

Background Paper

Public-Private Partnerships and Private Actors in
Secondary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa

September 2018



Secondary Education in Africa:

**PREPARING YOUTH
FOR THE FUTURE
OF WORK**

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**Public-Private Partnerships and Private Actors in Secondary
Education in Sub-Saharan Africa**

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1. Introduction

On the back of huge strides that have been made across developing countries in getting children into primary schools, the focus of policy and practice has now shifted to combating low enrolment and attainment at the secondary level. This is unsurprising given the large socio-economic and geographic disparities in secondary outcomes that matter for growth, prosperity, inequality and social mobility. Alongside the growth in government provision of education across the globe, there has been a parallel burgeoning of the private sector that has become the subject of lively, and often-times, heated debates in both academia and in the popular press about the relative effectiveness of public versus private schools. In addition to this, education partnerships, where governments partner with the private sector in some form, have also emerged under different guises in the form of what can collectively be known as public-private partnerships (PPPs). This background paper aims to assess the current status of private provision and PPP arrangements at the secondary level in Sub-Saharan Africa. The paper will also focus on aspects such as impact and costs of different delivery mechanisms, the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders, including the government, and the environment (be it enabling or hindering) within which the private sector and PPP arrangements function.

There are many convincing reasons for focusing on secondary education in developing country contexts. These include the high returns to the economy in the form of growth, poverty reduction, equity and social cohesion that result directly due to the expansion at this level of education. From a rights-based individual perspective, focusing on secondary education also remains important as it confers direct benefits in the form of better economic and life outcomes as well as providing a critical transition point into higher education¹. However, unfortunately, there is a ‘learning crisis’ being experienced in the developing world which is particularly acute in Sub-Saharan Africa and especially worrying at the secondary level. Despite a global focus on inclusive and quality education, in particular SDG-4, only 24% of youth in SSA are currently enrolled in secondary education (World Development Report 2018; UNESCO 2013).

Recent reports on education in SSA have highlighted the potential for focusing on secondary education in this region and the role that non-state providers can play in helping nations achieve their education goals. Secondary level enrolment rates are expected to grow at the rate of 6% between 2013 and 2021 with enrolments at the tertiary level expected to grow at 5% and only by 2% at the primary level². Commensurate with this growth is the increase of the share of these youth enrolling in secondary schools run by non-state providers with estimates that by 2020, 1 in 4 students in SSA will be attending a non-state school (up from 1 in 5 today)³. Education partnerships with governments collaborating with private providers have also emerged and are growing across the world. There are examples of different arrangements such as collaboration in school finance, management, and ownership at various levels of education.

There is a buoyant literature on the relative ‘performance’ of private (variously defined) and public schools internationally with both qualitative and empirical studies assessing the relative effectiveness of different school types. The efficacy of schools has typically been judged in various ways for example via the achievement outcomes of students (output-based measure of school performance), via measuring teacher effort, and via the availability of inputs, though this latter approach has been discredited by long-standing scepticism based on the evidence on the failure of inputs-based approaches (e.g. Hanushek, 2003)⁴. More recently, the literature on different school ‘types’ has been synthesised with

¹ <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1099079877269/547664-1099079967208/547671-1120139762595/chapter2.pdf>

² The Business of Africa report (2016)

³ Education Commission (2016)

⁴ <http://www.nber.org/papers/w9040.pdf>

the role of ‘private’ schools being synthesised in a recent review by Day-Ashley et al. (2014) and that on ‘philanthropic and religious schools’ by Wales et al. (2015)⁵.

Evidence focusing more specifically on PPPs in education has been synthesised by LaRoque (2008)⁶ Patrinos et al. (2009) and Aslam et al. (2017). This latest review summarises literature from 2009-2016 on different forms of PPP arrangements in developing countries where the government funds non-state actors, for example private organisations or non-government organisations or community/religious groups to provide education while retaining control of the commissioning, funding and regulation of these organisations. In doing so, it discusses the impact of PPPs on learning outcomes and synthesise the more ‘scattered’ and often overlooked evidence on the policy frameworks and enabling environments within which PPPs operate.

The current proposed Background Paper on private provision and public-private partnerships aims to summarize the latest evidence in relation to the following: current status of PPPs and other forms of private provision, the evidence on impacts and costs of these arrangements, government roles and responsibilities and the enabling environment within which they function (see Appendix I). This paper also focuses on important policy questions and implications, including on how entire secondary systems can be strengthened through the reforms and lessons that emerge from managing a PPP. In doing so, it situates the framing and synthesis within a ‘systems approach’. In part, this is visualized as evaluating policy, not only specifically, but with ‘big picture’ foci on the structure of the system within which different actors are influencing each other and within which these policies are being implemented.⁷ In addition to reviewing the literature, the paper also presents three case studies (Kenya, Ghana and Uganda) that provide evidence relevant to these themes.

2. Proposed Approach and Methodology

The approach used in this paper builds upon the existing evidence base regarding private and PPP provision of education particularly in SSA at the secondary level through the following:

1. **A review of existing evidence:** as a first step, an examination was conducted of all summaries of evidence available to-date on the area of research of interest. Specifically, the following summaries formed the foundation of our report: Aslam et al. (2017), Patrinos et al. (2009), Day Ashley et al. (2014), Day Ashley and Wales (2015), LaRoque (2008) and Education Commission (2016) reviews and R4D (2018). From these summaries/papers, evidence was extracted that specifically answers the research questions of interest as specified above.
2. **Identifying specific studies relevant to this paper:** As a second step, the final reference lists from each of these summaries were used to identify any specific studies from which evidence could be directly extracted. Each of these summaries had a different set of questions than those posed in this Background Paper. Therefore, if from within the reference lists, there were studies that helped answer any of the research questions of this Background Paper, those were used to extract any relevant evidence that could help answer the posed questions. As the proposed authors of this Background Paper also conducted the most recent Ark review (2017), they have access to a wider range of studies than the 22 studies that met the very specific criteria of that review. Therefore, using the entire set of studies through the EPPI reviewer data base (135 studies), we were able to go back to this wider range of literature and screen whether any of this literature base provides evidence relating to the proposed background paper.
3. **Identifying new evidence:** Finally, in addition to the studies referred to above and those specifically listed in the TORs, manual searches were conducted for any further reports from Ministries of Education, non-state entities providing education and research institutions. The

⁵ Wales J, Aslam M, Hine S, Rawal S (2015) The role and impact of philanthropic and religious schools in developing countries: A rigorous review of the evidence. Education Rigorous Literature Review. Department for International Development.

⁶ http://www.azimpremjifoundation.org/pdf/ppp_report.pdf

⁷ <https://blogs.worldbank.org/publicsphere/what-systems-approach-anyway>

authors also sought out any studies that may have been published as working papers or journal articles since 2016 (the cut-off point of the Ark review). Authors who are known to publish in this research area were also directly approached by email to provide any further working papers or evidence that may be useful in answering the questions posed in the current research.

In particular, the specific focuses of this background paper (e.g. secondary education, regional focus of SSA) may not necessarily have been the focus in previous summaries and, therefore, in re-examining this literature base and conducting supplemental manual searches, the authors aimed to ensure that these foci were retained.

This paper also provides case study examples to highlight specific issues. This was achieved through the development of short case studies to provide examples of PPPs and private provision of secondary education and TVET in three countries (Kenya, Ghana and Uganda) which provide examples of contexts where PPP arrangements and private provision of general secondary education or TVET exist. Three case studies have been prepared for this Background Paper:

1. **Kenya:** this case study adopted a more nuanced approach where the desk-based review of existing evidence was supplemented with primary data collection. This latter exercise involved identifying and interviewing key stakeholders in Kenya who could provide evidence on some of the questions proposed in the TORs (Appendix A summarises the tool used, and the list of stakeholders interviewed for this case study).
2. **Ghana:** this case study presents the evidence from a desk-based review with a particular focus on PPPs and private provision of TVET in the country.
3. **Uganda:** the case study in Uganda was based on a re-review of the case study in Aslam et al. (2017) which included a desk review of existing literature and evidence. The overall methodology underpinning this case study included an in-depth narrative synthesis of existing evidence and examining recent developments in this context since the publication of Aslam et al. (2017).

3. Definitions: Private and non-state provision and PPP arrangements

There are numerous hybrids and models of the all-encompassing term ‘non-state’ schooling with often blurred boundaries within the various categorisations. Recent reviews summarising the evidence on non-state schooling also agree that there is typically a lack of an agreed set of definitions and limited information on providers⁸. The literature emphasizes that these providers differ along various aspects such as: 1) scale; 2) scope and extent of penetration across various contexts; 3) management structures; 4) finance arrangements; 5) interactions with the government and 6) regulatory contexts to name but a few.

