. The analysis and monitoring of privatisation and its effects on the right to education is therefore essential, to enable civil society to better understand this issue and to engage in evidence-based policy dialogue and advocacy in support of free quality public education.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights also affirmed the equal rights of both sexes, and the obligation of the State to ensure this was further emphasized by the *International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights* from 1966. Thanks to the *Education for All (EFA)* agenda, in recent the decades, significant progress has been made in narrowing gender disparities in access to primary and secondary education. However, in most parts of the world girls and women still lag behind. According to the *Global Education Monitoring (GEM)* report, 53% of children out of school are girls and 47% of those are expected never to enter a classroom (UNESCO, 2016a). 479 million

women above the age of 15 are illiterate, compared to only 279 million men, which means that 63% of the adult illiterate population are women. Fewer girls than boys receive a secondary education, and fewer still a higher education. One of the concerns related to the increased privatisation of education is that it aggravates existing inequalities and marginalisation of vulnerable groups within the education system, as these groups are less able to pay for education, and often private schools have both open and hidden criteria that exclude them. There is also evidence that poor parents who are struggling to find money to pay school fees are likely to prioritise boys over girls, for example. This study seeks to uncover the extent to which current privatisation trends in education promote or hinder progress towards girls' right to education.

The study was compiled based on initial reports prepared for ActionAid International (AAI) by independent consultants, Dr Alberto Begue and Eva Iversen, from January to May 2017. It is part of a larger research initiative that includes country reports on Nepal, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania and Liberia, as well as a global summary report and policy briefs. It was carried out as part of the "Promoting Quality Education through Progressive Domestic Resource Mobilisation" project, a multi-country education and tax justice project involving six countries (Ethiopia, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Myanmar, and Nepal). Its aim is to ensure that children (especially girls) have improved access to free public education of a high standard, financed through greater government support and increases in fair tax revenue. The project is funded by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) and runs from July 2015 to December 2017.

We hereby wish to thank all the many informants who contributed to this study by providing invaluable information as well as sharing their views and reflections.

Alberto Begue and Eva Iversen

Purpose and methodology

Purpose: The purpose of this study was to conduct multi-country research on the education landscape in terms of private providers of education and to analyse the effects of privatisation on girls' access to free, quality public education in those countries, using a human-rights based approach.

Focus of the study: The study focusses on privatisation at the primary and secondary school level. The research maps out all kinds of private education, from for-profit private education providers to community schools, religious schools, schools run by NGOs and others.



Schoolgirls, Tanzania.
PHOTO: EMANUELA COLOMBO/ACTIONAID

Approach: The research was designed to respond to 16 research questions, and for each question a number of indicators were developed. For each indicator, data was collected from 2010/11 and from 2014/15, respectively. The indicators should serve to compare developments over the last five years in terms of education progress in the public education sector to developments in the private education sector, with a special focus on gender. As such the methodology included a set of indicators comparable across the countries, but a smaller number of country specific indicators were also included when relevant.

Sources: The research is based on a desk study, field visits and interviews with key education stakeholders at the national level, as well as Skype interviews with a few resource people at the international level (including a total of 79 persons for the five countries and at international level). The desk study included relevant secondary sources such as statistical data, academic literature, reports and research done by research institutes, donors, IFI, INGOs and other international organisations, and official documents (e.g. from ministries of education). The analysis also included primary empirical research regarding the prevalence and effects of privatisation on education in four countries: Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania and Nepal (whereas the Liberia report is based only on desk research). The empirical research included a 5-day mission to each country by one consultant, in February 2017. During the country visits information and views were collected through semi-structured interviews from a wide range of education stakeholders, including ministry of education officials, UN agencies, donors, teachers' unions, civil society organisations, researchers and private education providers. Please see the annex for a list of the literature and of people interviewed.

Limitations: Statistics on education are usually collected with some delay. The aim was to include the most recent data possible, but at the same time to have data that is comparable. Inevitably, then, the data is not always the most recent. In addition, in some countries data collection on the private education sector is almost non-existent or flawed, especially on gender balance and school policies. The consultants strove to obtain statistical data, but also had to rely on more qualitative data such as information based on research or gathered via interviews. It should also be noted that in some cases the data obtained was inaccurate, and that information obtained from informants, research and statistical data is at times conflicting. We have noted these inaccuracies and inconsistencies in the report.



Wisdom, 8 and Komani, 11, Malawi
 PHOTO: KATE HOLT/ACTIONAID

The education landscape and privatisation

The evolution and landscape of private education

Privatisation of education can be understood as the process by which a growing proportion of the education system is owned, funded, or operated by non-State actors (Global Campaign for Education, 2016, p. 16). Another, more narrow definition of privatisation is “the transfer of activities, assets and responsibilities from government/public institutions and organizations to private individuals and agencies” (Belfield, 2002). In the present study, privatisation is looked at from both of these perspectives. Non-State or private education includes a vast range of different types of schools, including community schools, faith-based schools, for-profit schools as well as different models, where the public and private provision are mixed, such as public-private partnerships (PPPs). The following table gives a typology of different public and private education providers:

Table 2: Typology of public and private education providers:

<p>Private provision; private finance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private schools, including low-fee private schools • Home schooling • Non-subsidised NGO schools/learning centres, community schools and religious schools 	<p>Public provision; private finance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School fees or tuition fees in public schools • Individual philanthropy to public support schools • ‘Corporate Social Responsibility’ • Private sponsorship of public schools
<p>Private provision; public finance (PPPs)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vouchers for private schools • State subsidies or scholarships for private schools • Education service contracts • Private management of public schools • ‘Charter’ or ‘Free’ schools • Community schools, religious schools and NGO schools/learning centres with state subsidy 	<p>Public provision; public finance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government schools, without fees

(Global Campaign for Education, 2016, p. 16)

On a global scale, according to the 2016 Global Education Monitoring Report, “The share of private institutions in total enrolment was 13% in primary education in 2014, up from 10% in 2000 [...]. At the secondary level, the share increased from 19% in 2000 to 25% in 2014.” (UNESCO, 2016a, p. 187) These averages vary widely both across regions and countries, and for many countries, there is no official data available on the private sector. Household surveys tend to indicate higher levels of private schooling than official statistics (Ibid.). Private education has existed for many years in the form of community and faith-based schools, but many of these schools have today been taken over by governments. Private education run for-profit has also existed for a long time, but mostly limited to serving well-off elites of society. However, the number of for-profit private schools has grown in recent years, particularly the so-called ‘low-fee private schools’ aimed at poorer parts of the population. This diversity in the typology of schools is common, especially in low- and medium income countries, where the State does not fully ensure the right to education. That is also the case in the five countries analysed in this study, though there are significant differences between the countries in terms of the size of the private education sector and the role it plays.

With regards to Mozambique, Tanzania and Malawi private education at the primary level is low, with the State providing most of the education and community-, religious- or for-profit schools being rare. At the secondary level however, the share of privatisation reaches a significantly higher level in all three countries. In Tanzania, 94% of primary schools are public schools, catering for 96.6% of students. At the secondary level, though, 18.7% of students attend private schools (Government of Tanzania, 2016, pp. 79, 125). In Mozambique, primary enrolment in the private sector is even lower, representing only 1.5% of students. Private schools teach 10% of students in lower secondary education and 25-30% in higher secondary education.⁸ In Malawi, private sector schools that charge fees account for only 1.5% of enrolment at the primary level but 20% of enrolment at the secondary level (Hall & Mambo, 2015, p. 12). Whereas in Mozambique and Tanzania there is a tendency for private schools to be very expensive and elite, in Malawi there is a high diversity of private schools in all price ranges and with varying quality. The education systems in all three countries were put under pressure since 2000 with the focus on the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 2 to increase universal primary education. As education was made free at primary level, the massive increase in enrolment led to a decline in the quality of education (World Bank & UNICEF, 2009, p. 180). More recently, this has also led to serious challenges at the secondary level where there are not enough spaces to absorb children graduating from public primary schools. With growing demand and low quality, in these contexts the private sector found a niche where it could grow, especially at secondary level.

In Liberia, the situation is quite different, with State provision of education limited during decades of civil war until the peace in 2003; education was delivered by community schools and faith-based schools, many of which have now been taken over by the government (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2017, pp. 5, 39). In the past decade there have been mixed results in terms of education progress and challenges include over-age enrolment, high levels of out-of-school children, and low quality (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2016a, p. 17). According to data from the MoE Education Management Education System (EMIS 2015), in 2015/16 public schools made up only 46% of primary and 23% of secondary schools. Religious schools made up 14% of primary and 28% of secondary schools, while community schools represented only 6% of primary and 2% of secondary schools. For-profit private schools make up 41% of all schools, representing 35% of primary and 48% of secondary schools (Ministry of Education, Liberia, 2016b, p. 37). Data on expansion of the private sector is limited, but from 2008 to 2015, enrolment for grades 1-6 fell by 6% in public schools and 7% in community schools. At the same time, enrolment grew by 2% in religious schools and by 11% in for-profit private schools (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2016a, p. 59). In 2016, the government of Liberia launched Partnership Schools for Liberia (PSL) with the aim of finding new ways to improve learning outcomes through a 3-year pilot involving 93 primary schools and 8 private providers. Under this scheme, the schools are to remain fee free and government owned, and run with the support from government and private operators (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2017).

Nepal also has a high and growing share of private education. Public school education in Nepal developed with communities setting up their own schools and only from 1971 did the State take over the running of schools, but there is still a large part of community funding involved in some of these schools (Subedi, 2014, p. 113). According to Ministry of Education statistics, the number of schools in Nepal has grown by 2.7% from 34,747 in 2011 to 35,701 in 2015. Religious schools, already small in number, have seen a significant reduction from 4.6% to 2.5% of schools. The number of public schools has grown by 3.8% from 80.7% to 81.6% of schools. Over the same period the number of for-profit private schools grew by 11.2 %, from 14.7% to 15.9% of schools.⁹ However, if we look at the number of students enrolled, it gives a different picture. Whereas enrolments in public schools have fallen by 11% at primary level and increased by only 6% at secondary, enrolment in for-profit private schools has grown by 17% at primary level and by a remarkable 69% at secondary level.¹⁰ The share of enrolments in for-profit private schools has grown from 12% to 16% at primary level and from 15% to 22% at secondary level, bringing the average total share of private school enrolments in primary and secondary to 19% (Government of Nepal, 2015).

As shown here, the mix in the typology of schools in the countries studied varies greatly, with the share of schools in the category of ‘public provision; public finance’ being highest at primary level in Tanzania, Mozambique and Malawi, whereas the public sector in Nepal and Liberia makes up a significantly smaller share of total schools. As will be shown later however, even though public schools are in principle free, there are many costs involved for households. The typical non-state schools in the countries studied are in the category of ‘private provision; private finance’. However, a portion of private schools (most notably community schools in Nepal and to some extent non-state schools in Liberia) receive public subsidies and fall under the category of ‘private provision; public finance’. Examples of public-private partnerships are rare in all the countries studied, with the exception of the recently launched PSL initiative in Liberia.

Legal frameworks and regulation of the private education sector

According to international human rights law the private education sector should comply with regulations set by the State: “Private educational institutions should conform to the minimum educational standards established by the State (ICESCR 1966, Articles 13. 3 and 13.4; CRC 1989, Article 29.2). These minimum standards may relate to issues such as admission, curricula and the recognition of certificates, and must be consistent with the educational objectives set out by international law. Private educational institutions must provide an education of good quality, with respect to school environment, education contents and methods, and teachers’ status, among other aspects.” (Ron Balsera, 2016, p. 979) The United Nations Special Rapporteur on the right to education has recently called for States to set up regulatory frameworks for private education, centring on education as a public good that should include elements of prescriptive regulations, prohibitory measures to stop wrongful practices and punitive measures for providers, who do not comply (Singh, 2015, p. 22).¹¹ In 2016, the UN Human Rights Council followed this up with a resolution that reiterates the principle of education as a public good, and calls on Member States to put in place regulatory frameworks for education providers, maximise investment in public education and address the negative effects of private education (Global Campaign for Education, 2016, p. 41).

However, international research shows that state regulation of the private education sector in many countries is very limited. A review of more than 140 countries carried out in 2016 concluded, that “[...] the current regulation of private actors in education is largely non-existent, outdated or insufficient.” (Ron Balsera, 2016, p. 981)¹² The review sets up a framework for understanding the ‘regulation spectrum’ that exists in different countries, including three categories, that could be summarised as follows 1) Laws and policies non-existent or outdated; 2) Laws and policies in place, but often insufficient, out-of-date or contradictory; and 3) Effective laws and policies (Ron Balsera, 2016, pp. 982-983). The countries analysed in this study may be said to fall under the second category, as they all have legal frameworks in place to regulate the private education sector, usually the Education Act in some cases supplemented with additional directives, but the degree of oversight and enforcement of regulations is generally low.