Non-state provision, therefore, encompasses a variety of models – both purely ‘private’ schools with a large degree of independence from the state as well as other arrangements with varying degrees of involvement of the state across different institutional arrangements⁹. A key factor defining ‘private’ schools is that they are ‘**dependent on user fees to cover all or part of their operational and development costs.**’ Therefore, they are distinguished by the fact that market forces determine which students are attracted to and retained within these schools and how financially viable they end up being. As some government schools also charge user fees, a second defining factor for a school to be categorized as private is that they are deemed to be ‘**managed largely independently of the state and are owned and/or founded independently of the state.**’ Even this definition may result

⁸ Day Ashley et al. 2014 and Wales et al. 2015

⁹ Ibid

in boundaries remaining blurred with some private schools being partially funded and regulated by the state or some that may operate independently, still having interactions with the public sector. The term, ‘non-state’, therefore encompasses a host of ownership and provision structures, various models arising due to different funding arrangements, and with the state involvement in non-state provision taking different forms (from minimal to deeply engaged). Figure 1 summarises some of the key typologies of state and non-state provision that exist globally. Of particular interest in this report are the schooling arrangements depicted within quadrant C and parts of quadrant A – both ‘private provision through public finance’ or different types of PPP arrangements and ‘private provision through private finance’.

Figure 1: Typologies of state and non-state providers and studies reviewing evidence on each

Typology of state and non-state education provision	
<p>A. Private provision; private finance (Day Ashley et al. 2014, Wales et al. 2015, Elaqua et al. 2015, Caerus Capital, 2016, R4D 2017)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private schools • Affordable private schools • Home schooling • Non-subsidized NGO schools/learning centers • Non-subsidized community schools • Non-subsidized religious schools 	<p>B. State provision; private finance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School fees or tuition fees in state schools • Individual philanthropy to support state schools • ‘Corporate social responsibility’ • Private sponsorship of state schools
<p>C. Private provision; public finance (Patrinos et al. 2009, Wales et al. 2015, Elaqua et al. 2015, Ron-Balsera et al. 2016, Aslam et al. 2017, R4D 2017)</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 • State-subsidized NGO schools/learning centers • State-subsidized community schools • State-subsidized religious schools 	<p>D. State provision; public finance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State schools, without fees.

Source: Aslam (2017)

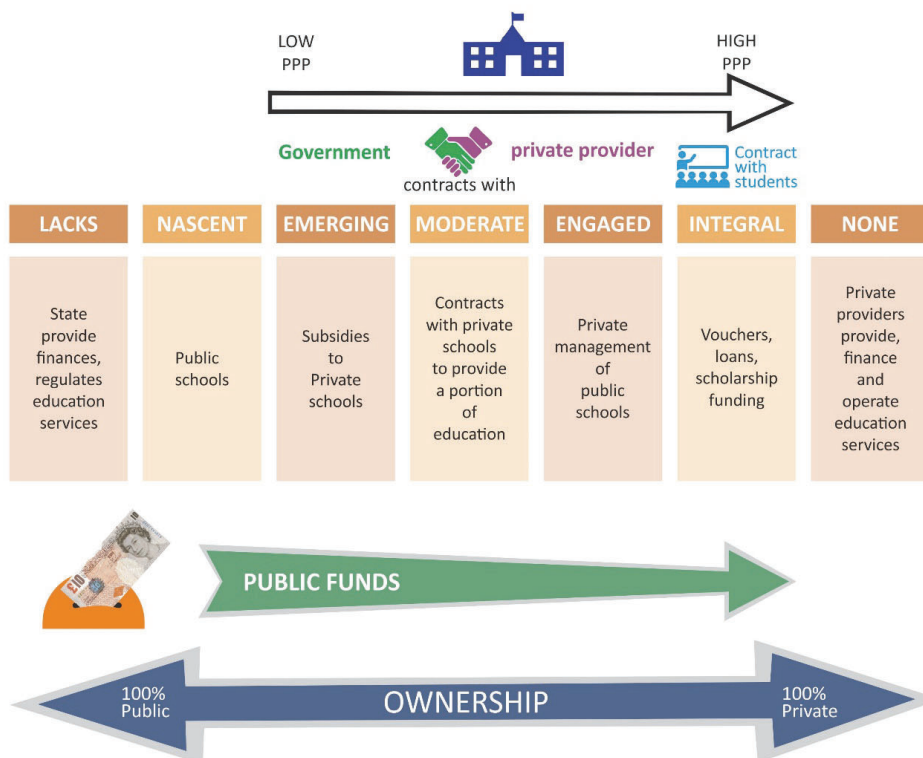
Public Private Partnerships are education partnerships with the government joining forces with a private sector provider in “some sort of durability between public and private actors, in which they jointly develop products and services and share risks, costs and resources that are connected with these products”¹⁰. As mentioned previously, various forms of PPPs have emerged in the education sector globally over the recent past and these arrangements have taken a wide variety of forms. Figure 2 summarises the different guises under which PPP arrangements can be structured depicting the type of school provision, the contractual arrangements in place, ownership structures and funding arrangements. As can be seen, the educational space can range from 100% public provision wherein the government provides, finances and regulates the educational services fully to 100% private provision wherein all educational provision is provided and financed by the private sector. Within these two

¹⁰ Hodge et al. (2011), p. 4.

extremes lie the more realistic educational spaces which exist in most countries across the world with the most emblematic of educational PPPs perhaps being reflected through education voucher schemes, loans and scholarships aimed at providing funding directly to children in order to increase school choice. Another illustrative PPP arrangement is through the creation of publicly financed and privately operated ‘contract’ or ‘charter’ schools. These PPP arrangements are typically viewed as ‘hybrids’ of public and private schools and whilst they are owned and funded by the public sector, they are managed by the private sector and may be exempt from certain regulations.

The figure also depicts the extent to which a given country is engaged in PPPs in education. Countries that allow private schools to operate within a central regulatory framework but do not provide them with any financing can be described as having ‘nascent’ PPP arrangements. In such an environment (e.g. Mexico), public and private schools operate completely independently, and students choose between the two usually based on their ability to pay, academic requirements for entry and/or geographical barriers. Countries described as having an ‘emerging’ PPP environment are those where the government subsidises private schools in order to support their own capacity needs for educating more students. A ‘moderate’ PPP environment exists where the government enters into a contractual agreement with a private provider specifying for example the number of students to be educated and for what length of time. These contracts often specify conditions under which the schools must operate and introduce an element of risk-sharing between the public and private sectors. ‘Engaged’ PPP environments are those where private providers enter into agreements to manage and operate government schools in exchange for payment from the public budget. These sorts of arrangements usually aim to promote innovation on the supply side and increase efficiency by allowing private contractors a certain amount of flexibility in relation to management, financing and other operational decisions. The strongest or ‘integral’ PPP environment provides students with a voucher to allow them to use public funds to attend any school they choose thereby encouraging choice and competition. Whilst in these situations the private sector retains responsibility for provision and administration of education within their schools, the government retains regulatory and financing responsibilities¹¹.

Figure 2: Spectrum of Public-Private educational provision



¹¹ Partinos et. al. (2009)

Source: Author's own adaptation of World Bank 2011, p.13-14

4. The landscape of private provision and PPP arrangements in SSA

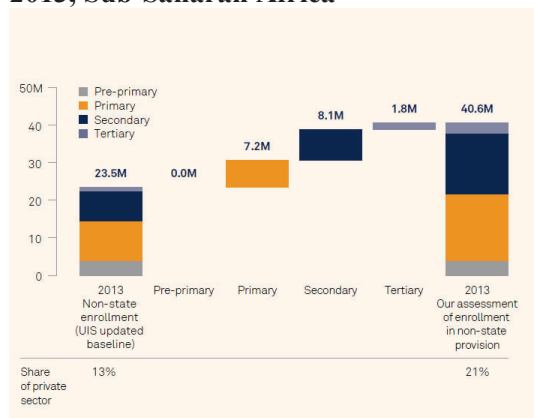
Summary Box

- The private sector has emerged and grown as an important player globally and in SSA. The private sector is seen to play a significant and not just a complimentary role in the core delivery of education.
- PPP initiatives have emerged experimenting with different forms of arrangements in SSA.
- The TVET sector is growing, however remains fragmented. Key opportunities for the non-state sector and for PPPs exist within this level of education, however, these are mired by several challenges such as quality, lack of funding and prestige etc.
- The private sector also provides many supplementary services to education in the region in the form of teacher training, publishing, construction, ed-tech etc.

Private provision: often one of the main actors and not just a supporting role

Different types of non-state providers and PPP arrangements have played a critical role in helping governments meet the needs of Universal Secondary Education. Specifically, the private sector has played not a complementary but a significant role in the core delivery of education in Sub-Saharan Africa. It is estimated that anywhere between 23.5 million and 41 million pupils (13.5% and 21% respectively) are enrolled in private institutions in SSA¹². It is estimated that this will increase to 1 in 4 by 2021. These numbers are difficult to accurately gauge as there are many unregistered private schools many of which do not participate in national surveys across the region, resulting in estimates of the private sector proportion varying by 10-30% across countries. It is also reported that not only is the share of private schooling already high in SSA but that in many instances private provision growth outstrips growth displayed in the public sector. Figures 3 and 4 graphically depict these estimates of private enrolment and public versus private enrolment growth in Africa¹³.

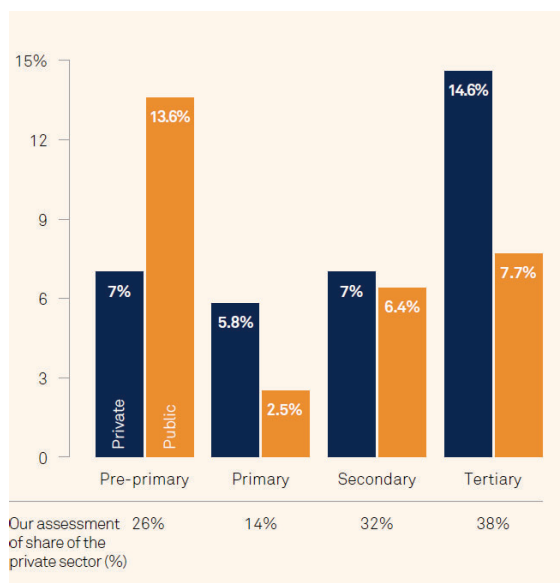
Figure 3: Private Enrolment in Education, UNESCO UIS, reported data versus revised estimates 2013, Sub-Saharan Africa



Source: *Business of Education in Africa (2017)*, Figure 9

Figure 4: Private versus public enrolment growth and market share, 2005-2013

¹² The Business of Education in Africa Report (2016).



Source: *The Business of Education in Africa (2017), Figure 10*

According to the World Bank, across Africa, on average 16% of young people attend private schools at the secondary level. In some countries, at the secondary level, these figures are much higher with 60%, 50% and 40% of children in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Burkina Faso, respectively, attending private schools. Also worth noting is the fact that three times as many primary school children are enrolled in private schools in developing countries than in developed countries¹⁴. The Business of Africa study also reports that the market share of private provision (K-12) comprises of 20% of the entire market within the SSA context with 32% in secondary education and 14% in primary education (p. 35). The majority of this sector is dominated by ‘Mom-and-Pop’ and non-formal education providers. However, larger scale providers (such as OMEGA schools, BRIDGE international academies, and Promoting Equity in African Schools, PEAS) are re-shaping the sector by developing models at scale for low-cost education at the K-12 level. However, some of these organisations have faced immense criticism and caused much concern relating to their delivery of education¹⁵. For example, BRIDGE Academies have been criticized for lack of compliance with standards, poor labour conditions and lack of transparency. Their arguments that they provide education to those who would otherwise be out of school have been challenged by those who say that their costs make these schools inaccessible to the poor. Whilst private provision can be a valuable solution, unless this provision is achieved within a framework on ensuring quality with regulation and accountability, it can be an unfavourable resolution.

Public private partnerships in education: collaboration towards shared goals

Countries around the globe are experimenting with various forms of public private partnerships (PPPs) in education, based on the idea that combining public funding of schools with the supposed superior incentive structure and performance of private schools, will improve the quality and efficiency of schooling overall. This has resulted in the establishment of different forms of PPP arrangements such as concession schools, charter schools, school-fee subsidies and voucher-funded educational institutions. Such arrangements have grown particularly in the developing world and across Africa in particular more so in the primary and increasingly at the secondary level. Figure 5 illustrates the geographical spread of PPP existence across the globe. This figure depicts the growing existence of PPPs internationally. An examination of the national education sector plans from 19 countries (many from SSA) shows that nearly a third of all Global Partnership for Education developing country partners

¹⁴ <https://www.devex.com/news/education-experts-square-off-on-the-public-versus-private-school-debate-in-africa-89707>

¹⁵ <http://www.norrag.org/evidence-before-marketing-recalling-the-known-independently-verified-facts-about-bridge-international-academies-by-113-signatories-as-collective-authors/>

include a key element indicating support to private provision of education in their national education sector plans. This demonstrates a growing acceptance and potentially more enabling climate within which the private sector can grow and highlights the fact that the private delivery of education, be it through PPPs, is an important education policy issue for a number of countries¹⁶.

There is emerging evidence from countries in Africa experimenting with different forms of PPPs. Uganda provides one case in point – a country with a ten-year history with public private partnerships. Liberia provides another example where, faced with a deteriorating public education system, the Liberian Ministry of Education announced in 2016 that it would contract the operation of government primary schools to a group of private companies, a form of public-private partnership. A World Bank review of education policies governing private education in 20 African countries has found that 70% of the countries report having an officially established legal framework to operationalize PPP arrangements in education. According to this report, the vast majority consist of government funding, subsidies and other financial support mechanisms whereby the government provides financial assistance to non-state providers. An alternative PPP arrangement also found in the region is whereby public schools are managed privately (e.g. Burkina Faso, Cote d’Ivoire, and Guinea) or where children are provided school vouchers to attend private schools of their choice (as in Mali)¹⁷.

Figure 5: The geographical spread of education PPPs



Source: Aslam et al. (2017)

¹⁶ Menashy (2015)

¹⁷ <https://gemreportunesco.wordpress.com/2016/07/05/the-arguments-and-evidence-behind-public-private-partnerships-in-education/>

PPP arrangements of different types are playing an increasingly important role in helping African governments meet their secondary education goals. In Uganda, for example, more than 600 private schools implemented a PPP-programme between 2007 and 2010 with an aim to meet USE goals. This arrangement included partner schools receiving financial support for not only tuition fees but also textbooks and other teaching materials¹⁸. These schools tended to be based in rural areas where less advantaged children reside. Another initiative in Uganda aimed at the secondary level involved PEAS schools. This initiative provided resources for the infrastructure building of secondary schools. As of December 2015, 24 PEAS schools existed in Uganda, enrolling 12000 students. Therefore, PPP arrangements at the secondary level involving private partners have tended to range in format, scope and reach within different contexts in Africa.

Faith-based providers have also played an important role in the supply of education within Africa either directly or through an arrangement with the government in the form of a PPP. There is a strong presence of non-state religious and philanthropic providers in various contexts around the world such as Latin America (e.g. Venezuela, Colombia), South Asia (e.g. Bangladesh and Pakistan) and Africa (e.g. the Democratic Republic of Congo). Within Africa, the DRC, for example is a country where Catholic schools are the most dominant form of education provision. Sierra Leone provides another context where faith-based providers play an important role. These types of schools have shown a long-term commitment to their communities and ability to reach the poorest members has been a key factor underpinning faith-based provision of education in countries weakened by war. More than half the students in Sierra Leone attend faith-based schools that receive the same government subsidy as government schools in the form of teacher salaries and teaching materials. These schools reach the poorest and most disadvantaged within the country because they tend to be located in such areas of the country and also tend to have more female students enrolled. Faith-based providers have also accounted for 48% of secondary school enrolments in rural areas and 41% in urban areas in the country (based on data from 2003-2004). Of specific note is the fact that a majority of the students attending faith-based schools both at the primary and secondary level in the urban areas belong to the poorest quintiles though this is not the case in rural areas where the children appear to be slightly more evenly spread across the quintiles. These faith-based schools also have a higher proportion of female students enrolled in the rural areas at the secondary level as compared to government schools¹⁹. This example demonstrates that faith-based providers potentially face a different sets of incentives and purposes as compared to other providers of education and these may affect not only how and where they operate but also any relationship they may have with the public sector²⁰.

In certain contexts, policy changes may result in the need for **engaging with the private sector to meet policy goals**. For example, if a country extends basic education to include junior secondary and finds itself unable to meet resultant demand for places in this sector, this reform may in itself encourage the private sector to fill any unmet demand. A similar situation arose in Madagascar through the restructuring of the education sector that placed increasing pressure on junior secondary education and a recognition on the part of the government for change required if all new students in junior secondary were to be accommodated. A World Bank report (2008) recognised the role the private sector²¹ played in implementing these reforms. Forty five per cent of junior secondary students in Madagascar were enrolled in un-subsidized private schools and enrolment in private secondary schools was reported to have increased continuously (based on data from the mid-2000s). Whilst the private junior secondary schools may have addressed some supply problems and did manage to use public teachers and lower school fees in rural areas, the costs were, in many circumstances still prohibitive for the poorest children.

¹⁸ Barerra-Osorio (2016)

¹⁹ Wodon, Quentin and Ying (2009), p. 103-104 for specific results.

²⁰ Wales et al. (2015) provide an extensive review of the evidence on faith-based schools in various contexts.

²¹ 'In Madagascar, SE private schools can be grouped into three categories. The first category relates to private schools, traditionally recognized as of better quality, located in urban areas and with rigorous selection at the entry, the second category refers to private schools that enroll students who failed the national entry examination to public SE schools, and the last category comprises private schools that are located in areas where SE public schools are missing.' (p. 28), World Bank (2008)

Specifically, the report states that PPPs may help address access issues in undertaking the expansion of the primary cycle. Two options put forward by the report of how these arrangements between the public and private sector could work are:

- 1) Contracting with private schools to use public facilities providing they enroll specified percentages of poor students and charge modest fees to deal with the issue of private schools spending a large amount of money on renting accommodation and
- 2) Providing a direct subsidy such as that in South Africa (500 Rand/year) to private schools serving disadvantaged children.