In Liberia, in principle, all schools operate under the same laws and regulations, guided by the Education Act of 2001, but the monitoring capacity of the MoE is inadequate for public schools and even more so when it comes to non-state schools, as admitted here in the ESP from 2016: “MoE struggles to provide effective oversight of the private and faith-based school system. Managing, coordinating and evaluating multiple interventions to improve the quality of education, puts a strain on the MoE systems and human capacity” (Ministry of Education, Liberia, 2016b, p. 98). The low monitoring capacity of the MoE was confirmed by informants interviewed for this study.¹³

In Malawi, until 2010 many private schools operated without being registered.¹⁴ In 2009-2010 the government closed some 800 private schools because of poor standards. Those schools went to court to fight the decision, arguing that there were no legally established standards.¹⁵ Only in 2010 did the MoE take “a firm stand to enforce standards and adherence to minimum requirements for the operation of private schools”. After inspections, “55 of the 77 (inspected) private schools and one public school were closed down for their failure to comply with the minimum standards” (Ng’ambi, 2010, p. 7). In 2015 the MoE published the National Education Standards, which were compulsory for public and private schools (MoEST, 2015). Legal regulation of the private education sector is set up by Article 25 of the Constitution, which states that “Private schools and other private institutions of higher learning shall be permissible, provided that (a) such schools or institutions are registered with a State department in accordance with the law; (b) the standards maintained by such schools or institutions are not inferior to official standards in State schools”. The Education Bill 2012 does not include any kind of regulation of the private sector beyond the need to be registered at the Ministry of Education. The President of the Independent Schools Association of Malawi has publicly admitted that: “Private schools have run for five years now without being subjected to inspection exercises.”¹⁶

Private schools in Nepal are also regulated by the Education Act (from 1971), and are required to follow the same regulations as public schools as well as specific regulations for private schools, but there are many indications that they do not. According to a study carried out in 2011 in 132 private schools, a large section of private schools do not live up to general standards for teacher salaries, conditions and training, and schools also charge higher fees, than they are allowed, a situation also confirmed by most informants for this study (Subedi, 2014). In one case the lack of respect for regulations on schools fees by Nepalese private providers resulted in legal action: “This situation led the Nepali Supreme Court to issue an 11-point verdict on 23 May 2012 ordering private schools to not increase their fees for three years and to not charge any fees without the approval of the government agencies concerned. It also demanded that educational authorities devise reform programmes to better regulate the private school sector [...]. Following this court order, the Ministry of Education enacted the Institutional School Criteria and Operation Directives – 2069 BS, to enforce the court order. However, the Private and Boarding Schools’ Organisation of Nepal (PABSON) announced that it would not obey the guidelines, leading to another court case” (GI-ESCR et al, 2015, p. 5).

In Mozambique, in August 2014, the *Regulamento do Ensino Particular* (Regulation of Private Education) was approved. It establishes the rules and standards for opening a private school. The World Bank states that “operating standards are more demanding for private schools”, but we could not find any evidence to support this claim. At any rate, according to the same source, the government has no capacity to conduct an adequate inspection to guarantee a good provision of services in public or private schools (World Bank, 2015, p. 1).

In Tanzania, the private education sector is not regulated through specific rules. The same regulations that apply to the public sector must be followed, but the authorities have no real inspection capacity, and therefore there is no accurate information about the extent to which the regulations are respected. For example, in 2013 only 14% of pre-primary, 16% of primary and 18% of secondary schools were inspected (Government of Tanzania, 2014, p. 49). Currently, fees in private schools are regulated by article 57 of the Education Act, which requires the approval of the commissioner, but there is no monitoring in practice. Recently, the government has put some pressure on the private sector to control increases in fees.¹⁷ The new National Education Policy launched in February 2015 was supposed to regulate the arbitrary setting of fees by private schools to ensure quality of education and value

for money, but the regulations are still not in place. In 2016 the government tried to bar any fee increase, but private schools argued that they could not accept any non-negotiated fee structure.¹⁸ After protests by the Tanzania Association of Managers and Owners of Non-Government Schools and Colleges, the government decided not to impose any fee limitation, provided that justification for the increase is given.¹⁹

Factors driving the privatisation process

In all of the countries studied, the share of private education is expanding, though the extent of this expansion is very different from one country to another. This means, that privatisation defined as a growing proportion of the education system being operated by non-State actors is on the rise. However, privatisation as the transfer of activities, assets or responsibilities from the State to the private sector can be observed only in Liberia, in the sense that the State transfers activities and responsibilities, but no assets, under the PSL project.

The growth in private schooling can be driven by different forces, including both demand-side and supply-side factors (Belfield, 2002, pp. 29-32). The demand side includes parents' preference for private education based on their perception that it will offer better opportunities than the public sector in terms of quality, languages used in education, or a different type of value based education. The supply side factors may be low capacity of state schools, low education budgets, or lack of quality, leaving a gap for private providers to fill. Drivers may also include general pressures, such as pressure from donors for market economy measures to be implemented in education.

In the countries studied, supply side challenges were found to be the main reasons for the expansion of private education, confirmed both in secondary research and in interviews. The statement that: 'parents prefer private schools because they offer better quality' is cited again and again. In all countries, enrolment and completion of primary education has increased over the last decade, and as a consequence the demand for secondary education is growing. Furthermore, all countries experience a crisis in public education quality. This fact is to some extent an unintended consequence of the MDG focus on primary education enrolment, creating pressure to eliminate school fees and entrance requirements to public schools but without sufficient planning and budgeting to maintain and develop quality. In Tanzania and Mozambique the growth of the private sector is limited, privatisation is not widely debated and people prefer to talk of 'expansion of the private sector' rather than privatisation, and the choice is still limited to the upper and middle classes in quest for higher quality. In Nepal on the other hand, privatisation is hotly debated and there is general agreement among researchers as well as informants interviewed, that the public system suffers from stigmatisation, and parents from all socio-economic classes seek to send their children to private school, which has resulted in a system of private schools in different price ranges. In Nepal and in Tanzania another explanation related to the demand side, is added to this, namely the fact that parents prefer private schools because they use English as the medium of instruction (as opposed to Nepali in Nepal and Kiswahili in Tanzania used in most public schools).

Another supply side issue that is also central in explaining the growth in private schooling is the simple fact that in some areas, there are no available state schools. This is the case more often in rural areas, but with rapid urbanisation, is also increasingly a problem in certain areas of capital cities. The lack of available schools is even more significant at the secondary level, where the highest level of private sector growth is seen. In Tanzania, some of the private school enrolment at secondary level is due to the fact that students who do not pass the grade 7 school leaving exam are not accepted in the public secondary schools, and some of these students turn to the private sector instead. Whereas the need for education in rural areas is often met with private, not-for-profit initiatives as community and religious schools, the for-profit school growth is seen mainly in capital areas. This explanation is prevalent most prominently in Liberia, where non-profit private schools grew out of a demand for education and lack of public provision, leading to the setting up of community and religious schools, while the growth in for-profit private schools followed later and was also motivated by individuals' and companies' quest for profit.

In none of the countries studied were there any noticeable ‘general pressures’ observed from donors pushing countries to engage in privatisation of education systems or public-private partnerships. With regards to governments themselves, only Malawi and recently Liberia have been strong drivers of privatisation processes. In Malawi the government encourages privatisation, and the National Education Sector Plan 2008-2017 established among the priorities for secondary education, to increase the participation of the private sector by at least 10%. The expansion of the private sector is considered by the MoE as an opportunity to reduce the pressure on the government. Only the government in Liberia has recently engaged in a PPP, and this initiative has caused intense debate and widespread disapproval, not only in Liberia, but also on a global level from media, NGOs, teachers unions, researchers, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education and others (GI-ESCR, 2017a).

In, Mozambique, Tanzania and Nepal, and until recently Liberia, the overall tendency seems a laissez-faire attitude to the private sector, that has been allowed to spread and meet demands neglected by the State. Government representatives generally speak of the private sector as a complement to the public sector. A typical statement would be that, “We cannot avoid the participation of the private sector in education in those areas not reached by the State”.²⁰ In order to prevent multinational education companies from setting up in Mozambique, last year, the government laid down a prohibition to foreigners investing in private schools,²¹ but at the same time the Education Sector Plan (ESP) encourages more engagement by the private sector at secondary level from national based private providers and communities, mentioning that “conditions will be created to encourage greater contribution from private education”, and “by updating legislation and creating incentives for opening private schools” (MINEDH, 2012, p. 80).

The laissez-faire image may however look different underneath the surface. There are indications of economic and political interests overlapping, as in several countries private school owners are also politicians. In Nepal for example, according to many interviews, even though the government has no clear policies in relation to the growing trend of privatisation, private school owners have strong political ties and a number of Members of Parliament are private school owners, who openly seek to advance private education.²² A change to the Education Act in 2016 has put a stop to opening new for-profit schools, but the existing schools are still allowed to operate and expand, and thereby the existing school owners in fact benefit from the new law by eliminating competition from new private schools.²³



Rumphi, Malawi
PHOTO: ACTIONAID

1. Financing of the public and private education sector

Public education financing

Public education in the countries reviewed in this study is financed by governments, with substantial support from donors, but also contributions from households (in the form of fees and payment for other school-related expenses). The internationally recognized targets for public spending on education are for a minimum of 20% of total public expenditure and 6% of gross domestic product (GDP). In the five countries studied, there are large variations in the priority accorded to education and the extent to which governments meet these targets.

The five countries in the study are largely failing to meet their education commitments of allocating at least 20% of government spending and investment in education has generally not expanded in line with the large increases in enrolment in primary and secondary school. In 2013/14, Malawi spent 16.3% of its total budget to education and its allocation for 2016/17 was 17.45%. Since 2011, Mozambique's allocation to education has been in the region of 17-19%. Tanzania is spending around 17% of the government budget on education, and the budget has been static in recent years. Nepal's allocation to education has fallen in recent years, from 19.5% in 2010/11 to 16.1% in 2014/15 during 2009-2013 (UNESCO/IIEP-UIS, 2016). Of the five countries, Liberia has demonstrated the lowest dedication to education with the share of government expenditure to education averaging just 12% over the past six years. In 2015 government expenditure on education was 13.5% of the total budget, and 4.2% of GDP (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2016a).

There are also problems of the allocation of funds within the education budget in the five countries. In Tanzania, for example, the education ‘development’ budget, as opposed to the recurrent budget, is very low and highly dependent on donor funding. Most of the budget allocated to primary schools goes to pay teachers’ wages and there is little money available to provide essential books and other teaching and learning materials in schools. Similarly, in Malawi, there is also very little money in the education budget for development and investment projects since so much finances recurrent spending. Further, 25% of Malawi’s education budget goes to tertiary education even though only 1% of all learners are enrolled at that level. In Mozambique, only 7% of the 2013 education budget was available for investment while staff costs accounted for 70%. In all of the countries, a large percentage of the education budget is funded by external donors. This is particularly the case in Liberia, where over 50% of the education budget is funded by external donors. In Tanzania, donors fund approximately 46% of public education (HakiElimu, 2014a, p. 6). In Nepal, government funds only 55% of primary education and 27% of secondary education, while households, donors and NGOs fund the remaining part (UNESCO/IIEP-UIS, 2016, pp. 17-18).

A question for analysis was whether there is a correlation between the level of public spending on education and the growth in private education. While there are different factors driving privatisation, the strongest factor identified in this study was the poor quality of education and/or the limited availability of secondary education, so it may be expected that a high level of public education spending would work to limit the growth in private education. Malawi and Mozambique have relatively high public education spending and relatively low privatisation, at least at the primary level. In Tanzania, previously high levels of education funding may also help explain the limited growth in private schooling. In Nepal however, previously high levels of public education funding did not prevent private sector expansion (although the size of the budget relative to GDP was not high). There is a long tradition of private schools and they are closely associated with prestige and success and available for different socio-economic classes, which may be a factor in explaining why privatisation has been steadily growing. In Liberia, the low level of public education spending and lack of widespread public education provision is likely to be a factor in explaining the continued growth in private schools.

While the national budget in some countries is limited, one way to ensure better financing of education is to increase the overall national budget through improved taxation. In fact, “The Education for All Global Monitoring Report has documented that if governments in 67 low and middle-income countries modestly increased their tax-raising efforts and devoted a fifth of their budget to education, they could have raised an additional US\$153 billion for education spending in 2015, increasing the average share of GDP spent on education from 3 to 6% by 2015. Spending in Africa would have increased by over US\$27 billion. This increase would have more than doubled education spending per child, from US\$209 per year to US\$466 per year.” (ActionAid, 2017, p. 41) An ActionAid study from 2017 analysed education in Nepal, Mozambique, Malawi and Tanzania, and concluded that the four countries lose vast amounts of tax revenues, as summarised in the table below:

Table 3: Tax incentives revenue losses and how they could fund education

	Tax incentives revenue losses	The education it could fund
Malawi	Unclear since government does not publish a tax expenditure figure. Estimate for average during 2008-12: MK20 billion (\$117.6 million) a year.	Could increase the education budget by 27%
Mozambique	MT 17.6 billion (\$561 million) in 2014 (3.3% of GDP)	Could increase the education budget by 31%
Nepal	Rs106 billion (\$990 million) in 2014/15 (5% of GDP).	Could more than double the education budget
Tanzania	Tsh 1.32 trillion (\$760 million) (1.5% of GDP) in 2014/15.	Could increase the education budget by 28%

(ActionAid, 2017, p. 48)

Financing of the private education sector

In the countries reviewed in this study, private, non-profit community-run schools and faith-based schools receive government support to a varying degree in the form of subsidies, payment of teacher salaries, infrastructure etc. In addition, in both types of school parents pay user fees and other expenses, and community-run schools are often supported by community in-kind contribution in school construction and maintenance etc., while faith-based schools often receive support from private philanthropic associations or individuals. The for-profit schools however are usually run on user fees alone, and only in very few cases receive government subsidies. In Nepal, a very minimal funding goes to private schools in terms of scholarships to marginalised groups.²⁴ In contrast, in Liberia part of government funding to education goes to private schools (including for-profit schools). In 2015/2016 funding to private schools made up 6% of the total MoE budget, and these subsidies are in reality non-regulated, as expressed in the ESP: “The process of subsidy allocation is uncoordinated and rarely transparent. [...] even though subsidies are channelled through MoE and it has monitoring responsibilities, MoE does not have authority over the total amount of the subsidy expenditure.” (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2017, p. 97) In the new PPP, the government intends to fund \$50 per child, the same amount currently spent in public schools. In addition to this, the PSL schools will receive an extra \$50 per child in the first year raised from philanthropic foundations (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2017, p. 2). In Malawi, the so called “grant-aided schools” are faith-based schools owned by religious groups. The government pays the salaries of the teachers, and therefore those schools are considered public, despite being privately owned.²⁵

Household education expenditure

According ActionAid, on a global level, “While fee-free public primary schooling is enshrined in law in 135 countries, 110 still continue to charge some sort of fee”. Households contribute a much larger share of total expenditure on education in poorer countries than in richer countries. Among 50 low-, middle- and high-income countries in all regions with data for 2005–2012, household education spending accounted on average for 31% of the total. In almost a quarter of the countries, households spent more on education than governments (ActionAid, 2017, p. 22). Data on real cost of education for households is difficult to obtain, but household expenditure on education is considerable in all of the countries studied, and even though private education is more expensive, there are frequently substantial expenses involved for parents also when sending their children to public schools.