TVET: Meeting labour market needs through job-focused and skill-based training

Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) is a comprehensive term which encompasses both school-based and out-of-school education and training programmes, formal or non-formal, that have been developed to prepare students with competencies for specific occupations or productive activities in the various sectors of social and economic life. TVET involves the study of related sciences and technologies, relevant general knowledge and the acquisition of practical employable skills. The expansion of TVET at the secondary level also has the potential to make secondary education terminal in the sense that graduates can move into the world of work without proceeding into tertiary education thereby relieving any capacity pressures on tertiary education.

The **literature is sparse** in relation to the TVET sector. What is universally acknowledged though is that **there is growing demand for TVET training due to the gap in skills witnessed in the SSA region**. This has been evidenced by high levels of youth unemployment and human capital needs. Given these issues, TVET would have been expected to have grown far more than witnessed but this potential has not been met due to the low labour market returns often associated with these types of professional certifications²². There have, however, been changes within SSA countries particularly in Eastern Africa with countries like Kenya and Ethiopia adopting frameworks for skills qualifications to govern technical and skills courses and implementing reforms to increase awareness and acceptability of this sector²³. The TVET segment is the most fragmented and potentially the most challenging with few scale providers with poor quality provision despite the clear need for skilled technical labour²⁴. Investing in TVET has been less attractive to private providers due to the shorter student life-cycle and lower price points at this level of education²⁵. Additionally, very few countries in the SSA region have national skills frameworks aligning TVET to the requirements of the industry. The links between TVET and non-TVET study are also weak and, therefore, the sector remains mainly informal and apprenticeship-based with economic returns to TVET certification not being realized for individuals. There have been initiatives that provide innovative solutions such as the demand-driven model of ‘Andela’ and the Harambee Youth Employment Accelerator (in South Africa). These models also particularly lend themselves to mixed-financing models and cross-sectoral co-investment²⁶.

Amongst the challenges faced by TVET in the region, fragmentation in provision remains prevalent. Due to the fact that nearly two-thirds of the market is made up of multiple sub-scale providers, consolidation opportunities exist that can help consolidate these operators and improve quality, relevance and efficiency. The high capital investment required has been a barrier to sub-scale providers expansion. However, the opportunity exists for investors to drive scale benefits in quality and delivery standards. There are clear opportunities for partnerships in the TVET sector in Sub-Saharan Africa in which private education companies and the private industry can partner with the public sector to develop work-force ready graduates²⁷.

²² The Business of Education in Africa Report (2016) p. 78.

²³ Ibid, p. 35.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 37.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 78.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 37.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 98-99.

In addition to this, it has also been suggested that TVET can be transformed into a more demand-driven system²⁸. In the context of Madagascar, this could be done by empowering the structured private sector for vocational training for the formal economy and by developing the traditional apprenticeship for the informal economy. This would require transforming government training centres and establishing partnerships with the private sector and the need for developing vocational training for primary school completers who still have to complete a basic education comprising of 9-10 years. Public private partnerships in the TVET sector are proposed a crucial solution to meeting workforce demands in Madagascar.

BOX 1

CASE STUDY1: TVET IN GHANA

Ghana provides an example of a country that witnessed commendable growth over the past few decades, however, has faced low productivity across many industries partly attributed to a skills gap. In this context, technical and vocational training (TVET) provides an opportunity to address this challenge and the private sector, especially NGOs and religious organisations, have played an important role in the provision of TVET.

The TVET landscape in Ghana

In the last few decades, Ghana, a lower-middle income country, has witnessed steady growth in its economy, declining levels of poverty, peace and democracy and is, therefore, well placed for continued improvements in each of these realms. Building human capital, helping young people into employment and raising the productivity of labour, have the focus of the TVET sector for more than a decade but have recently gained further urgency due to the increasing challenges faced in youth employment with 24 million young people with many needing to transition into the world of work. Less than 10% of technical and vocational skills in the country are acquired through the formal public TVET system and the vast majority, much of which is privately provided, is through the informal sector. Both systems face high costs, inadequate quality of supply and low demand leading to a vicious cycle of further declines in financing, supply and demand. TVET in Ghana remains less popular than general education and is generally viewed as a sign of mediocrity rather than a path to a specified vocation. However, TVET has now become the focus of a national policy debate and has received a significant amount of policy focus in the country.

The Supply of TVET in Ghana

TVET in Ghana is provided by two main types of providers: public institutions and private providers. The former are associated with different ministries, and most of them are affiliated with either the Ministry of Education (MOE) and the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare (MOESW). Public institutions receive government funding for all their costs the bulk of which goes towards infrastructure and teachers' salaries. Private TVET providers are of three further types: private-for-profit, private not-for-profit and informal sector associations. In the private for-profit providers, government funding is limited, and all operating expenses have to be recovered from students, resulting in higher tuition compared to public institutions.

According to Fu Tu (2013), private institutions appear to have more flexible curricula that can be adapted to meet industry demands, however, funding inadequacies mean that many of them are of low quality due to lack of basic equipment and resources. Private non-for-providers also face similar challenges. Informal sector associations' courses are more directly linked to specific professions with their trainings taking the format of apprenticeships. There were more than twice as many private providers (430 as compared to about 200 public TVET institutions), however the public TVET institutions enrolled on average just over 300 students/institution as compared to 173 by the private provider. Public providers have been noted to have better student-teacher ratios and were viewed as more prestigious than private counterparts. The government of Ghana, therefore, remains a large provider of skills at the intermediate, advanced and technical levels. The public sector has created a supply driven training system within which providers operate in a highly uncompetitive market. There are more than 200 public TVET institutions including 45 technical training institutes (TTIs) housed under the Ministry of Education (MoE) and 116 vocational institutes under the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations and other types of centres and provisions under different ministries. These public institutions are spread across all 10 regions but tend to be located in urban areas.

²⁸ World Bank (2008)

Key challenges in the provision of TVET in the country

There are a number of key challenges facing this sector specifically in Ghana that are also reflective of similar challenges faced in other developing contexts particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. These include the following:

- Lack of funding: TVET programmes are very costly on a per student basis compared to junior secondary and senior secondary and despite high unit costs, TVET is only allocated a minimal amount of the education budget. In particular the lack of funding in support of the TVET system both in terms of direct funding to the relevant institutions.
- A lack of outcome measurement and a lack of incentive to perform mean that this sector has very weak accountability mechanisms and incentives that can result in ineffective outcomes.
- Mismatch between supply and demand.
- Limited enrolment and social stigma associated with TVET programmes. TVET in Ghana suffers from low prestige value with many perceiving it to be of poor quality.
- Lack of modern equipment
- Outdated and irrelevant curricula: most TVET curricula are supply driven and have little input from the labour market. Trainee-ships are limited and cannot accommodate student numbers
- Poor instructor quality.
- Lack of government coordination in involving all stakeholders
- Low female enrolment in particular in specific trades. TVET in African countries generally (and in Ghana) tends to be attended by male students and considering that many females end up self-employed in the informal market, TVET could play an important role in imparting trade and entrepreneurial skills.
- Ministerial auspices: there are movements in many developing countries for responsibility for TVET to come under the Ministry of education if not already. However, in some countries, TVET and certain specialised vocational training programmes can fall under supervision of other sectoral ministries and therefore the efficacy of their delivery will be impacted dependent on the Ministry within which they sit. The advantage of TVET falling under the Ministry of Education is that it becomes an area of focus within the Education Sector Plan. The Education Strategic Plan (2010-2020) in Ghana has a specific focus on TVET with a TVET policy framework being developed in six partner ministries. The thrust of this policy is to integrate the formal and non-formal TVET into a single, comprehensive, demand-driven system.

City & Guilds Centre for Skills Development Report (2011) has noted that there is a stigma attached to TVET in Ghana with a widely held perception that only those who are academically weak or labelled as school dropouts enter into the TVET system. Returns to vocational education are perceived to be very poor and it is assumed that to get a well-paid, highly regarded job, one would need to go down an academic route with many trainees perceiving employment prospects after TVET as being low. The quality of TVET training was also perceived to be worryingly low and it was suggested that campaigns should be conducted to improve the perceptions of TVET, improvements in careers advice and guidance systems whereby teachers are able to communicate the different options available to young people, improvements in labour market data to help young people truly understand the opportunities that lie in the labour market post-TVET qualification. There was also a suggestion for expanding the policy and legislative platforms for TVET.

Who accesses TVET in Ghana?

Entry requirements for TVET training are incredibly lax and require a minimum aggregate Basic Education Certificate Exam score and both public and private vocational training institutes appear to have lenient entrance requirements. The TVET system in Ghana appears to exclude the poor with access to TVET courses rising with family wealth with many who enter TVET courses leaving them mid-cycle to enter the informal economy and working in low skilled and poorly paid jobs²⁹. Some of the key challenges of inequity in accessing TVET in the country are:

1. Entrance requirements: whilst entrance requirements are basic, often even these low learning outcomes are not achieved by poorer pupils.
2. The urban location of these institutes make access difficult for rural communities.
3. The long course duration means the opportunity costs of not working are too high for poorer families.
4. The direct costs of TVET courses are unaffordable for the poor.

²⁹ Darvas and Palmer (2014)

5. There is a lack of scholarships available and other sources of financial support do not exist.
6. Public spending has not been targeted at the poor. The World Bank estimates that only 19% of public spending on vocational education is targeted at the poor.