Public education is in theory free at primary level in all five countries, and in Nepal, Liberia and Tanzania also at secondary level. However, several countries still charge fees at secondary level. For example, in Malawi fees are still paid at secondary level (World Bank & UNICEF, 2009, p. 165). In September 2015, the government announced a cost-sharing policy in secondary education that would substantially increase the fees.²⁶ Public secondary school tuition fees per term would have increased from MK 500 (\$0.57) to MK 3,000 (\$3.5). In some cases, the government proposed a full cost-recovery policy. For example, the boarding fees of the National Government Secondary Schools were proposed to rise from MK 1,500 (\$1.7) to MK 25,000 (\$28.5) per term. An official document pointed out that the cost of those schools was MK 24,000 (\$27) per term.²⁷ The fees in grant-aided secondary schools, with boarding, would increase from MK 55,000 (\$62.5) to MK 65,000 (\$74) per term. The MoE justified the increases because schools did not have sufficient funds to pay for teaching and learning materials or running costs. The Secretary for Education “expressed hope that new changes will improve the quality of education and help to make available of all necessary resources in education”.²⁸ However, this proposal was rejected by parliament.²⁹ In Nepal, according to the interim constitution of 2017 public education should be free at both primary and secondary level (UNICEF, 2016a, p. 4). Public schools don’t charge fees from grades 1-10, but there is still a monthly fee for grades 11-12, according to the MoE often making it “difficult for poorer students to pursue further studies at secondary schools”, and the aim in the new plan is to eliminate these fees (Government of Nepal, 2016, p. 13). In community run schools, parents also pay indirectly via the community funding to schools. Furthermore, some schools also charge unofficial/illegal fees.³⁰

In addition, although education is supposed to be free, in all of the countries studied there are a number of costs associated with schooling at both primary and secondary level such as uniforms, transportation, meals and textbooks/school supplies and exam fees. For example, in Tanzania the legal commitment is to “12 years of free, publicly funded, equitable quality primary and secondary education”, but despite the legal framework and official declarations, parents still have to pay for “contributions”, such as uniforms, transportation, lunch, learning materials, maintenance, security, and exams. According to one study 9 out of 10 parents made a financial contribution to public education (Twaweza, 2016b, p. 3). The recent study carried out by ActionAid in Nepal, Malawi, Tanzania and Mozambique, also showed that households were paying a large range of expenses in all of the public schools included in the study (ActionAid, 2017).

The high number of school-related costs in public schools may be an additional factor in explaining parents’ preference for the private sector, based on the thinking that if they have to pay for education anyway, they may as well pay for private schooling. In private schools, parents pay school fees as well as other costs related to education, though these costs are often higher than in public schools. Private schools in the countries studied are very diverse, ranging from community-run rural schools, to faith-based schools of varying quality, as well as for-profit private schools that vary immensely in terms of both cost and quality. However, the differences between private schools are higher in countries with high levels of privatisation like Liberia and Nepal, and in Malawi, where private education is on offer at different price ranges for different socio-economic groups. Getting a precise picture of the number of schools in each of these ‘multi price range schools’, as well as the level of fees and quality offered is difficult. Even in Nepal, where education statistics on private schools are available and for-profit schools are by law classified into four categories, this information is not available or systematically reported at national level.³¹

According to studies in Nepal, households are financing 39% of primary and 48% of secondary education, either by contributing to community-run schools or paying for-profit private education (UNESCO/IIEP-UIS, 2016, pp. 17-18). According to one study, household expenditure is eight times higher for attendance at private primary schools compared to public primary schools, (respectively \$108 and \$12 per year), but this information does not take into account the different price ranges in private schools.³² The fees are regulated by the State, and depend on the classification of the school, as explained above. According to research the schools are allowed to charge as follows: “In Kathmandu, ‘C’ schools are authorised to charge a maximum of 1,100 Rupees (Rs) at the primary level, Rs 1,250 at the lower secondary level and Rs 1,700 at the higher secondary level. ‘B’ schools can charge up to Rs. 1,375 at the primary level, and ‘A’ schools up to Rs 1,600.” However, the State doesn’t enforce this regulation and schools often charge higher fees: “As a result, private schools fees can be very high. For instance, at Little Angels’, an average private school in Kathmandu, the costs for two months attendance for a primary level pupil amounts to Rs 7,417 [...], equal to approximately Rs 3,700 per month – without taking into account the inscription and other annual fixed fees. These figures are common for this type of school. As a comparison, the monthly minimum wage in Nepal, which is “barely sufficient to meet subsistence needs”, is Rs 8,000 (approx. \$80 USD).” (GI-ESCR et al, 2015, pp. 5-7)

In Liberia, non-State schools vary largely in terms of quality and cost, and whereas some schools attract high income families, other private schools are low-cost and aimed at poorer sections of the population. According to MoE information, on average for-profit and non-profit schools charge \$48-50 per year for primary students and \$71-76 for junior secondary (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2016a, p. 176). The ESP also cites a study on overall annual household education expenditure from 2014, whereby in the poorest families in income quintile, 54% pay up to \$24, whereas in the richest quintile, only 6% pay this amount. 98% of quintile 1 pays up to \$120, and only 2% in that group pay more than that. For the richest quintile 43% pay up to \$120 while 57% pay more, with 10% paying over \$360 (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2016a, p. 177).

Private schools in Tanzania have been charging tuition fees and other contributions to parents without any regulation. There is a wide range of different fees, but they are all very high compared to the purchase capacity of the

population. Fees can go from \$1,000/year for a community school to \$17,000/year for an international school.^{33, 34} There are very few low-cost private schools in Tanzania.³⁵ The representative of ISAMA (Independent Schools Association of Malawi) said that it is not possible to offer a good quality education by charging low fees and as demand has been growing, prices have grown too.³⁶ Private schools are autonomous in setting teacher salaries and in hiring and dismissing teachers.

In Malawi, according to the World Bank, private out-of-pocket contributions have been estimated at 1.8% of GDP in 2010-11 and 3.5% in 2012-13 (World Bank, 2016, p. 16). This includes fees in secondary, technical, and higher educational institutions, as well as the extra costs borne by the families of primary school children. Other private schools can cost from MK 50,000 per term (\$57) in individual-owned private schools to MK 1 million (\$1,135) per term at international schools. The individual-owned private schools are often criticised for not offering a quality education.³⁷ The proprietors determine the fees without any restriction or control by the government.³⁸ Given the levels of poverty in Malawi, private schools are only affordable for the middle and upper classes.³⁹ However, all the informants interviewed for this research stated that they send their children to private schools.

In Mozambique, some for-profit private schools are expensive and affordable only by the elite, and they offer an education of very good quality. Private international schools using the Cambridge curriculum, for instance, charge some MT 190,000 (about \$2,220) per year in primary education, and around MT 210,000 to 230,000 (\$2,425 to \$2,650) per year for secondary education. Private schools using the Mozambican curriculum charge MT 60,000-80,000 (\$700 to \$925) per year. Some of them are just small businesses seeking profit.⁴⁰ Community schools, whose teachers' salaries are paid by the government, charge MT 2,500 (\$30) per month for the last year of primary education, and MT 3,000 (\$35) for the second year of lower secondary education. Indirect costs can be around MT 10,000 per year (\$120). Thus, there is a wide range of fees. According to our informants, there are concerns about the regulation of community schools which, despite being funded by the government, essentially operate as low-fee private schools, with little oversight by the authorities.⁴¹



Kaski, Nepal.
PHOTO: ACTIONAID

2. The effects of privatisation on the right to education

Education is a human right, enshrined in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights from 1948, and confirmed by a number of later human rights conventions. The State has the obligation to ensure and guarantee the right to education for its citizens, on the basis of principles of equality and non-discrimination, while at the same time it also recognizes the freedom of parents to choose the type of education for their children.⁴² An article from 2016 distinguished between these two dimensions of the right to education in terms of the ‘social equality’ aspect and the ‘freedom’ aspect (Ron Balsera, 2016). *The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (ICESCR), from 1966, on the one hand reaffirms the States obligation to ensure the right to education, while also acknowledging the right to choose: “The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to choose for their children schools, other than those established by the public authorities, which conform to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State and to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.”⁴³

It should be underlined, though, that this freedom is not unlimited and in particular should not lead to discrimination, as emphasized in several international human rights instruments.⁴⁴ The United Nations Special Rapporteur on the right to education, Kishore Singh, has raised serious concerns about the trends in privatisation, and in particular, what he refers to as the ‘commercialisation of education’ in contrast to education as a ‘public good’ (Singh, 2015,

p. 3). Whereas he recognizes the ‘freedom aspect’ of the right to education as well as the positive role played by many faith-based, community and civil society run schools in promoting the right to education, he is very clear in condemning for-profit education as undermining this right (Singh, 2015, p. 11). The growth of the private sector affects the attainment of the right to quality education for all in various ways. Fees and other costs limit access to private education for the poorer parts of the population. Public and private schools differ in terms of quality of education, teacher conditions and other aspects. Furthermore, the growth in private education also influences the provision of public education. The following section examines some of these dimensions in the five countries reviewed for this study.

Education quality

Education quality is a complex issue that depends on a range of factors, such as teacher training, conditions and supervision, infrastructure, teaching materials, languages used in education, and school management. The data on these parameters in private schools is generally scarce, and data is not disaggregated by the different types of schools in the very heterogeneous private education sector. A 2014 comprehensive review by DFID included an assessment of the extent to which private schools offer better quality education than public schools (Day Ashley, 2014, p. 24). So did another recent review of research on private education conducted by the Global Campaign for Education in 2016 (Global Campaign for Education, 2016). Both studies underline the difficulty of assessing the quality of education, which is often too narrowly assessed only in terms of exam pass rates.

However, as pointed out by the Incheon Declaration: Education 2030, quality is a much broader concept: “Quality education fosters creativity and knowledge, and ensures the acquisition of the foundational skills of literacy and numeracy as well as analytical, problem-solving and other high-level cognitive, interpersonal and social skills. It also develops the skills, values and attitudes that enable citizens to lead healthy and fulfilled lives, make informed decisions, and respond to local and global challenges through education for sustainable development (ESD) and global citizenship education (GCED)” (UNESCO, 2016).

Another complication also highlighted in both reviews, is that results in terms of learning outcomes and exam scores are also highly dependent on the family background of students, the level of parents’ education and their resources, and research that controls for bias in terms of parents’ socio-economic background is rare. The overall conclusion from both reports is, that there is insufficient evidence to conclude that private schools have higher quality than public schools.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, the issue of quality holds a central place in debates around the privatisation of education, dissatisfaction with public schools and the belief that private schools offer better quality is one of the main reasons for parents to aspire to send their children to private schools (Day Ashley, 2014, p. 30). All countries reviewed in this study struggle with public sector education quality, to the extent that one may talk of a ‘quality-crisis’ in public schools. Fully comparing and understanding quality differences between in the public and private sectors however would require a comprehensive set of disaggregated data on different types of schools that is not available and very little in-depth research exists on this issue in the countries reviewed. In this section, we will look into a selection of indicators and draw out some differences between public and private schools, bearing in mind that it will not be possible to come to any solid conclusions on these questions within the scope of this study.

In Nepal the overall completion-rates at primary level are low (57.7%) and survival to the last grade only 11.5% (Government of Nepal, 2016, pp. 125-132). The School Leaving Certificate, at the end of secondary has an overall pass rate of only 61.8%, with a public sector pass rate of only 33.7% compared to 89.9% in the private sector (Government of Nepal, 2015). A number of researchers explain these higher pass rates in private schools by better infrastructure, equipment and school books; accountability to the users; close monitoring of teachers; higher teacher motivation and attendance; frequent interaction between parents and teachers. Another important factor

is the background and motivation of parents and students. Parents who send their children to private schools are usually better off and higher educated and better able to support their children.⁴⁶ However, exam scores is only one way to assess quality. According to interviews carried out for this study, exams in Nepal are very textbook based, and do not give a full picture of the skills, cognitive and social development of students. A large number of informants pointed out, that students in public schools acquire better skills in for example participation, creativity, social interaction, community engagement and sports.⁴⁷ A number of the informants also pointed out that private schools are very exam focussed in order to show good results and be able to attract more students. This implies using rote learning and putting students under psychological pressure and stress in order to obtain results, and at times also physical punishment.⁴⁸

In Tanzania and in Mozambique, where private schools are mostly expensive and limited to serving the elite, informants felt that in general, private schools offer a good quality education. For many children in Tanzania, attending a public schools does not equate to learning; in 2011, the government recognised that “There is a major problem with quality in primary education” (Ministry of Finance and Development, Tanzania, 2011, p. vii). One study notes that just over 50% of all children at the end of the primary cycle were able to read a Standard 2 level English story (HakiElimu, 2015b, p. 8). According to the informants, the quality of private schools is generally higher. The physical infrastructure in public schools is often in a poor state, with “dirty and cracked walls, non-cemented floors and classrooms with poor ventilation” (HakiElimu, 2014b, p. 12). The same report mentions that “the situation was very different in private schools”, where maintenance is regularly done and where all essential services, such as electricity, water, and latrines are available. In many cases, functional laboratories and libraries are available, which it is not the case in secondary public schools. Teachers’ use of visual aids, e.g. wall charts, is common in private schools, but not in public schools where teaching materials are often in short supply. However, the study analysed just a few expensive for-profit private schools, whereas, in many private community schools the situation is largely comparable to that in public schools (HakiElimu, 2014b, pp. 12-21).