Differences across the public versus private TVET sectors

Fu Tu (2013) have found that public TVET institutions were better funded and therefore had better student-teacher ratios, a higher percentage of teachers with qualifications and better infrastructure. The authors estimate that graduates from public TVET schools earn 2-3 times as much as those from private TVET institutions (based on raw mean comparisons). In further regression analysis, controlling for a limited number of factors, the authors have found similar results.

Based on their interviews, they also found that private institutions were more financially constrained and occasionally ran out of cash and although they could in theory access government funding (such as Skill Development Fund), in practice, the stringent requirements made this unlikely. Private non-profit institutions did not appear to have access to bank loans due to their credit risk being considered high due to the unpredictability of donor funding, and whilst private for-profit institutions were able to borrow short term loans, the interest rate tended to be un-affordably high. The authors of this study suggest performance-based contracts between the government and the private sector providers in which up-front grants and matched funding is results-based. This paper discusses the Skill Development Fund (SDF) as an example of an intervention, established in 2011 till 2015 with 8 rounds of call for proposals. This was a collaboration between the Ghanaian government, the World Bank and the Danish International Development Agency. The SDF aims to respond to the challenges of the TVET system. The authors have highlighted some of the drawbacks of this programme (such as grantee's lack of accountability, difficulty in assessing applications, information asymmetry between grant applications and evaluators and slow disbursement to name a few). The authors suggest that before grants are disbursed, agreements with specific targets for outcomes should have been entered into with grantees and rigorous evaluations of these outcomes conducted at the end of the programme. They also emphasized the need for formal monitoring and evaluation processes to help grantees build a track record with investors.

The authors of this study also conducted empirical analysis using household survey data, using public schools as a proxy for better funding and certificates as measurable training outcome. The results of this analysis have shown that among wage earners, after controlling for other variables, those who graduated from the better funded TVET institutions (public providers) earned 58% more than those from less well funded schools.

A PPP arrangement: lessons to learn?

The Ghana Knowledge and Skills Centres (KSC) public private partnership provides an example of a PPP established in Ghana to meet the demands of TVET education that the existing education system was unable to meet. This partnership was established in 2008 between the Ghanaian government and Ghanaian and Dutch companies and resulted in the Ghana Industrial Skills Development Centre (GISDC), a private, non-profit training institution funded by the government of Netherlands and housed within the Tema Technical Institute (TTI), a public-sector institution. This partnership aimed to be funded 50% by the Dutch government and 50% by the private companies in Ghana with an in-kind contribution by the Government of Ghana comprising of 25 years use of land without any charge. In reality, the Dutch government ended up funding more than anticipated due to lower contributions by private sector institutions.

The partnership development process involved extensive consultations between the government and key stakeholders. Whilst this PPP faced several challenges (insufficient funding from the private sector, challenges with the land-lease agreement etc.), the view amongst key stakeholders was that this PPP was an appropriate and useful way to meet gaps in provision at this level of education despite the fact that it did not work sufficiently well to become fully operational and establish its place in the market. This example, nevertheless, provides several lessons for public-private partnerships more broadly:

‘The lesson is therefore that engaging governments in such initiatives needs to be carefully thought out, perhaps according to the following principles:

- The government has a policy and regulatory function in education whether or not it is a partner in specific initiatives, and so there must be another reason – beyond its normal functions - to engage government more directly in;
- The reasons why the government might be engaged directly can perhaps most usefully be at the political level, such as having the ability to remove road-blocks to progress;

- If government is to be engaged directly then there needs to be an effective governance structure that allows all partners to be properly accountable to each other ('the partnership'), and also to be able to contribute efficiently to the partnership activities;
- Engaging government in a partnership may not be as simple as getting support from one Ministry or government function where responsibility for the underlying issues crosses between different such functions. This is a necessary complication for a public-private partnership to address;
- Where a public sector body acts as a donor, they should take care that the mechanisms for ensuring accountability for the use of public funds should work through, and not distort, partnership governance.³⁰

Conclusions

Africa houses a large share of the youth. Ghana is no exception. A large number of youth build basic skills through apprenticeships and on-the-job training and have limited access to formal technical and vocational education³¹. For a large majority of the population in Ghana, academic and financial constraints also form major constraints to formal education and therefore alternative routes can provide major opportunities into productive employment. This case study highlights the role private provision plays in this arena, the challenges faced and the opportunities that exist for collaboration and enhancement of provision and quality across this sector.

Supporting the delivery of core education in SSA: additional means of leveraging the private sector

The private sector also provides many supplementary services that support the delivery of core education in SSA. Box 2 summarises some of these.

BOX 2: THE SUPPORTING ROLE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN SSA

Whilst recognizing the importance of the private sector (both directly and through partnerships) in core delivery of education, the private sector plays an important role in the provision of ancillary services in SSA that not only support but also complement other actors in the education system. These can take the form of the following:

1. **Teacher training:** for example, private sector has a share of 40% of teacher training courses in Kenya. Given the current and projected shortage of teachers across the region, this provision by the private sector may prove vital. Many private providers have already started expanding into teacher training to fulfill their own workforce requirements.
2. **Supplementary education:** such as after-school tutoring and test preparation. For example, KUMON has about 200 centres in SSA. In Nigeria half a million children enroll in test preparation courses every year.
3. **Education technology:** which includes online or hybrid core delivery of education provision as well as supplementary education to widen access and improve school quality. Efforts have also been made in improving school management and operational efficiency through software programmes that encourage data driven decision-making.
4. **Student and institutional finance:** finance from the private sector can make education more affordable and allow institutions to have more financial stability and whilst there are limited formal models currently in education finance, this is an emerging area in SSA.
5. **Publishing:** The publishing of learning and assessment materials has been dominated by the private sector in the retail market or in collaboration with the government through contracts throughout the region. Both local providers as well as large international organisations have played a role in this area.
6. **Construction:** The shortfall in funding towards facilities has increasingly constrained the expansion of secondary education due to the high construction costs, particularly in rural areas. Whilst much construction has been funded by donors, there is still an immense shortfall, leaving many pupils without secondary schools to attend.

³⁰ Harrison, T. (2009), The Ghana Knowledge and Skills Centres (KSC) PPP, The Partnering Initiative, GTZ.

³¹ Teal 2016

One supplementary area of education provision that has witnessed extensive cooperation between the public and private sectors in SSA is in the area of **publishing and the provision of textbooks**. Whilst textbooks are not the only important input into education production, shortages in textbooks continue to hamper the learning of many children in SSA. Textbooks provide an essential means of support to teachers and shortages have been immense due to growing student populations with the supply of books unable to meet demand and even where books are available, costs of such books may prevent certain children from being able to access them. Estimates of the shortages have shown that as many as 18 of the 19 SSA countries suffer from severe textbook shortages particularly in non-core subjects and the impact this lack of teaching and learning materials has had on learning has highlighted the urgency for action³². High textbook costs have been attributed to poor governance and ineffective procurement and the private sector's involvement in textbook publishing and distribution has been highlighted as a means of addressing these factors and a way of reducing prices. This approach has been used in a growing number of countries. Textbook publishing in sub-Saharan Africa has increasingly become the proviso of the private sector and this has led to a rapid growth in local publishing and local publishing capacity. In particular, since the 1990s there has been a reliance on the private sector often through public private partnerships not only for the printing of textbooks but also for developing text. Locally published textbooks particularly at the lower-secondary level are significantly cheaper, thereby reducing school overheads. At the senior secondary level, many countries still import textbooks from other markets but that too is expected to change³³. An alternative means of dealing with textbook shortages is offered by electronic teaching and learning materials. The most cost-effective approach over the next decade is likely to be a mixed use balancing the different types of printed as well as electronic materials³⁴.

Secondary school construction by private providers or with governments in collaboration with private entities (in the form of partnerships) is likely to be an increasingly important aspect in education. Fast growing student numbers have placed an immense pressure on school infrastructure which tends generally in SSA to be limited and unable to grow fast enough particularly at the secondary level. Lack of infrastructure at its extreme means that children are simply unable to attend school because it does not exist or even where it exists, the low quality of the learning environment contributes to poor student outcomes. Numerous children in SSA either do not have access to a secondary school or attend a school with infrastructure that is inadequate in volume, quality and functionality. In many African countries, NGOs have become increasingly instrumental in school construction at the primary school level either through using private funds that they have raised or using donor or government funds through management delegation. Arguably, because of their rural reach, governments and donors consider NGOs to be more efficient and effective in reaching the poor and because of this, collaborations with NGOs are seen as effective in reaching large rural populations. A large number of NGOs also use school construction as an entry point to achieve wider community development objectives³⁵. The construction of secondary schools is likely to be an increasingly important constraint in particular because most expansion is needed in rural areas where construction costs are higher in both primary and secondary education.

Distance learning also provides an enormous opportunity to provide students with access to information that would not have been possible in the past. Private providers and public private partnerships can enable such forms of education delivery particularly at higher levels of education. Innovation in private firms and advances in technology have meant that the delivery of secondary education has been transformed with the ability to provide access to large amounts of information previously either unavailable or difficult to access in many developing education systems. Whilst these types of technology work best in higher education and more urban areas with high speed internet connections and where students are able to be self-taught and motivated, these types of education

³² Fredriksen, Brar & Trucano 2015

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Fredriksen et al. (2015)

³⁵ Theunynck 2009, p. 73-74

delivery still provide a potential opportunity for expanding provision particularly at the higher secondary level³⁶.