One of the main challenges in Mozambique is the quality of public schools. A survey conducted by the National Institute for Educational Development (INDE) in 2015 indicated that only 6.3% of students in Grade 3 could read. If quality does not improve in public schools in the short-term, more children will be “pushed” to the private sector, because there is a general perception that private schools are of better quality⁴⁹: They tend to offer better infrastructure (including water and sanitation facilities, laboratories and libraries), a result-based management, low pupil-teacher ratios (average of 25:1 vs 50:1 in primary public schools), more teaching and learning materials, and better supervision of teachers. For-profit private schools, accessible only to a small section of the population, tend to do better in terms of exam results.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, some informants questioned the belief that education is better in private schools. They argue that private schools have an interest in passing students to the next year, and the parents expect their children to pass, since they are paying. Although in general private schools offer better standards in terms of infrastructure, pupil-teacher ratios, teaching hours, and learning materials, their recent fast growth and for-profit motivation is leading many private schools to neglect quality by hiring unqualified teachers and increasing pupil-teacher ratios.

In Malawi, the government has recognised “the low quality of primary education which has also negatively affected the learning outcomes, learner retention, promotion rates to upper classes and the transition rate to secondary education” (Government of Malawi, 2013). According to our key informants, including MoE directors, private schools generally offer better-quality education. International schools have excellent facilities and well-trained teachers. Religious for-profit schools have a good reputation and offer a good quality education (Chimombo, 2014, p. 19). However, the MoEST also reported the existence of some small for-profit private schools owned by entrepreneurs mostly concerned with maximizing profit and paying little attention to the quality of the education provided.⁵¹ Some of the arguments presented to explain the better quality in private schools are related to higher responsibility and accountability, as the owner cares about the facilities and the school in general. Private schools tend to be more result-oriented, since is the criteria that many families look at when choosing schools. According to a MoE Director, good results in private schools are also a consequence of the background of the children who

attend them, linked to their socio-economic status and parental involvement.⁵² The results of the Malawi School Certificate of Education (MSCE) indicate that private schools are performing much better than Community Day Secondary Schools (CDSS), but Conventional Secondary Schools (CSS), which are also public, are doing as well as private schools. For instance, according to the Malawi National Examinations Board the 2012 results in Mathematics are quite similar in private schools and in CSS; however, results in CDSS are much lower (Chimombo, 2014, p. 46).

Education quality is a challenge also in the education system in Liberia with low learning outcomes, and declining pass rates at school leaving exams. There was a difference in pass rates when comparing the public and the private sector in 2014. Boys had a pass rate of 57% in public schools and 68% in private schools, while the girls had a pass rate of 48% in public schools and 62% in private schools (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2016a, p. 92). Average pupil teacher ratios (PTR) are generally higher in public and community schools, with PTR in public schools at an average 38:1 compared to 29:1 in community schools, 21:1 in for-profit schools and only 19:1 in religious schools (Ministry of Education, Liberia, 2016c). However, these indicators are not sufficient to provide a real understanding of quality differences. The recent PSL initiative is an example of the belief that the private sector may function as a catalyst for improving quality within the whole education system. However, it is questionable whether the private providers selected for the PSL are actually capable of delivering better models. The three largest providers⁵³ have no previous experience of working in education in Liberia, and have faced criticism for their way of operating and the quality of education they provide in other countries.⁵⁴ Recently the largest provider BIA was banned from operating in Uganda, according to a statement from the Minister of Education in Uganda, for not following agreed regulations, and that issues raised of “not having trained teachers, no approved curriculum, substandard infrastructure etc., were not being addressed. If anything, the situation got worse to the extent that the health and safety of the learners were put at risk as evidenced by the over flowing pit latrines.”⁵⁵ In February 2017 a similar case was raised in Kenya, where BIA is accused of not meeting education standards, including ensuring the employment of trained teachers and appropriate facilities (GI-ESCR, 2017b).

A particular trait of private education in Nepal and in Tanzania is that the private schools use English as the medium of instruction, whereas the public sector uses Nepali and Kiswahili respectively (in both countries the largest language, but not the mother tongue of all citizens). English as medium of instruction in private schools is seen as an important factor for parents when choosing to send their children to private schools, a tendency according to research also found in other countries (Day Ashley, 2014, p. 31). In Tanzania, private schools are hiring foreign teachers from Kenya and Uganda, who do not always have a teacher certificate, but tend to have a better level of English. In Nepal and in Tanzania parents’ preference for English language was explained by informants by the fact that parents believe it will give children better job opportunities, both in country and abroad. Other informants raised questions as to whether the full cognitive development of children is taking place with the use of a foreign language of instruction from early age and also if the proficiency in the official language is sufficiently developed for both work and further studies.

Teachers

Paradoxically in all the countries studied, private schools have a better image in terms of quality, while at the same time there is a tendency for teachers in the private sector to be less qualified. This finding is confirmed by other international research that shows a general tendency for teachers in private schools to be less qualified, have lower salaries and poorer working conditions and be hired on contract basis (Day Ashley, 2014, p. 22).

In Liberia, the percentage of trained teachers in 2015/16 in all types of schools was only of 47.7% for primary level and 33.9% for secondary level (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2016a, p. 41). Public schools have the highest percentage of qualified teachers, namely 67%, followed by for-profit private schools with 61%, whereas religious schools have 58% and community schools only 56%. Average pupil-teacher ratios (PTR) are

generally higher in public and community schools, with PTR in public schools at an average 38:1 compared to 29:1 in community schools, 21:1 in for-profit schools and only 19:1 in religious schools (Ministry of Education, Liberia, 2016c). In Tanzania, there is a common perception among informants interviewed, that teachers are better qualified in the private sector. However, the two professional teaching institutions⁵⁶ interviewed claimed that this is not the case, and that teachers are all certified and in general better qualified in the public sector. Material conditions of teachers in private schools seem to be worse than in public schools: private school teachers are not better trained, they rarely receive in-service training, and their salaries are usually lower than in public schools. However, according to our informants, they get promotions if they obtain good results, they are motivated by the managers, and they teach in a better learning environment.⁵⁷

A particular issue observed in Tanzania and, especially in Mozambique, was the fact that due to low teacher salaries in the public sector, teachers often work in both schools, signing in to the public school but then going to teach in a private school, with the result that teacher absenteeism in the public schools is very high (Wane & Martin, 2015). Although the government in Mozambique is aware of this situation, no measure has yet been taken to end this practice.⁵⁸ In Malawi, only 52% of secondary school teachers are trained and 48% are untrained. Out of those who are qualified, 74% are males and 26% females. 49% of teachers in CDSS are trained, compared with only 28% in private secondary schools (EMIS, 2015). Teachers in the private sector are thus generally less qualified than those in the public sector. The Education Act 2012 decreed that 100% of teachers must be qualified, but in many private schools only 50% of them are qualified (or even certified). For the time being, the MoEST is accepting this lack of compliance.⁵⁹ According to a civil society representative, private schools conduct regular assessments of their teachers, but this is not the case in public schools, where there is a lack of accountability mechanisms.⁶⁰

In Nepal, the conditions of teachers in private schools are significantly inferior to those in the private sector, both in terms of level of training, salaries and working conditions. In 2015, 94% of teachers in public primary schools were trained, compared with 87% in private schools (Government of Nepal, 2015). According to a study carried out in 132 private schools, only 20% of private school teachers received the government determined salary. In many schools, salaries were 50-60% lower, and there were no promotion facilities, job security, paid leave or incentives for training (Subedi, 2014, p. 117). These less attractive conditions of teachers in the private sector were confirmed also by informants for this study.⁶¹ Teachers in the private sector are hired on fixed term contracts and are closely monitored by schools and required to deliver results in terms of exam rates. Most teachers in the public system are in permanent positions and are rarely fired regardless of their performance. Teaching positions in the public sector are generally more attractive, and those who chose the private schools may do this to avoid moving to other areas, because they have no other job, or have insufficient training to be accepted for employment in the public schools (Upadhyay, 2016, pp. 13-14).

The effect of privatisation on public schools

One way in which private education impacts public education is that governments may see its expansion as a relief from the burden of providing education for all. For example, an interview in the MoE in Mozambique revealed a perception that with the expansion of private schools reducing the pressure of the increasing demand for education, the ministry was allowed to concentrate on marginalised and rural populations.⁶² In Liberia, the government-launched PSL initiative is also an example of the thinking that the private sector may solve problems that the public sector cannot. The PSL pilot was designed with the expressed aim to develop a model for improved numeracy and literacy outcomes that can serve to scale up and expand improvements to the whole education system. Furthermore, the idea is that PSL will introduce more competition among all types of schools encouraging them to improve quality (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2017, p. 7). However, as shown above, it is uncertain whether the PLS will be able to do this and there are already clear indications that this model may have a negative impact on the right to education for all children. So far, the pilot has in fact led to

some negative consequences for public schools. In the schools taken over by BIA a cap was introduced limiting class sizes to 55 and only one class per grade. This meant that a number of students previously enrolled in these schools were denied access and, in areas where no other school was available, some of them ended up out-of-school. In other cases, nearby schools who took in these children ended up with overcrowded classrooms (COTAE, 2017, p. 10).

Another major concern, in terms of privatisation's effect on public schools, is that as the students from most well educated and resourceful homes are increasingly attending private schools, the expansion of private schools is weakening the public system by leaving behind the most disadvantaged children, requiring more care and additional resources. In all countries, informants expressed a concern, that this process further damages the image of the public school. This concern is very strong for example in Nepal, where public schools and the students attending them are being increasingly stigmatised. As in one study from Nepal, a parent explained: "We feel embarrassed to send them to the government school... let's say things as they are... people who are of lower status than us—even poor people—are going hungry and sending their children to private schooling." (GI-ESCR et al, 2015, p. 12)

Privatisation and social segregation

International research points to the fact that private schools, even supposedly 'low-fee' schools, are not affordable to all, in fact they are not affordable to most poor people.⁶³ Even when some poor families manage to send their children to fee-paying schools, this often means huge sacrifices and risk to household economies, including increasing inequalities within the household, prioritising some children before others.⁶⁴ The United Nations Special Rapporteur on the right to education, has raised concerns in particular on the segregating effect of for-profit private education, and the fact that this undermines the right to education based on the principles of non-discrimination and equal opportunity: "Inequalities in opportunities for education will be exacerbated by the growth of unregulated private providers of education, with economic condition, wealth or property becoming the most important criterion in access to education. States have obligations to ensure that the liberty of providing education set out in article 13 (4) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights does not lead to extreme disparities of educational opportunity for some groups in society." (Singh, 2015, p. 10)

Private education is generally less accessible to the poorest part of the population, and this was also evidenced in the present study. The cost of private schooling is in itself a major factor contributing to social segregation across all countries studied. To the extent that the medium and high end private school produce better quality, not least exam results, the students attending these schools are better off when it comes to pursuing further studies and job opportunities, and thereby the already privileged gain further advantages. In that respect, the higher quality of private schools further deepens the segregation already produced by privatisation in terms of socio-economic and rural/urban divides. Another feature related to privatisation that contributes to segregation is the discourse that increasingly portrays the public sector as of poor quality, a place for people who cannot afford to pay for private education, a problem raised by several informants interviewed for this study. Real or imagined, regardless of whether the image is true or not, the mere fact that public schools and its students increasingly become stigmatised further contributes to segregation.

In Liberia, a Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire analysis carried out in 2010 showed that children in urban areas and children from the highest two income quintiles were more than twice as likely to attend private or religious primary schools compared to children in rural areas and the lowest two income quintiles. Furthermore nearly 60% of urban children (aged 6-14) attended private or religious schools compared to slightly below 30% of rural children.⁶⁵ Over 50% percent of enrolled children from Q4 and Q5 households were in private schools, compared to less than 10% of enrolled children from Q1 and Q2 households (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2016a, p. 60). However, with the recent growth in private education, and in particular the phenomenon

of low-fee schools, this picture may be somewhat different today with more children from lower income quintiles attending low-fee private schools of varying quality. The high prevalence of private, fee charging schools in Liberia, where private schools make up 41% of all schools, represents a problematic social segregation, where those who can pay go to private schools, whereas those who cannot go to public school (Ministry of Education, Liberia, 2016b, p. 37). The different price range schools furthermore divide students into different categories, according to what they are able to pay.

In Nepal, a National Standard of Living Survey from 2010/11 clearly showed that the wealthiest families were the main users of private education. Almost half of the pupils enrolled in private schools belong to the 20% richest quintile of the population, while 50% of the pupils enrolled in government schools belong to the two poorest quintiles of the population (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011, p. 99). However, no similar data exists for 2014/15 and as we do not know to what extent the growth in private schools has been on the low-fee school end, we cannot see if this picture is still the same today. Private schools exist in different price ranges targeting different social groups, and those groups who cannot afford private education normally attend public schools. Many researchers express their concern about the fact that the more resourceful students leave the public schools: “A major consequence of private sector growth has been middle class flight, which has left many public schools with a concentration of socioeconomically disadvantaged students. Private schools have become valuable as a social differentiator, which makes public school stigmatization a long-term concern for education systems.” (Joshi, 2016, pp. 6-8) And: “The argument that the existence of a dual education system (consisting of private schools for the rich and public schools for the poor) is leading to a gradual pauperization of public schools (not in the sense that public schools are actually getting poorer but rather that they are becoming places where the poor study) is becoming more and more common-sense knowledge in Nepal.” (Bhatta & Budathoki, 2013, p. 23)

Tanzanian society is undergoing a polarisation process in education, which HakiElimu describes as a “dual education system which is creating two kinds of citizens” (HakiElimu, 2015a, p. 16). The middle and upper classes are not making use of public education because of its perceived poor quality, and the majority of poor pupils attend public schools, which in many regions are suffering from high pupil-teacher ratios and poor quality learning. Tanzania has reached the point where public education is stigmatised.⁶⁶ It is interesting to note how many informants who studied in public schools in the 1970s and 1980s pointed out that at that time public education was good, and it was private schools that were stigmatised, as they were attended by less academic students. Several informants declared that this increasing polarisation could lead to a fracture in society.

In Mozambique, the middle classes have lost confidence in public schools.⁶⁷ This is creating a polarisation in Mozambican society, where public education is starting to be seen as catering only for poor people. This situation could lead to the State’s disengagement from its obligations in education, since the more empowered middle class is not demanding improvements and holding the state to account. According to one NGO informant, the government managed to change the mentality in the communities. As public schools were neglected by the State, families ended up paying fees for the guards, to build the latrines, etc. The message from the first government post-independence was that education is the responsibility of everybody: not only the State, but also families.⁶⁸ Now many families feel pride in paying for guards and latrines, as they think they also must fund the education system, this attitude in turn makes it more likely for them to decide to send their children to private schools, provided they can afford it. If the government of Mozambique is not capable of improving the quality of public education, the expansion of the private sector could accelerate, exacerbating the polarisation and the social segregation of society in Mozambique.

In all the countries reviewed in this study, the vast majority of for-profit private schools are situated in the capital area. This trend could be seen as exacerbating the urban / rural divide and social stratification, with urban children having a much higher chance of being enrolled in a private school. In Nepal, 26.8% of public schools are situated in the Central District covering Kathmandu and the surrounding district, whereas this is the case for 41.4% of for-profit schools (Government of Nepal, 2015). In Liberia, 34% of all schools are situated in the capital

area Montserrado, but only 5% of all public schools are in this area compared with 71% of all for-profit private schools, 59% of religious schools and 18% of community schools (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2016a, p. 10). In Mozambique, all for-profit private schools are in urban areas, especially in the capital Maputo and surroundings.⁶⁹ This is an indication that the expansion of private schools does not help increase enrolment in remote and rural areas, most in need of improved access to education.

Finally, the issue related to the use of languages in education in Tanzania and in Nepal, where private schools offer English as medium of instruction, while other languages are in use in the public may also contribute to dividing the population. In Tanzania, 68% of the population works in agriculture⁷⁰, and English may not be useful for their future. However, this can dig deeper on a dangerous trend of polarization, where middle and upper classes run the government and the formal economy, living in urban areas and using English as the main language, whilst poor and marginalised communities live in rural areas and learn in Kiswahili.



School friends, Malawi
PHOTO: SAMANTHA REINDERS/ACTIONAID

3. The effects of privatisation on girls' education

Gender equality and education

On a global level, with the Education for All agenda from 2000-2015, significant progress has been made towards gender parity in primary and secondary education. According to the Gender Summary of the Global Education Monitoring Report, in 2015, gender parity in both primary and secondary education had been achieved in 62% of countries. However, disparity remains in many regions as well as within countries, and girls overall constitute 62% of the world's out-of-school children. In 34% of countries, gender disparity exists at the primary level and it is in favour of boys in more than 80% of these countries. Gaps are particularly high in Western Asia, where 95 girls are enrolled for every 100 boys and even more so in Sub-Saharan Africa where only 93 girls are enrolled for every 100 boys. In secondary education, the picture is more complex, and while girls lag behind in some countries, boys do so in others. Gender disparity is at the expense of girls in lower secondary education in nearly 60% of countries, but in upper secondary only in 43% of countries. Gender disparity when correlated with poverty becomes remarkably more significant: in Sub-Saharan Africa, gender parity exists among the richest 20% who have completed primary education, but among the poorest 20%, only 83 females completed primary education for every 100 males, dropping to 73 for lower secondary and 40 for upper secondary. However, gender disparity among the poorest is not always in favour of boys, as for example in some countries in Eastern and South-eastern Asia, girls have a higher rate of participation at secondary level. The rural/urban divide correlated with gender also shows, that in some countries, this rural discrimination is further enhanced with gender, but also here it varies from one context to another if rural girls or boys are the most disadvantaged (UNESCO, 2015, pp. 3-17).

Gender inequality is widespread in all of the five countries reviewed for this study. The Gender Gap Report for 2015 (ranking 145 countries in the world) ranks Mozambique quite high at number 27, Tanzania and Malawi somewhat lower at 49 and 68 respectively, and Nepal and Liberia at 110 and 120. However, for educational attainment, Nepal ranks at 122, Malawi at 124, Tanzania at 126, Mozambique at 129 and Liberia at 136 (World Economic Forum, 2015, pp. 8-9). In many contexts, girls still have a lower status than boys and are expected to take on traditional roles as housewives and mothers, and so less value is placed on their education. Girls are also more likely to get married earlier and/or get pregnant, and therefore drop out of school. In addition, harmful practices such as seclusion during menstruation, initiation rituals, female genital mutilation, sexual violence and harassment - also taking place at school - further hinders girls' access and completion of education. Gender parity in all countries is higher at the primary level, but there are vast differences between rural and urban settings with significantly higher level of gender equality in education in the cities.

International data and research on privatisation and girls' education

The relation between privatisation of education and girls' education has not been subject to much research, but a few international resources exist, summarising general findings on the theme. A 2014 review by DFID included an assessment of the extent to which private schools are equally accessed by boys and girls. The overall finding was that, "Most of the evidence reviewed indicates that girls are less likely to access private schools than boys. However, the evidence is context specific with a minority of studies finding that in certain contexts private school may reduce the gender gap that is found in State schools." (Day Ashley, 2014, p. 24) The review revealed different explanations for the gender differences, in some areas poverty led to fewer girls enrolling in private and the level of gender equality in particular cultures contributed to differing levels of girls' enrolment in private schools. According to another recent review of private education by the Global Campaign for Education, there have been indications for some time that privatisation involving school-fees may negatively affect girls' education. In 2009, UNESCO warned that low-fee schools saw "*significant gender disparities*". The publication also cites several studies showing that poor girls are less likely to be enrolled in private education than boys (Global Campaign for Education, 2016, p. 27).

Another report that looks specifically into the relation between girls' education and privatisation was submitted by a number of organisations in 2014 to a discussion at the *United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)*. The overall conclusion of that report was that: "Our global consultations have highlighted that privatization in and of education has specific negative consequences for women and girls." The report cites warnings from various organisations (Save the Children, Oxfam, etc.) that privatisation and the associated introduction of user fees in education poses a serious risk to girls' education, and recalls that: "the United Nations Girls' Education Initiative (UNGEI) has highlighted, free schooling may be the "*single most important policy measure*" to ensuring that girls (as well as boys) are able to access education." (Right to Education Project et al., 2014, pp. 1-5). This general concern, that the cost involved in fee paying private education is hindering girls' education, was also confirmed by interviews with key resource persons carried out for this study.⁷¹ Similarly, a review of human rights bodies' statements on private education over two years included remarks expressing concern about priority given to boys in private education in a number of countries, especially in rural areas (GI-ESCR, 2016). The United Nations Special Rapporteur on the right to education has also expressed warnings that: "Privatization in education also has repercussions on girls' right to education, as families prioritize the education of boys over girls" (Singh, 2015, p. 10).

The CEDAW report also highlights other discriminatory aspects of privatisation that may hinder girls' education. Under the CEDAW conventions, "State parties are also obligated to ensure that there is no direct or indirect gender discrimination in their laws, policies and practices, ensuring that women and girls are protected against discrimination — including by private actors". But with the low monitoring of the private education sector, there is a risk that States do not live up to this obligation. According to the report, "Lack of accountability of private

schools and their staff is also a problem with gender specific dimensions. For example, concern has been raised that private schools discriminate against pregnant girls such as in Liberia where private schools many times expel pregnant girls. Even in cases where there is an apparently firm government policy prohibiting the expulsion of pregnant girls, it may not extend to private schools where oftentimes the government lacks adequate enforcement and monitoring mechanisms. In many countries... the government lacks the capacity and/or political power to regulate private schools, creating an education jungle in which abuses are frequently unreported. Similarly, private schools may not be held accountable when private school officials abuse girls... Lack of transparency and oversight might also be reflected in some private providers not having safe, clean and separate toilet facilities for girls and boys, not using gender-sensitive teaching and learning materials.” (Right to Education Project et al., 2014, pp. 7-9)

Although the expansion of private education does in general seem to put girls’ education at risk, there are also examples of private schools that demonstrate high levels of gender equality. The GCE study highlights examples, where private schools were able to promote girls’ education through special initiatives: A school in Kenya asks parents to sign an agreement that their daughters will not undergo female genital mutilation or early child marriage, and a school in Ghana takes in-kind contributions of parental time rather than fees paid fully in cash (Global Campaign for Education, 2016, p. 29). A search on the *Center for Education Innovations* web site matching ‘girls education’ with ‘low cost private schools’ and ‘public-private partnerships’ showed 25 projects supposedly using innovative ways to promoting gender equality.⁷² The existence of ‘good practice models’ for promoting gender equality in private schools was also highlighted by key international level informants interviewed for this study, though they also admitted that these were probably exceptions rather than the rule, the private status of a school may provide some flexibility in terms of innovation, and open the way for committed individuals in charge of these schools to promoting gender equality.⁷³

Enrolment and progress of girls in the education system

In the five countries studied, gender parity has been achieved in terms of enrolment at primary level and in some countries also in enrolment at secondary level and, at times, girls’ enrolment is actually slightly higher than that of boys. When we compare the public and private sectors, the trends in gender equality vary significantly from one country to another.

In Nepal, enrolment and completion rates for girls and boys are almost the same at both primary and secondary level, but boys are clearly prioritised when it comes to private education (Government of Nepal, 2016, pp. 125-132). In 2015, girls represented 52% of primary and 53% of secondary school students, but in the private sector they made up only 43% of primary and 44% of secondary students.⁷⁴ According to research and also largely confirmed by our informants, the significantly lower level of girls in private schools can be explained by the fact that many parents cannot afford to pay for schooling for all of their children, and if they are to prioritise between boys and girls, they chose to send the boys to private school. Several informants for this study also expressed it this way: “The parents do not want to pay for the girls’ education as they will be married off, and their investment will belong to another family” (GI-ESCR et al, 2015, p. 11). There is evidence that girls attending private schools do much better in the school leaving exam than their public school counterparts. However, the data is not disaggregated according to the socio-economic background of the pupils or the type of private school (elite or low-cost).⁷⁵

In Liberia, there is near gender parity in terms of enrolment and both primary and secondary level, but gender disparity is more widespread outside urban areas (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2016a, p. 76). When

comparing the public and private sector, there is a tendency for higher enrolment of girls in private schools. However, this difference may partly be explained by the fact that there are very few public schools in the capital area in Liberia, while girls' enrolment tends to be higher in urban areas (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2016a, p. 58). There was a difference in pass rates when comparing the public and the private sector. In 2014, boys had a pass rate of 57% in public schools and 68% in private schools, while girls had a pass rate of 48% in public schools and 62% in private schools (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2016a, p. 92). However, again the data was not disaggregated to take into account the socio-economic background of the parents or the type of private school.

In Mozambique in recent years, the proportion of girls enrolled in primary education has increased steadily. There has also been strong progress in the 1st cycle of secondary, where the percentage of girls increased from 37% in 1992 to 47.5% in 2011 % (MINEDH, 2012, p. 21). However, there is a serious problem of retention of girls after Grade 5, especially in rural areas. At 12 years old, many girls go through the traditional rituals to prepare for marriage and drop-out rates are high (World Bank, 2015, p. 8). In urban areas, gender equality is less of a problem because families are more aware on the importance of educating girls. When comparing enrolment by gender in the public and private sector, it is clear that for primary school the share of girls is actually higher in private schools, at 50.2% compared to 47.5% in public schools. This difference is even more marked at secondary level with a 48.1% share of girls in public and 53.3% in private schools (MINEDH, 2012). In Mozambique, where there are just a few, elite private schools, the main issues with regards to gender equality are not between private and public schools, but a matter of socioeconomic status and a different mentality in urban and rural areas.

In Tanzania in 2016 the GER in primary education was 93.2% (94% for girls). In secondary education, the GER was 30.6% (29.7% for girls), with a significant decrease since 2012, when the GER was 36.9% and 34.4% respectively (Government of Tanzania, 2016, p. 57). In secondary education, there is gender parity until Form 4, but in Forms 5 and 6, the proportion of girls plummets to 38% and 36% respectively.⁷⁶ According to the Education Sector Development Plan, “the Gross Completion Rate for 2014 was 76.5% for boys and 79.4% for girls; while in 2016 it was 70.9% for boys and 79.9% for girls”. Thus, there was a decline for boys and a small increase for girls (MoEST, 2017, p. 3). We were unable to find figures regarding the gender differences in enrolment or attainment between public and private schools.