5. What is the evidence of impact of non-state providers and PPP arrangements on access and quality of education

Evidence of impact on access and equity

Summary Box

- The evidence on whether private schools and PPP arrangements are able to reach the poor is ambiguous with some types of providers such as philanthropic schools purposefully locating in more disadvantaged areas.
- However, evidence has shown that the costs of even low-cost private schooling are prohibitive and, therefore, benefit only the more better off in society.
- There is also evidence that in some situations these types of schools exacerbate existing inequalities.
- There are also successful examples of PPP arrangements that have improved access in an equitable manner (e.g. Ark schools in Uganda).

The findings on whether low-fee private schools geographically reach the poor are inconsistent and provide ambiguous evidence³⁷. Whilst these schools are increasingly becoming prevalent in rural areas in some contexts, in a majority of the cases they are more often clustered in urban areas. However, this does not necessarily provide evidence on whether or not they are accessible to the poor. The evidence on whether private schools are equally accessed by boys and girls has provided compelling evidence that girls are less likely to access private schools³⁸. However, these findings are very context specific and in some instances, it has been found that that private schools reduce the gender gap that is found in state schools³⁹.

Ability to pay private school fees provides an alternative means of assessing equity in access. DayAshley et al. (2014) examine this hypothesis and identify 11 studies (4 of which are from the African context – Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and Tanzania). The overall evidence is weak and the findings are mostly neutral or ambiguous in this regard. **Financial constraints have been found to pose a key factor limiting access to private schools. Private schools have also been found to be more expensive both in terms of school fees as well as in terms of hidden costs** (e.g. uniform, books etc.)⁴⁰. For example, it was found in Ethiopia that that an increasing number of families send their children to non-state schools at the secondary level of education and the number of such institutions is expanding rapidly (although only 5% of total enrolment at the secondary level accounted by the non-state sector at the time of the study). It was also noted that the inability of a large proportion of the population being unable to afford private school fees places a constraint on the expansion of such

³⁶<https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/7cc37e47-d8e1-46ee-8854-e57af575be60/EM+Compass+Note+32+Education+2-7+FINAL.pdf?MOD=AJPERES>

³⁷ Day Ashley et al., 2014.

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ It must be noted that the evidence from Day Ashley et al. (2014) does not focus specifically on SSA or on secondary education alone (the papers reviewed for these research questions do cover 3 SSA contexts, however the majority of the evidence is based on the South Asia region).

⁴⁰ The evidence is based on 7 studies, 3 of the studies are based on two SSA countries (Ghana and Kenya), Day Ashley et al. (2014).

schools and the creation of an unacceptable inequity within the secondary schooling system⁴¹. A study by the World Bank (2008) in Madagascar also finds that whilst some private schools have lowered their fees, in general private schools are too expensive for the poorest quintiles at the secondary level, particularly in this context where parents do not believe in the value or relevance of secondary education. The study does, however, recognize the important role that the private sector can play in meeting the demands of junior secondary places given the policy reform that has taken place to expand the primary cycle to include junior secondary education. Evidence from Malawi also evaluates the role of the private sector in the expansion of post-primary education⁴². It has been found that **private schooling in the country is unaffordable to the majority of households and that for the poorest, the only alternative to private secondary schooling is the government sector** (access to which is highly competitive) or to Community Day Secondary Schools (CDSSs) which provide very poor-quality education. There is also an urban bias in access to secondary education with rural residents facing a less than 10% chance of being enrolled as compared to their urban counterparts. A vast majority of schools, be they private or public, are based in urban or peri-urban areas and private schools, in general, tend not to locate in rural areas due to limited financial viability. Whilst there is evidence in the country that the private sector has contributed to the growth of secondary education, any future expansion is likely to be constrained by lack of affordability for private schooling at this level of education.

Education costs in Ghana have been found to be incredibly burdensome for many who attend low-fee private schools with households in the bottom quintile of their study spending on average 6 times as much on education as a proportion of their income compared to those in the top income quintile⁴³. Therefore, it is important to consider the financial burden imposed on lower income households particularly as only 2% of low fee private school enrolment is drawn from the poorest 25% of the Ghana's population thereby indicating that such schools must take care to avoid excluding the lowest income households. Another study has found that in every country studied (Ghana, Kenya, Jamaica, Tanzania, Indonesia and Pakistan), low-income families aimed to place their children in private schools and that the difference in costs between low-fee private schools and free public schools was modest⁴⁴. They report that in Ghana, for instance, the cost of sending a child to an un-registered private school is 12% of the minimum wage, 20% at a registered private school and 16% at a free public school. This implies that it may be less expensive to send a child to an unregistered private school and may well be more cost-effective to send a child to a registered private school (p.11).

Whilst in some contexts high costs of fees prohibit children from accessing private schools, in other contexts children are able to access low-fee private schools, but to the detriment of financing other aspects of their lives such as food and healthcare. For example, in Ghana, it was found that a large proportion of household income is spent on both public and low fee private schools and whilst some poor households do enrol their children in low fee private schools, this is not necessarily an indication that they can afford to do so⁴⁵. This, in addition to the burden of auxiliary costs of attending private schools means that children from wealthier backgrounds are more likely to choose private schooling and are also more likely to afford it⁴⁶. Other studies have also shown that the cost of private schooling at the primary and junior secondary level vary across geographical areas but that in some areas, particularly in the rural savannah, these costs can be prohibitive. It is noted that specific non-state provision has focused on addressing the needs of certain communities with providers having collaborated informally with the public sector particularly to improve access for out of school

⁴¹ Joshi and Verspoor (2012)

⁴² Chimombo (2009)

⁴³ R4D report (2016)

⁴⁴ Heyneman and Stern (2014)

⁴⁵ Akaguri (2014)

⁴⁶ *ibid*

children⁴⁷. Evidence from South Africa⁴⁸ has also found that private schools do not cater to the poor children. Similarly, in Tanzania it was found that secondary schooling remains ‘economically prohibitive’ to the rural households and this is true for both government and private schools as neither are free (except for high scoring merit scholars)⁴⁹.

Due to their underlying philosophy, philanthropic and religious schools often specifically target the poor and marginalised and, therefore, one would presume that these types of non-state providers are able to geographically reach these populations. **There appears to be strong and consistent evidence that these types of providers reach the poor and marginalized in different ways**⁵⁰. This is particularly due to the fact that philanthropic schools often purposefully locate themselves in marginalized areas. There is also evidence that religious schools reach out to the more marginalized communities. However, the evidence on this aspect to date has been more focused on the South Asian context but does nonetheless include some evidence from DRC, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Zambia. In conflict-affected settings such as Sierra Leone non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and faith-based organisations (FBOs) have particularly assisted in the provision of primary education by supplementing governmental efforts. This has arisen with the collaborations between non-state providers and the government and these have resulted in progress towards achieving Education for All (EFA) in this context⁵¹. A study in Ghana on faith-based schools has found that even when such schools were unable to locate in poor areas or not specifically able to serve the poor, they were seen to still make efforts to aim to reach the poor within any constraints that they faced by ‘putting into practice a preferential option for the poor even when this was not easily detectable from aggregate statistics’⁵². With regards to gender, there is moderate evidence that philanthropic schools target female enrolment and appear to have achieved gender parity in access. The evidence is more mixed for religious schools⁵³. With regards to affordability of these types of schools, there is weak and mixed evidence that is very context specific that some providers charge fees but that comparative expenses remain unclear⁵⁴. Another study also notes that scholarships and stipends can be an effective strategy for girls’ education in terms of both enrolment and retention, at the Junior High School and Senior High School levels. This form of arrangement, however, is likely to be most impactful if it is well-targeted and takes into account intersectionalities such as wealth and gender which determine educational outcomes and conditional criteria such as attendance.⁵⁵

Balancing efficiency and equity remains a key challenge for policy makers and PPPs have been argued to be able to provide a combination that takes advantage of the benefits of both private and public provision. Market efficiencies are often put forward as an argument for private provision, however, many detractors argue that these types of schools exacerbate existing inequalities within the education system. Nevertheless, certain PPP arrangements such as vouchers give the opportunity for students who would not otherwise be able to afford access to private education with the opportunity to do so thereby improving equity. Evidence from the context of Mozambique⁵⁶ finds that the **non-state sector is playing ‘some role in providing places at the secondary level where government under-provides’**.

⁴⁷ Akeyompong (2009). Also see Ghana case study for more details.

⁴⁸ Languille (2016)

⁴⁹ Hartwig (2013)

⁵⁰ Wales et al. (2015).

⁵¹ Nishimuko (2009)

⁵² Adoho et al. (2014)

⁵³ Of the 12 studies reviewed by Wales et al. (2015), only 2 cover the SSA region. As with the Day Ashley et al. (2014) review, it is important to note that the Wales et al. (2015) review is not specifically focused on the secondary education level.