In Malawi, according to a UN report, “disparities emerge as early as standard 4 with girls dropping out and repeating to a much greater extent than boys” (United Nations, 2013, p. 12). With the Free Education Policy (1994), girls' enrolment increased but gender parity in primary education was only achieved in 2005 (EMIS, 2015, p. 54). The percentage of girls in primary education is very similar across all types of schools at around 50% (Chimombo, 2014, p. 45). Dramatic decreases in enrolment rates can be observed especially for the poorest girls as they advance through education levels. In secondary education, the GPI was 0.88 in 2015 (EMIS, 2015, p. 54). In contrast, the gender parity index in private secondary schools is 1 (Chimombo, 2014, p. 45). Girls make up a bigger proportion of students in private schools than public schools, but again this may largely be a result of choices made by wealthier, more educated parents.

Comparing government and private sector gender policies

All the countries reviewed for this study have some policies and strategies in place to promote gender equality in education, and implement a range of interventions such as awareness-raising on the importance of girls' education, girls' scholarships, instalment of gender-sensitive sanitation facilities in schools, incentives to increase the number of female teachers, gender-sensitive training modules for teachers, reviews of national curricula to

adjust for gender bias as well as measures to protect girls and boys from school-based gender-related violence (SBGRV). As shown above, these different approaches have helped to promote gender equality in all five countries, though many challenges remain.

In Mozambique, the MINEDH is currently implementing a Gender Strategy for Education 2016-2020, and they have created gender units at the central, province, district and school levels.⁷⁷ However, these units are not functional as clear roles and responsibilities were not set up, and there is no budget or accountability mechanism. In Nepal, gender equality strategies and targets have been included in successive ESPs and in the 'Child Friendly Schools' framework, and even though these have not occupied a central place in the plans, girls' education progress has nevertheless been significant. In Liberia, a National Policy on Girls' Education was developed in 2005 and even though the policy is not being fully implemented or monitored, progress has been achieved over the last decade in terms of girls' education (Ministry of Education, Liberia, 2016b, pp. 177-179).⁷⁸ According to informants for this study, gender equality has also been improving motivated by the election of the first African female president in Liberia in 2005, which has worked as a catalyst for awareness-raising on gender equality.⁷⁹ The PSL project document does not have any references to improving gender equality. Only the MoU with BIA has been made public, and it includes a short paragraph stating that BIA should be: "Ensuring gender equality for girls throughout all Pilot schools, with specific outreach to girls and ensuring a girl friendly environment."⁸⁰

In principle, private schools are obliged to follow the same laws and policies as public schools. However, as demonstrated, the schools do not often comply with regulations, and government monitoring and oversight of private schools is weak. In this study, we aimed to find information on the extent to which private schools in the five countries studied were implementing government gender equality policies and strategies and whether they may have any own or additional initiatives to ensure and promote girls' education. However, data and information on these issues are particularly scarce, and no previous research on the issue was found. Therefore, the data gathered for this study is far from giving a full picture of the relation between privatisation and girls' education, but rather represents an uneven patchwork that may hopefully inspire to further research into these issues.

Sensitising parents on gender equality in education

Creating awareness among parents and advocating for girls' education has been one of the successful strategies to increase enrolments, and such campaigns have been carried out in all countries by governments, supported by donors and NGOs. Many challenges remain in terms of maintaining girls in school, especially at secondary level. One of the reasons in many contexts is the tradition for early marriage and early pregnancies causing girls to drop out of schools. In Nepal for example, "married girls are 11 times more likely to be out of school compared to their unmarried peers and early marriage is cited as the second most common reason for school drop-out for girls aged 15-17 (Government of Nepal, 2016, p. 13) A national strategy to end early marriage was launched in 2016. In Liberia, in a nation-wide study, 67% of households reported that pregnancy was the main reason that a girl in the household had dropped out of school and the National Policy on Girls' Education identifies pregnancy and early marriage as an obstacle to education (UNICEF, 2012). The new ESP aims to raise awareness of the policy's provisions on non-discrimination against pregnant adolescents and mothers (Ministry of Education, Liberia, 2016b, p. 180). Mozambique is among the ten countries with the highest percentage of early marriage worldwide.⁸¹ The government of Mozambique set the legal age of marriage at 18 years, but the law is not enforced; 14% of girls are married by 14 years old, and 48% are married by 18 (UNICEF, 2016b, p. 151). Tanzania also has one of the highest rates of early marriage in the world, with 7% of girls married before their 15th birthday, and 37% before the 18th. (UNFPA, 2014). Also in Malawi, early marriages are a significant barrier to girls' education. A recent modification to the Constitution increases the minimum age of marriage from 15 to 18, but informants agreed that the implementation and enforcement of the law will take a long time.

With regards to private schools, across all countries, there was broad agreement among informants, that they do not have any special policies or initiatives to attract girl students to their schools, or to ensure that they are

maintained in school and avoid early marriage or pregnancies. However, in Malawi, there was indication in private schools that parents participate more actively, and are more aware of gender issues, for instance pressuring schools to expel teachers for misconduct.⁸² Mothers' groups, both in public and private schools, have been instrumental in promoting re-admission policies and also serve as the link between girls, the school, and the community (CSEC, 2016a, p. x).

Providing financial support for girls' education

In Nepal, the government has implemented a strategy of providing public school scholarships to disadvantaged groups, including girls, and according to informants interviewed, this has been successful in promoting girls' education. However, research points out that scholarships should be much more targeted to those in need, and the amounts should be increased to cover the real cost of education (Stenbäck, 2015, pp. 23-24). According to the regulations of private schools, they are required to provide 10% scholarships to marginalised groups, including girls.⁸³ It was not possible to obtain any data on this, and while the association of private schools PABSON said that scholarships were given to girls, a number of other informants said that this requirement was not met by private schools. In Liberia, scholarships to girls were provided in previous years, but with the recently adopted new ESP, this practice has ended (Ministry of Education, Liberia, 2016b, pp. 177-179).⁸⁴ There was no evidence found of scholarships aimed at supporting girls' education in private schools.

Promoting gender balance among teachers

Female teachers play a key role when it comes to promoting girls' education, and increasing the number of female teachers has been a strategy for governments in the countries studied, though overall the share of female teachers is still generally lower than the share of male teachers. With regards to gender parity among teachers, there is a significant difference between the public and the private sector in all countries studied, as there is a clear tendency for private schools to have more female teachers than public schools. In Nepal, the share of female teachers at primary level, is 43% compared to only 17% at secondary level.⁸⁵ Public primary schools have only 30% female teachers, whereas the private schools have 55% female teachers. The difference at secondary level is minimal, with 15% female teachers in public schools and 18% in private.⁸⁶ The share of female teachers in Liberia is exceptionally low, with only 21% in grades 1-6 and 9% in grades 7-12. Again, there is a tendency for non-state schools to have more female teachers than public schools. This is most significant at the grades 1-6, where public schools have only 14% female teachers, whereas for-profit schools have 26% and religious schools 23%. At higher levels the difference is less marked ranging from 7% for public schools to 11% for for-profit private schools (Ministry of Education, Liberia, 2016c, p. 26 & 32). In Tanzania, private schools have a significantly lower percentage of female teachers than public schools, especially in secondary education, where the proportion is 2:1 in favour of public schools.

Informants gave different explanations for the higher levels of female teachers in the private sector. One may be that there are fewer trained female teachers - a requirement for hiring in the public sector, whereas the share of trained teachers in the private sector is usually low. Female teachers may also be willing to work for lower wages and some studies show that private schools hire higher proportions of female staff that are often paid less than their male counterparts (Global Campaign for Education, 2016, p. 13).⁸⁷ Another reason cited was that women are less inclined to be posted in other (remote/rural) regions, as is often necessary in the public sector. Yet another explanation put forward by informants interviewed for this study, where teachers are said to be affiliated with political parties or unionised, would be that women are less engaged in politics and have a lesser tendency to be members of unions, and as such fewer of them would have the political affiliations unofficially needed for employment in the public schools in some contexts.⁸⁸ Finally, some informants were of the opinion that female teachers were more likely to accept the less attractive working conditions and close supervision taking place in private schools.⁸⁹

Ensuring curriculum/textbooks free from gender bias

In Nepal, a 2012 Gender Audit, claimed that the curriculum and textbooks are free from gender bias (Stenbäck, 2015, p. 4). However, this was disputed by a number of informants for this study, who gave examples of pictures in primary school books depicting women and girls carrying out traditional household chores, while men are shown in different professions.⁹⁰ The curriculum and textbooks used in private schools are the same as in the public sector, so on this point there is no difference. In Liberia, the National Girls' Education Policy aims to: "Develop curricula, textbooks, and teaching aids free of gender-based stereotypes for all levels of education, including teacher training, in association with all concerned—publishers, teachers, public authorities, and parents' associations."⁹¹ The national curriculum is compulsory for all public and community schools and widely used by religious and private schools. According to MoE information, over 90% of grade 1-6 schools and 87.3% of grade 7-9 schools use the national curriculum. At higher grades, schools also use the West African Examination Council (WAEC) syllabus, and this is the case for around 80% of religious and private schools and 63.9% of public schools (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2016a, p. 96). The implementation of the gender policy so far has been limited, and it remains to be seen if the planned gender review of curriculum and textbooks will take place. If it does, a relatively high share of private schools will also benefit from this, although a significant number of private schools following their own curriculum and may not benefit.

Training teachers on gender equality

In Nepal, with regards to training of teachers on gender equality, one study mentions a 5-day training program for teachers, including a gender training module, and interview with the MoE also confirmed that training on gender equality was part of teacher training (Stenbäck, 2015, p. 36). No such training appears to take place in private schools. The interview with MoE mentioned that follow-up training for teachers organised in the public system was also open for private school teachers, but the interview with PABSON however, claimed this was not the case.⁹² In Liberia, the new ESP aims to "Build support for gender equity among teachers and principals, as part of pre-service teacher training and continuous professional development. Incorporate gender-sensitive approaches to teaching, pedagogy and planning into continuous professional development." (Ministry of Education, Liberia, 2016b, p. 181) While it was not possible to obtain any information on gender sensitive training in private schools in Liberia, according to BIAs website, "Bridge's teacher training and classroom management techniques focus on encouraging girls to be leaders in and out of the classroom. This includes lesson guides that are deliberately designed to ensure that girls are given equal air-time in the classroom." (Bridge International Academies, 2017)

Ensuring a school environment conducive to gender balance

In Nepal, the MoE intends to: "Ensure gender-sensitive learning environments and district and school-based support structures, including strengthening the national gender education and gender focal point network to address gender-based violence in schools in order to increase girls' participation and their completion of basic education." (Government of Nepal, 2016, p. 40). It was not possible to obtain information on measures specific to private schools. In Liberia school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV), is a serious problem. In one study, 32% of students reported experiencing abuse from teachers or staff.⁹³ The percentage is slightly higher for boys, at 35% compared to 29% for girls. Almost 18% of girls and just over 13% of boys report having been asked for sex for better grades. The report however does not make any comparisons across different types of schools. According to MoE information, efforts have been made to train school-based counsellors and a manual and training programme have been developed but most schools do not yet have a trained counsellor. The Education Reform Act identifies sexual offences under the penal law as criminal matters and so does the Code of Conduct for Teachers and School Administrators from 2014. However, knowledge of referral pathways for students and staff

that experience violence is limited. The ESP aims to implement activities such as Code of Conduct implementation and publicity, a helpline, teacher blacklist, community engagement, school-based counsellors, strengthened referral pathways, and regular school inspections (Ministry of Education, Liberia, 2016b, pp. 175-182). It was not possible to find information on policies and initiatives particular to private schools.

In Mozambique, the MoE has a zero-tolerance policy of sexual violence in schools. However, sexual abuses by teachers are still frequent.⁹⁴ In Mozambique and in Tanzania there are examples of transport offered to students in private schools, reducing the chances of girls suffering gender based violent attacks. For many girls, secondary schools are very far from home and public schools do not have boarding facilities. To avoid protection risks, transport is sometimes organized by parents but rarely on rural areas. Gender based violence is also significant in Tanzania, but according to most of the informants, corporal punishment and gender based violence are not common in private schools. This may be linked to the socio-economic status of the families who send their children to private schools. Most of the private schools are in urban areas, where the level of parents' education is generally higher. As the National Education Coalition representative said, "Empowerment of girls is important for educated people". In Tanzania, according to most of the key informants, corporal punishment and gender based violence are unusual in private schools.⁹⁵ Again, most of the private schools in Tanzania are in urban areas, where parental education is generally higher and parents are more likely to challenge the school. As the National Education Coalition representative said, "the empowerment of girls is important for educated people". It does seem that the owners of private schools pay special attention to factors promoting gender equality.

In Nepal, the construction of separate girls' toilets has been a priority for the MoE for years (Government of Nepal, 2016, p. 40). It was not possible to ascertain to what extent private schools have separate and appropriate sanitation facilities, as there are no statistics available on this and informants gave inconclusive information. In Liberia, a census from 2015 showed that only around 70% of all schools had latrine facilities (Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia and UNICEF, 2016). These facilities were significantly more available in private schools, with 83.8% having facilities, compared to only 54.7% in public schools.⁹⁶ In both public and private schools, there is a difference between urban and rural settings where in the rural areas only 50.4% of public schools had latrines and only 64% of private schools.⁹⁷ Also in Mozambique, infrastructure, including gender sensitive water and sanitation facilities, seems to be better in private schools.⁹⁸ In Tanzania, all the informants confirmed that infrastructures, including water and sanitation facilities, are better in private schools. Sanitation facilities are a major barrier to girls' access to education. Fewer than half (47%) of all primary schools surveyed had toilets (such as a ventilated improved pit latrine, etc.) that meet the national standard (World Bank, 2015, p. 7). The pupils-latrines ratio in primary education is 57:1 in public schools and 19:1 in private schools. This ratio in secondary is 32:1 and 12:1, respectively (Government of Tanzania, 2016, p. 82 & 128). In Malawi, according to the teacher union, public schools do not have good sanitary conditions for girls, especially in secondary education, even in urban areas. Infrastructure, including water and sanitation facilities, seems to be better in private schools, but we only have anecdotal evidence for this as statistics are not available.

Does privatisation affect girls' education?

When comparing the findings of this study to the international research on girls' education and privatisation, there seems to be clear confirmation that the cost of private education negatively affects girls' access to quality education, especially in the case of Nepal. As shown earlier, public schools in Nepal have become stigmatised with an image of poor performance and quality, a perception that (whether true or not) seems to be very strong among the general population and parents. More girls go to the public schools, which poses a problem in terms of gender equality. The girls graduating from public schools (together with other marginalised groups) are generally perceived as having received an education of lesser quality. This may affect their chances in the job market and possibilities of entering into higher education, and even of participating in society.

However, with regards to the four African countries reviewed, the picture seems more complex. There are fewer private schools and many of them are expensive, serving a small elite. Girls' enrolment in private education tends to be either equal or even higher than boys. Different factors may explain this, but the most important seems to be the fact that private schools tend to be located in urban / capital areas, where gender equality is generally higher. This may in particular help to explain the situation in Liberia, where public education is almost non-existent in the capital area. Another factor linked to this seems to be, according to informants interviewed, that – at least in Malawi, Tanzania and Mozambique – privatisation is generally a phenomenon at the secondary level, and is unaffordable for the majority of the population, and limited to higher middle- or upper classes, where gender equality has become the norm, and they do not discriminate between girls and boys when paying for private education.⁹⁹

As mentioned earlier, private education may constitute a risk to girls' education in terms of low monitoring and oversight of private schools on part of the government. Overall this study confirms an alarming lack of data and knowledge, even among duty bearers in the form of Ministries of Education, on gender policies and practices in private schools. This combined with the fact that authorities generally have a very low capacity to monitor private schools, as also confirmed by the present research, and constitutes a serious concern in terms of ensuring gender equality and even protection of girls in private schools. That said, the present study did not either reveal any evidence that girls are treated worse in private than in public schools. Nor was it possible to find any examples of private schools excelling in gender equality and using any models worth learning from – with a few exceptions of Mozambique and Tanzania where some private schools offered transportation to students in private schools, reducing the chances for a girl to suffer a gender based violent attack. It was not possible to find any other particular policies or practices used in private schools to ensure gender equality similar to those promoted by governments (such as awareness raising on gender equality, scholarships to girls, efforts to maintain girls in schools, the use of gender sensitive curriculum and textbooks or teacher training on gender equality). Nevertheless, there are indications that girls in private schools do as well as their male peers in terms of completion and exam pass rates.

The most significant evidence identified in terms of different practices among private and public schools was the availability of gender sensitive sanitation facilities, generally more prevalent in private schools. This may to some extent be explained by the fact that private schools are more prevalent in the capital area, where infrastructure is usually better. The most remarkable difference between the public and private sector is the clear tendency for higher shares of female teachers in the private schools. This may be seen as a positive side to private schools in terms of promoting gender equality and all informants agree that this may in fact play a positive role in supporting girls' education. Unfortunately, however, female teachers do not seem to be employed in private schools for this reason, but rather because they have lesser choice between public and private employment, and because they are preferred by private school employers for being cheaper and more 'reliable'.



4. Conclusions and recommendations

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to conduct multi-country research on the education landscape in terms of private providers of education and to analyse the effects of privatisation on girls' access to free, quality public education. The analysis showed a large variation among the countries, and even though the private education sector has grown in all countries over the five-year period from 2010 to 2015, the size and role played by the private sector is very different. In Tanzania and Mozambique, the share of private schools is very low at the primary level, but higher at secondary, and the private schools are expensive and high-end. In the other countries, the share of private schools is considerably higher also at primary level, and schools exist in many different price/quality ranges. A general trend across all countries was the opinion that public schools do not deliver sufficient quality, and that private schools are preferred by parents, because they have a better quality. Although the statistics in most of the countries studied underline the fact that private schools produce better exam results, this does not mean however, that all private schools are of higher quality. There is evidence, that the background of parents plays an important role in term of learning achievements, and in addition to this, quality cannot be measured only in the terms of exam results. In none of the countries studies did the privatisation process appear to be pushed by donors and in most countries not by governments either (with the exception of Malawi and very recently Liberia). In the other countries, the attitude of governments was like a laissez-faire attitude to the private sector that has been allowed to breed and meet demands where the State did not. At the same time, monitoring and oversight of the private sector was found to be low in all countries.

The growing privatisation was found in all countries to have some negative consequences for society as a whole, as privatisation represents a system of segregation, whereby the population is divided into different types of schools. This is most marked in the countries with a high level of privatisation, where there is a larger range of private schools in different price/quality categories. In these countries, the expansion of private schools is weakening the public system by leaving behind the most disadvantaged children, who often need more care and resources. In all the countries studied, informants expressed a concern that this process further damages the image of public education which comes to be associated with poverty and poor quality.

The study also analysed the effects of privatisation on girls' education. When comparing the findings of this study to international research there seems to be a clear confirmation when we look at the country of Nepal of the tendency for the cost of private education to negatively affect girls' education. However, in the four African countries reviewed, the picture is more complex. There is a clear tendency for girls' enrolment in private education to be either equal to or higher than boys. Different factors may explain this, but the most important seems to be that private education is much more prevalent in urban areas, where gender equality is generally higher. Another factor linked to this is that in some countries privatisation is generally a phenomenon at the secondary level, and is mostly expensive and limited to higher middle or upper classes, where gender equality has become the norm, and there is little evidence of discrimination between girls and boys when paying for private education. In principle, private schools are obliged to follow the same laws and policies as the public education systems. However, the schools do not always comply with regulations, and government monitoring and oversight of private schools are weak. Overall this study confirms an alarming lack of data and knowledge, even among duty bearers in the Ministries of Education, on gender policies and practices in private schools. This combined with the fact that authorities generally have a very low capacity to monitor private schools constitutes a serious concern in terms of ensuring gender equality and even protection of girls in private schools.

Recommendations

Governments should:

- **Right to education** - Guarantee the right to free quality education for all children. Primary (and progressively secondary) education must be free and compulsory, not only in law but also in reality Governments should not delegate their responsibility for ensuring the right to education to the private sector.
- **Education financing** - Increase education budgets to 20% of the national budget or 6% of GDP; increasing the size of the overall budget by expanding the tax base through progressive and effective taxation; increasing the sensitivity of the budget by allocating more resources to promote equity and increasing scrutiny to ensure that the budget is allocated and utilised efficiently.
- **Cost of education for parents** - Ensure that primary (and progressively secondary) education is free, not only in law but also in reality. This means abolishing all compulsory direct and indirect costs (e.g. enrolment and exam fees, uniforms and learning materials amongst others) to parents and ensuring that the state education budget adequately covers all these costs.
- **Quality education** - Improve the quality of public schools so that parents do not feel the need to pay for private education. Allocate sufficient resources to attracting, training and retaining qualified teachers, to providing sufficient learning materials and to improving school infrastructure such as classrooms, toilets and playgrounds.
- **Teachers** - Ensure that all children are taught by a properly trained and qualified teacher with a pupil-teacher ratio that does not exceed the national standards, investing more in female teachers, better quality training, more equitable deployment and incentives for working in remote areas.
- **Regulation and monitoring of schools** - Strengthen the regulatory control of private schools, holding them

to account and inspecting them regularly to ensure that they comply with national education standards. Impose sanctions if private schools do not comply with requirements relating to teacher salaries and conditions, level of fees, etc. Ensure transparency by reporting accurate and detailed data on private schools (including data on school owners, profits, categories of schools etc.).

- **Gender equity** - Take firm action to achieve gender parity and equality in education by ensuring appropriate policies are funded and implemented in order to tackle persistent barriers to girls' education, including but not limited to: gender-related school-based violence; lack of sanitation facilities; lack of female teachers and gender bias in teaching and learning materials. Engage with communities, civil society and policy-makers to shift deep-seated discrimination against girls at all levels.

Civil society organisations should:

- **Right to education** - Raise citizens' awareness and hold governments to account for delivering the right to free, compulsory, quality education. Expose violations of the right to education arising from the privatisation of education.
- **Education financing** - Raise awareness and support citizens to advocate for governments to increase the size of the overall budget to 6% of GDP by expanding the tax base through progressive and effective taxation; increase education's share of the budget to at least 20%, increase the sensitivity of the budget by allocating more resources to promote equity and increase scrutiny to ensure that the budget is allocated and utilised efficiently.
- **Cost of education to parents** - Raise awareness and support citizens to carry out participatory budget monitoring and analysis in order to fully understand what is spent on education by governments and by households and to campaign for an end to compulsory direct and indirect costs to parents for public education.
- **Quality education** - Hold governments to account for providing quality education for all children, making the case for the financing of sufficient quality trained teachers, improved school infrastructure and learning materials.
- **Regulation and monitoring of schools** - Hold governments to account for ensuring that private schools are properly regulated and regularly inspected to ensure that they comply with national education standards.
- **Gender equity** - Engage with communities and policy makers to raise awareness and shift deep-seated discrimination against girls. Identify, highlight and oppose issues such as violence against girls in schools and child marriage. Promote positive alternatives of quality inclusive and equity-focused education.

5. Annexes

Annex 1: Works Cited

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Annex 2: List of people interviewed

Some informants were not available during the time of the research and skype interviews at times had to be cancelled due to low internet connectivity. Some informants were therefore asked instead to respond to the interview questions in writing. These responses are marked with an*.

NAME	POSITION	ORGANISATION
INTERNATIONAL		
David Archer	Head of Programme Development	ActionAid International (AAI)
Hendrina Doroba	Executive Director	Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE)
Chikezie Anyanwu	Global Coordinator	Global Campaign for Education (GCE)
Anjela Taneja	Head of Policy	Global Campaign for Education (GCE)
Nora Fyles	Head of Secretariat	United Nations Girls' Education Initiative (UNGEI)
LIBERIA		
Korto Williams	International Program Manager for Women (Former Country Director)	ActionAid International (ActionAid Liberia)
Lakshmi Subramani*	Interim Country Director	ActionAid Liberia
P. Sumo-Varfee	Education Secretary	Catholic School System of the Archdiocese of Monrovia
Chris Tokpah	Senior Administrator and consultant	Community College Pennsylvania
Aleesha Taylor*	Principal	Herald Advisors
Seidi Stevenson	National Project Officer	UNESCO Liberia
MALAWI		
Yandura Chipeta	NORAD Project Coordinator	ActionAid Malawi
Julie Juma	Regional & Thematic Manager for Education and Youth	ActionAid Malawi
Benedicto Kondowe	Executive Director	Civil Society Education Coalition (CSEC)
Limbani Nsapato	Country Representative (formerly in ANCEFA)	EDUKANS
Mphatso Kapalamula	M&E Officer	FAWE
Joseph Patel	President	Independent Schools Association of Malawi (ISAMA)
Joseph Chimombo	Director of Basic Education	Ministry of Education
Samuel Chibwana	Principal Education Officer at Directorate Secondary Education	Ministry of Education
Mcknight Kalanda	Director of Child Affairs	Ministry of Gender
Vigdis Cristofoli	Counsellor-Education	Norwegian Embassy
Bent Bakken	Economic Governance	Norwegian Embassy
Alice Chapuma	Program Support Manager	Plan International Malawi
Falison Lemani	General Secretary	Private Schools Employees Union of Malawi (PSEUM)
Denis Kalekeni	General Secretary	Teachers Union in Malawi (TUM)
Deborah Mangulama	Assistant Programme Coordinator	Teachers Union in Malawi (TUM)
Clara Chindime	Girls Education Officer	UNICEF
Michael Mambo	Consultant	World Bank

MOZAMBIQUE		
Amina Issa	Women's right Coordinator	ActionAid Mozambique
Lacerda Lipangue	Participatory Democracy Coordinator	ActionAid Mozambique
Tinie Van Eys	Assistant Director	Associação Progresso
Zaida Cabral	Independent Consultant (former Director MINEDH)	Consultant
Manuel Lobo	Independent Consultant (former Director MINEDH)	Consultant
Paula Mendonça	Education Advisor	Embassy of Canada
Lidia Meque	Gender and Education Advisor	Embassy of Ireland
Albino Francisco	Executive Director	Forum da Sociedade Civil para os Direitos da Criança (ROSC)
Ismael Cassamo Nheze	Director	Instituto Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação (INDE).
Manuel Rego	Permanent Secretary	Ministry of Education (MINEDH)
Gina Guibunda	Director for Primary Education	Ministry of Education (MINEDH)
José Luiz Pereira	Deputy Director for Secondary Education	Ministry of Education (MINEDH)
Alfredo Libombo	Executive Coordinator	Movimento Education for All (National Education Coalition)
Francisco Nogueira	Executive Secretary	Organização Nacional dos Professores (ONP)
Moises Mutuque	Education Officer	OXFAM IBIS
Albino Francisco	Executive Director	ROSC Forum da Sociedade Civil para os Direitos da Criança
Nacima Figia	Director-Education Program	Save the Children
Lucia Nhampossa	Education Advisor	World Bank
NEPAL		
Shubhendra Man Shrestha	Education, Youth and Governance Coordinator	ActionAid Nepal
Wendy Fisher	Education Advisor	European Union
Dinesh Thapa	Kitini College	Kathmandu University
Phamod Bhatta	General Secretary	Martin Chautari Research Institute
Hari Lamsal	Joint Secretary	Ministry of Education
Ananda Poudel	Under Secretary	Ministry of Education
Ram Gaire	Program Manager	National Campaign for Education Nepal
Bhawa Raj Koirala	Under Secretary	National Examinations Board
Laxman Sharma	General Secretary	Nepal National Teachers Association
Prem Aryal	Learning Coordinator	Plan Nepal
Lakshya Bhadur KC	Former President	Private and Boarding Schools' Organisation
Kamla Bisht	Political and Social Development Senior Advisor	Royal Embassy of Norway
Aagat Awasthi	Programme Coordinator	UNESCO
Purushottam Acharya	Education Specialist	UNICEF
Raj Kumar Gandharba	Global Policy and Advocacy Advisor	VSO