⁵⁴ Wales et al. (2015) also examine the extent to which philanthropic and religious schools are affordable to users as compared to state schools. Using evidence from 12 studies (3 of which are from SSA – DRC, Ghana and Zambia)

⁵⁵ (Camfed Ghana 2012)

⁵⁶ Harma (2016)

It has also been found that there are clearly excessive demand pressures for good quality provision at the secondary level due to insufficient or lacking government provision. However, the non-state sector at all levels of education (including secondary), despite this demand is still growing at a slow pace and this is attributed by the author to the ‘unaffordability’ of non-state provision for most people.

There is **some evidence that different types of PPP arrangements are not always able to reach the poor or those in more remote areas**⁵⁷. Some programmes, for example, while intended for the poor end up benefiting those who are relatively well-off. Uganda provides an example where the driving force behind the PPP programme in the country had the primary goal of improving access to education in an equitable manner and evidence has suggested that this programme was successful in improving capacity and it has been argued that by empowering a broader spectrum of parents to influence school matters, this policy has, to some extent, also led to a more equitable distribution of education^{58,59}. Additional evidence⁶⁰ on private schools finds that **where subsidies are targeted (in specific contexts), equity (e.g. through increased female enrolment) may be improved**. The evidence is more mixed in relation to philanthropic and religious schools where it is found that some aspects of equity are improved but this is found to be very context specific.

Specific evidence from the secondary sub-Saharan African context finds that **PPPs have negative implications for equity in that there is a paucity of mechanisms to ensure students from poorer households are able to access this type of schooling**⁶¹. In Tanzania it was found that there is no specific documented type of PPPs in place in the secondary education sector in the country with the result that many of the partnerships arise due to default or need rather than through design. It was also noted that very few students from low income households’ study in private secondary schools. The authors of this study call for a review of the current system so as to devise new strategies to ensure that PPPs in the country prove to be more beneficial to less well-off students. These include the following options: establishing a PPP arrangement at the secondary level where all private schools are required to allocate a specific number of places to government-funded students from disadvantaged backgrounds; subsidies for private schools to reduce the cost burden for less well-off students and exemption schemes for children from disadvantaged backgrounds.

An example of a PPP arrangement at the secondary level is also provided by PEAS (Promoting Quality in Access in African Schools), a charity providing access to quality education for students from disadvantaged backgrounds in Sub-Saharan Africa, intervening to provide the resources required for the building of secondary schools in Uganda in 2008. As of December 2015, there were 24 PEAS schools operating in Uganda with approximately 12,000 students. These schools are supposedly managed in a more effective manner, which can be an important determinant of the effectiveness of these schools, which should then be reflected in better learning outcomes. There is evidence that **these schools benefit children from poorer backgrounds**⁶². Moreover, even though PEAS students are from more disadvantaged backgrounds and have lower prior achievement, regression analysis and propensity score-matching methods show they currently perform better in both mathematics and English than their counterparts in public schools, and also perform as well in both subjects as children in other private schools. There is evidence that the **PEAS programme has improved access for children from disadvantaged backgrounds due to the fact that a majority of these students would not otherwise have access to secondary education**: three out of five PEAS students are in the poorest two quintiles of household asset distribution. In examining the issue of sustainability, there is evidence

⁵⁷ Aslam et al. (2017).

⁵⁸ Barrera-Orsorio et al., 2016.

⁵⁹ As mentioned above, it should be noted that this review did not focus only on secondary education or only on the SSA context.

⁶⁰ Day Ashely et al. (2014) and Wales et al. (2015)

⁶¹ Komba and Youhana (2013)

⁶² (EPRC 2016)

that these schools are more affordable in terms of total costs compared to other private schools, with total schooling costs similar to those in government schools.

Evidence from a large-scale DFID-funded programme that has supported 37 projects across 18 countries in Africa and Asia (Girls Education Challenge) has noted that PPPs are assumed to have the capacity to address the issues of girls' marginalization and therefore have a role to play in the work of the GEC⁶³. Whilst the long-term outcomes of this programme and the PPP model within it cannot yet be evaluated, a study has found that mid-term evaluations tracking the learning gains of girls have shown uneven results. Of the four outcomes that were reviewed (improving girls' attendance, improved learning in literacy and numeracy for girls, generating matched funding and developing sustainability to enable girls in the programme to complete a full cycle of education), it was found that those relating to improving attendance and ensuring sustainability were not met whilst the target of improving learning outcomes was exceeded for the programme overall. 'GEC as an example of a PPP thus has many facets, but it is not yet possible to document the outcomes of this form of intervention on gender equality or long-term enhanced access to education for girls experiencing poverty and inequality. GEC has used the PPP mechanism because of evident failures of state provision of education for the poorest with some clear gender dynamics. But using the PPP model still begs the question of how to address the institutional, economic or political basis of gender and connected inequalities'⁶⁴. Because projects struggled to understand the complexity of marginalization in education, PPPs, alongside other forms of provision, are equally in-equipped to engage with aspects such as context, gender, and intersecting inequalities.

Evidence of impact on learning outcomes

Summary Box

- There is moderate strength of evidence that children in fee-charging private schools achieve better or similar learning outcomes than those in state schools. In some contexts where these schools locate in more disadvantaged areas and attract more marginalised pupils, the fact that they have been shown in some instances to achieve as good, if not better, results, is a pertinent finding.
- The evidence on philanthropic and religious schools is also mixed with the former showing more consistent and positive evidence and the latter findings' more mixed.
- The evidence on the extent to which PPP arrangements improve learning outcomes as compared to state provision is also very mixed, context specific and dependent on the specifics of the PPP arrangement.
- All studies evaluating learning outcomes across various school types face empirical constraints of being able to sufficiently account for differences in home background factors and un-observables.
- It is important to note that, in general, across both state and non-state schools, learning outcomes are unacceptably low in many contexts.

There is **moderate evidence that children in private schools achieve better learning outcomes than their counterparts in government schools**⁶⁵. However, it is important that studies examining these effects face the problem of being able to sufficiently account for home background factors and whilst many attempt to do so, it is difficult to truly ascribe this advantage purely to the private schools that are being attended. Another important factor to note is that, in general across both private and public schools, learning outcomes are unacceptably low in many contexts.

⁶³ Untenhalter (2017)

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 90.

⁶⁵ Day Ashely et al.'s (2014). In examining 21 studies, 5 of which are based on three SSA countries (Kenya, Ghana and Nigeria), the authors find that the majority of studies (14 positive and 7 neutral) provide a moderate strength of evidence that children in private schools achieve better learning outcomes than their counterparts in public schools.

The evidence on whether **philanthropic and religious schools are of better quality than state schools is moderately positive**⁶⁶. Specifically, the evidence on philanthropic schools is largely more consistent, presenting evidence that learning outcomes are better or at least as good as those of state school pupils. However, in relation to religious schools, the findings are more mixed. In a similar vein, these empirical analyses also face the challenge of accounting for un-observables that may be biasing findings. This evidence is based on a very limited number of providers and, therefore, the external validity of these findings must be recognized.

Pre-2009 evidence-summarising various PPP arrangements notes that private management of public schools has improved learning outcomes in a diverse set of contexts (such as Venezuela, USA and Colombia). Identifying what it is about these schools that has made them more effective is not very clear. The evidence on vouchers is more controversial although the literature is technically more robust. With respect to subsidies, the authors have found very limited empirical evidence from very few contexts with inconclusive results⁶⁷. More recent evidence-summaries on PPPs found that **in relation to subsidies there was weakly positive evidence suggesting that this type of arrangement can lead to improved learning outcomes for pupils**⁶⁸. In the Sierra Leone context, faith-based schools provide the largest market share of education and more than half of pupils in the country attend this type of school. The government of Sierra Leone provides the same subsidy to government-assisted faith-based schools as they do to government schools taking the form of teacher salaries and teaching materials. There is evidence of positive impacts of attending a faith-based school on numeracy and writing in English⁶⁹. Attending this type of school did not appear to have a significant impact on reading English. **Given that these schools tend to locate in poorer areas and enroll more disadvantaged pupils, the fact that they can provide at least as good learning outcomes as government schools provides a strong argument in favour of this type of financial arrangement.**

In another African context, Barrera-Osorio et al. (2016) estimate the short-term impact of a PPP programme in Ugandan secondary schools. More than 600 secondary schools were involved in this initiative with the aim of increasing access to meet USE goals in the country. The contractual arrangement involved partner schools receiving financial support for tuition fees as well as additional financial support for textbooks and teaching materials. These schools **also tended to be located in rural areas and were attended by children from less well-off families and from more disadvantaged backgrounds**. The robust randomised nature of the phase-in of this programme allows the authors to claim a **causal relationship between this intervention and the positive student outcome results**. It should, however, be noted that this analysis compared the PPP schools with private schools not government schools. The authors attribute their findings to the more efficient use of teachers and instructional outputs and the lower per student costs within these intervention schools.