TANZANIA		
Ayoub Kafyulilo*	Basic Education Officer	UNICEF
Karoli B. Kadege	NORAD Project Manager	ActionAid Tanzania
Andrew Mbega	Governance-Education	ActionAid Tanzania
Zubeida Tumbo-Masabo	Deputy National Coordinator	FAWE
Semeni Hamdani	Programme Officer	FAWE
Wendy Mwansasu	Communication Officer	FAWE
John Kalage	Executive Director	HakiElimu
Godfrey Boniventura	Manager-Research and Policy Analysis	HakiElimu
Chanel Ntahuba*	Education Coordinator	International Rescue Committee
Silje Skeie	Global Education Adviser	NRC-Norwegian Refugee Council
Zena Amury	Head of Education	Plan International Tanzania
Amy Schmidt	Director for Programme Development & Quality	Save the Children
Benjamin Nkonya	Secretary General	TAMONGSCO-Tanzania Association of Managers and Owners of Non-Government Schools and Colleges
Ezekiah Oluoch	Deputy Secretary General	TTU-Tanzanian Teachers' Union
Zaida Mgalla	Manager	Twaweza/Uwezo Tanzania
Jennifer Alima Kotta	Education Programme Officer (Girls' education and inclusion)	UNESCO
Martha Hewison	Global Education Adviser	UNHCR
Cecilia Baldeh	Head of Education	UNICEF

Annex 3: List of acronyms

AAI	ActionAid International
BIA	Bridge International Academies
CDSS	Community Day Secondary Schools
CEDAW	United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CRC	Convention of the Right of the Child
CSEC	Civil Society Education Coalition
CSEE	Certificate of Secondary Education Examination
CSS	Conventional Secondary Schools
DFID	Department for International Development
EFA	Education for All
EMIS	Education Management Information System
ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
ESDP	Education Sector Development Plan
ESP	Education Sector Plan
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
GCE	Global Campaign for Education
GCDE	Global Citizenship Education
GCR	Gross Completion Ratio
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GPI	Gender Parity Index
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
IFI	International Financial Institution
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MINEDH	Ministry of Education and Human Development
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MSCE	Malawi School Certificate of Education
NECTA	National Examinations Council of Tanzania
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
PABSON	Private and Boarding Schools' Organisation of Nepal
PPP	Public-private partnerships
PQTR	Pupil-Qualified Teacher Ratio
PSL	Partnership Schools for Liberia
PTR	Pupil-Teacher Ratio
SRGBV	School Related Gender Based Violence
UN	United Nations
UNGEI	United Nations Girls' Education Initiative
WAEC	West African Examination Council
WASH	Water, Sanitation, Hygiene

Annex 4: Notes

1. United Nations, 1948, Article 26
2. Where the international community committed itself to: "Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all United Nations , 2015, Goal 4: Education
3. Interview with MINEDH Permanent Secretary, Maputo, March 2017.
4. United Nations (1948). The Article 26 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, paragraph (3) states: " Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children"
5. (Day Ashley, 2014, pp. 27-28) and (Global Campaign for Education, 2016, p.25).
6. These include recent reviews of private education by DIFD and by the Global Campaign for Education, as well as a report submitted by a number of organisations in 2014 to a discussion at the *United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)*.
7. (Government of Nepal, 2011) and (Government of Nepal, 2015).
8. Interview with MINEDH Permanent Secretary, Maputo, March 2017.
9. (Government of Nepal, 2011) and (Government of Nepal, 2015).
10. (Government of Nepal, 2011) and (Government of Nepal, 2015).
11. "Prescriptive regulations clearly establish conditions under which private providers may be permitted to operate within a country, as well as minimum norms and standards with which schools must comply. In the absence of such regulations, unregistered schools may proliferate. Laws on education should spell out the duties and responsibilities of private providers vis-à-vis communities, students, teachers and societies at large. Prohibitory regulations are necessary to outlaw and stop discriminatory practices, for-profit education and false commercial propaganda. Education is a public function and a social responsibility. No private provider should be allowed to establish for-profit education and aggrandize private interests to the detriment of public interest. Punitive measures are necessary to ensure compliance with standards and the law. Sanctions must be applied when private providers perpetuate social injustices, while criminal proceedings are necessary for fraudulent and corruption practices.
12. The same was also concluded in several other reviews of private education, (Day Ashley, 2014, pp. 35-36) and (Global Campaign for Education, 2016, p. 41).
13. Informants in Liberia interviewed by skype, March 2017.
14. Interview with Independent Schools Association of Malawi, Lilongwe, February 2017.
15. Interview with Director at Ministry of Education, Lilongwe, February 2017.
16. Joseph Patel, President of the Independent Schools Association of Malawi: <http://www.times.mw/malawi-government-goes-to-sleep-on-private-schools/>
17. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201504160485.html>
18. Ibid.

19. <http://www.tzaffairs.org/2016/01/education-11/>
20. Interview with Teacher Union, Mozambique, February 2017.
21. Though according to the National Education Coalition in Mozambique, the norm is bypassed through the Law for Associations, using the support to marginalized groups as a cover, interview, February 2017
22. Various informants interviewed, Nepal, February 2017.
23. Informants across all types of education actors in interviews, Nepal, February 2017.
24. Interview with Ministry of Education, Nepal, February 2017
25. Interview with Ministry of Education Director for Secondary Education, Lilongwe, February 2017.
26. <http://www.nyasatimes.com/malawi-govt-wants-cost-sharing-in-education-fees-increased-students-sponsorship-abolished/>
27. <https://www.facebook.com/malawigovernment/posts/456790404507459>
28. <http://www.nyasatimes.com/malawi-govt-wants-cost-sharing-in-education-fees-increased-students-sponsorship-abolished/>
29. <http://www.faceofmalawi.com/2015/12/opposition-mps-stops-govt-from-hiking-school-fees-in-colleges-secondary-schools/>
30. See for example Shrestha, 2016.
31. Interview with the Ministry of Education and with PABSON both informed that this data is available only at district, not national level.
32. Conversion into USD by the consultants made for this study (18.4.2017).
33. Interview with civil society representative, Dar Es Salaam, February 2017.
34. The Gross National Income is \$ 920 per year. <http://data.worldbank.org/country/tanzania>
35. Interview with ActionAid representative, Dar Es Salaam, February 2017.
36. Interview with ISAMA Director, Dar Es Salaam, February 2017.
37. Interview with Ministry of Education Director for Secondary Education, Lilongwe, February 2017.
38. Ibid.
39. 53% of Malawian families live under the poverty line. <http://www.mw.undp.org/content/malawi/en/home/countryinfo.html>. Malawi is ranked 170 out of 188 countries in the 2016 UNDP Human Development Index. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/HDI>
40. Interviews with civil society representatives, February 2017.
41. Information collected during the interviews in Maputo, February and March 2017.
42. United Nations (1948). The Article 26 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, paragraph (3) states: " Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children".
43. ICESCR, 1966, Article 13.
44. Here summarised: "The exercise of the freedom of education should not lead to any form of discrimination or create or increase inequality. International human rights law clearly States that it should not exclude any group (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] Convention against Discrimination in Education 1960, Article 2), with the State having the obligation to ensure it does not lead to extreme disparities of educational opportunity for some groups in society (CESCR 1999, CG 13, para. 30; CESCR 2009, GC 20, para. 39). In addition, States must ensure that the provision of essential services – such as education – by private actors 'does not threaten children's access to services on the basis of discriminatory criteria' (CRC 2013, GC 16, para. 34)". (Ron Balsera, 2016, p. 978)
45. "There is insufficient evidence that the quality of education a child receives in a low-fee private school will necessarily be better than in a government school. Once student characteristics that bias outcomes in favour of fee-paying schools, such as socio-economic status of their parents, are taken into account, low-fee private schools frequently demonstrate outcomes that are no better than those of public schools" (Global Campaign for Education, 2016: 23). "Pupils attending private school tend to achieve better learning outcomes than pupils in State schools. However, it is important to note that most studies did not adequately account for social background differences of pupils, making it difficult to ascertain whether the achievement advantage may be attributed to the private schools or the social background of pupils." (Day Ashley, 2014, p. 15).
46. (Subedi, 2014); (Upadhyay, 2016, p. 23), (Bhatta & Budathoki, 2013, p. 17). The interview with PABSON also underlined a number of the same points. It should be noted, that though some of the points made in relation to management could be true for all categories of schools, it is unlikely that the low-fee schools have better infrastructure and school material.
47. There was broad agreement on this point among informants interviewed (with the exception of PABSON), February 2017.
48. Informants across all types of education actors in interviews, Nepal, February 2017.
49. Interviews with donors and civil society representatives, Maputo, February and March 2017.
50. In 2016 the MINEDH created a ranking of primary and secondary schools, and most of the private schools were ranked ahead of public schools: <http://opais.sapo.mz/index.php/sociedade/45-sociedade/40596-ministerio-cria-ranking-das-melhores-escolas-do-pais.html>
51. Interview with MoEST Director, Lilongwe, February 2017.
52. Ibid.
53. Bridge International Academies (BIA), Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) and Omega Schools
54. (GI-ESCR, 2017a), Archer, D. (2016), Front Page Africa (2016) and Coalition for Transparency and Accountability in Education (COTAE) in Liberia (2017).
55. Uganda Media Centre. Ministry of Education, Science Technology and Sports, 2016.
56. Tanzania Association of Managers and Owners of Non-Government Schools and Colleges (TAMONGSCO) and Tanzanian Teachers Union (TTU).
57. Interviews with representatives from civil society, teacher union, and private schools' association, Dar Es Salaam, February 2017.
58. A director of the MINEDH excused the teachers saying: "Teachers have bad living conditions so with what moral authority can we demand them to work more or better?". However, the so called "turbo teachers", working in both public and private schools, are living in urban areas, where living conditions are quite good, and probably better than in remote rural areas.
59. According to a Ministry of Education Director. Interview in Lilongwe, February 2017.

60. Interview with FAWEMA, Lilongwe, February 2017.
61. Informants interviewed for this study, including the Ministry of Education, Teachers Union and PABSON.
62. This statement was also shared by the World Bank representative during the interview in Maputo, March 2017.
63. (Day Ashley, 2014, pp. 27-28) and (Global Campaign for Education, 2016, p.25).
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Interview with civil society representative, Dar Es Salaam, February 2017.
67. Interviews in Maputo, February and March 2017.
68. Interview with ActionAid's Women's rights coordinator, Maputo, February 2017.
69. Interview with Director of INDE, Maputo, March 2017.
70. <https://tradingeconomics.com/tanzania/employment-in-agriculture-percent-of-total-employment-wb-data.html>
71. Interviews with UNGEI, GCE, FAWE and ActionAid, April 2017.
72. <http://www.educationinnovations.org>. Countries mentioned included only one case from a country reviewed in this study. It should be noted, that it was not within the scope of this study of review and analyse the cases highlighted at this web site.
73. Interviews with UNGEI, GCE, FAWE and (ActionAid, 2017).
74. (Government of Nepal, 2011) and (Government of Nepal, 2015).
75. Ibid.
76. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201702010003.html> February 2017.
77. Interview with MINEDH Director, Maputo, March 2017.
78. This is also confirmed by Stromquist et al. (2013).
79. Informants for this study, March 2017.
80. Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia and Bridge International Academies (2016).
81. <http://www.girlsnotbrides.org/where-does-it-happen/>
82. This makes reference to teachers who harassed students. Interview with civil society representative, Lilongwe, February 2017.
83. Interview with Ministry of Education, Nepal, February 2017.
84. Also confirmed by informants for this study, March 2017.
85. (Government of Nepal, 2011) and (Government of Nepal, 2015).
86. Ibid.
87. In Jordan, for example, a 2013 study found that female teachers employed in private schools earned 42 percent less than their male counterparts. See also Andrabi et al, 2008; Srivastava, 2013
88. Informants interviewed for this study, March – April, 2017
89. In Nepal, PABSON explained the larger number of female teachers in private schools by the fact that they are often prioritised for employment over male teachers especially at primary level, because they are perceived as being more loving towards the children, more reliable and honest. Interview, February 2017.
90. Interviews with civil society organisations and donors, February 2017.
91. Ministry of Education, Republic of Liberia, 2013: 18.
92. Interview with Ministry of Education and interview with PABSON, February 2017.
93. IBIS et al. (2014). The study included 1858 students in 4 different counties. See also Postmus et al. (2015).
94. Interview with Director of Primary Education at MINEDH, Maputo, March 2017.
95. Corporal punishment is not per se gender based sexual violence, but the Human Rights Watch report "I had a dream to finish school. Barriers to secondary education in Tanzania" (2017) registered multiple examples of gender based corporal punishment.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid.
98. We only have anecdotal evidence for this as statistics are not available.
99. Interview with World Bank representative, Maputo, March 2017.

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ActionAid is a global movement of people working together to achieve greater human rights for all and defeat poverty. We believe people in poverty have the power within them to create change for themselves, their families and communities. ActionAid is a catalyst for that change.

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