Another initiative in Uganda, mentioned earlier, is that of the PEAS schools. A study examines whether these and other PPP schools reflect better learning outcomes using test score data for over 40,000 students at two points in time by using prior achievement in a value-added framework to compare government schools with private schools and with PPP schools⁷⁰. It was found that pupils in PEAS schools scored over 2 standard deviations higher than the average school in Uganda. However, this is not the case of PPP schools in general whose results do not show any advantage over public schools. This evidence was corroborated in another study⁷¹ that showed that students in PEAS schools perform

⁶⁶ Wales et al. (2015). This review presents the finding of 9 studies, 3 of which are in 2 SSA countries (Ghana and Zambia) and find a moderate level of consistency in that 5 of these studies report positive findings with respect to this assumption.

⁶⁷ Patrinos et al. (2009) & LaRoque (2008)

⁶⁸ Aslam et al. (2017), these findings are based on 9 studies covering 7 contexts of which 4 studies are based in 2 SSA countries (Uganda and Sierra Leone).

⁶⁹ Wodon and Ying (2009)

⁷⁰ Crawford (2016)

⁷¹ EPRC (2016)

better in both English and Maths than both pupils in public schools as well as pupils in private schools. **Given that PEAS students generally have lower prior achievement and come from more disadvantaged backgrounds, these findings are particularly pertinent especially given that a majority of these pupils would not have had access to any secondary education** (3/5 PEAS students are from the poorest 2 quintiles of asset distribution). The Ark EPG (2016) study, also evaluating the PEAS schools in Uganda also finds evidence that PEAS pupils outperformed counterparts in government schools in both English and Maths and performed as well as those in private schools in English but less well in Maths. However, when the study matches students based on observed characteristics, the results find that the performance of PEAS students is the same as that of non-PEAS students. The results suggest that by admitting students with lower prior achievement than their counterparts in other types of schools, PEAS schools have improved the performance of their pupils.

An alternative form of PPP is a voucher scheme. The **overall evidence on vouchers appears to be mixed and several authors emphasise the potential for further social stratification as a result of these programmes**⁷². The impact of various voucher programmes specifically on the outcomes of the most disadvantaged is also not very clear. However, the evidence of increased enrolment (especially of those children who would not have otherwise participated in schooling) has been highlighted as a key benefit of these types of interventions. Whilst the evidence on whether vouchers improve learning outcomes is inconclusive, some of the studies have found that private schools have in many instances been able to achieve similar results but at lower costs (by allocating instructional time more efficiently), thereby providing evidence of more effective education delivery.

With regards to evidence on **contract schools** there is a very **limited evidence base which provides inconclusive evidence as to whether these types of arrangements are positively related to learning outcomes**⁷³. There is, however, some evidence in terms of positive outcomes such as increased enrolment and better management practices as well as emerging evidence suggesting that contract schools, in some contexts, are able to reach the more disadvantaged.

In addition to these reviews (and some individual SSA studies at the secondary level) this report has also identified some additional studies of note. One such piece of research is by DeGalbert (2017) which evaluates the Ugandan government's PPP programme at the secondary education level. This research follows on from a previously conducted quantitative evaluation of PPPs (Barrera-Osorio et al. 2016) discussed above that showed that students who attended PPP schools performed better on average than their peers in similar private schools not part of the programme. Barrera-Osorio et al. asserted that this difference in test scores could be due to differences in the characteristics of students enrolled rather than changes in school managements or educational inputs. This quantitative study did not exclude other causal mechanisms to explain these student gains. In this vein, De Galbert explores whether head teacher and parental perceptions can uncover other mechanisms to explain student learning gains. The **findings of this qualitative study are consistent with those of the quantitative study** and confirm 'an **increase in learning opportunities for students from relatively lower-income backgrounds**, as well as an opportunity for low-fee private schools to enroll students with higher performance at primary school. In addition, the study found that the program led to **an increase of continuation of education for students and additional forms of support to teachers**. These mechanisms could partially explain higher student achievement. These findings present important factors to consider as policy makers propose and implement strategies to expand secondary education.'⁷⁴

⁷² Aslam et al.'s (2017) review of studies of **vouchers** examines 9 studies covering 3 contexts and a global systematic review to assess whether voucher programmes are associated with better learning outcomes for children receiving vouchers.

⁷³ Aslam et al.'s (2017) review examines 3 studies covering 2 contexts none of which are based in Africa.

⁷⁴ p. 2-3

The World Bank study in 2008 focusing on the context of Madagascar and in particular the challenges faced at the junior secondary and secondary levels of education, as previously identified, also focuses on whether ‘private schools’ improve pupil learning outcomes. The study finds that private school pupils perform better at the junior secondary level in that private schools tend to have higher exam pass rates at this level of education. However, this is not the case at the senior secondary education level where the pass rate is lower compared to public schools. One explanation put forward by the authors is that a certain number of JSE private schools are of high repute and, therefore, able to select better students whilst at the SSE level, most private schools are in urban or sub-urban area and a significant proportion of their students are those who did not pass entrance exams to the public SSE schools. Hartwig (2013) has also noted the growing inequity in learning outcomes amongst secondary school pupils with public school pupils displaying lower national exam pass rates as compared to private pupils sitting the same exams in rural Tanzania.

A cross-context study on SSA (using data from Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda on children aged 11-14) finds that even after accounting for many key control variables, **private schooling has a positive association with overall learning rates** (in core literacy and numeracy skills) and that the average increase associated with private schooling compared to government schooling is between 6-8 percentage points across the three countries. However, **the extent to which private schooling affects learning for the poorest of these children differs across these countries**. The authors do not find evidence that private schools reduce learning inequalities: in Tanzania the benefits tend to accrue disproportionately to wealthier households and in Kenya and Uganda the benefits are similar across the wealth groups. Overall, the authors conclude that whilst on average attending a private school improves a child’s chances of learning core literacy and numeracy skills, there is no evidence that attending private schools closes the ‘gap in learning inequalities in the three East African countries’.

When looking at public schools managed by private contractors (a PPP arrangement) in the Liberian context, albeit **at the primary schooling level**, a study has found that **after one year these schools raised student learning by 60% as compared to public schools**⁷⁵. However, the study also found that **costs were high, performance varied across contractors and evidence was found of contractors pushing ‘excess pupils and underperforming teachers’ onto other government schools**. Specifically, students in partnership schools scored 0.18 standard deviations higher in English and in Maths than in public schools which is the equivalent of 0.56 additional years of English and 0.66 additional years of schooling for Maths.

Evidence of impact on teaching, school environment and school management

Summary Box

- There is overall strong evidence of the positive impact of non-state and PPP provision on teaching, school environment and school management.
- This is reflected in improved teacher presence, teacher activity and teacher approaches.
- This positive evidence has been attributed to better management systems, more flexible and innovative teaching approaches and better accountability in non-state and PPP schools as compared to state schools.

Previous evidence syntheses on private schools have found strong **overall evidence that teaching (as reflected by teacher presence, teaching activity and teaching approaches) is better in private schools than in state schools**⁷⁶. This is assumed to be due to the higher levels of accountability faced by teachers employed in the private sector. However, the review also finds evidence that whilst teacher qualifications and salaries are lower in private schools, the weaker job security that teacher face might

⁷⁵ Romero et al. (2017)

⁷⁶ Day Ashley et al. (2014) summarise and synthesise the evidence from 14 studies, 4 of which are from the African contexts (Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa and Tanzania) to address the hypothesis that teaching is better in private schools than in state schools

in part explain the higher effort they seem to expend. **Similar positive and strong evidence is found in relation to philanthropic and religious schools.** The better teaching in these school types could be attributed to innovative pedagogy and the flexibility of these schooling structures. However, the evidence on which factors enable pedagogical differences is more limited⁷⁷.

The evidence on PPP arrangements has also similarly noted that these schools may be able to provide students with an environment more conducive to learning through the provision of better inputs and facilities, such as more and better books, reduced class sizes, better infrastructure, etc⁷⁸. The evidence for this comes from a range of contexts including Colombia, Pakistan and Venezuela etc. However, PEAS schools in Uganda⁷⁹ have been found to have fewer teaching materials such as English and maths textbooks than non-PEAS schools. It is important to note that the factors in non-state school leading to better performance are complex and not only related to the types of inputs or resources used, but also to the management of these resources and the implementation of innovative programmes. In particular, differences in organisational and cultural factors in different types of non-state schools can lead to better performance due to factors such as more decentralised decision-making, labour flexibility and the instillation of a ‘family feeling’ that some of these institutions foster⁸⁰.

This Background Paper has identified very limited additional evidence from the SSA secondary education context in relation to inputs. One such study is by Chimombo (2009) which evaluates public and private provision of secondary education in Malawi and, in particular, examines dimensions such as staffing and management pertaining to different school types. The author notes that, in general, private secondary schools tend to follow the national core syllabus and, therefore, display little innovation in relation to learning and teaching. However, different types of private schools were found to have different curricular emphases whilst maintaining similar subject-based lessons. Teaching in these schools tended to be teacher-centric and exam-oriented and teaching materials were found to be scarce in all but the highest costing schools. With the introduction of a new curriculum, whilst in-service training and staff development was implemented in the public sector, private school teachers were not afforded similar training opportunities. In the majority of the cases, the research found private school teachers to be generally less qualified than those in the government sector and amongst those that were qualified, a majority had migrated from the government sector in pursuit of higher salaries, additional perks, more timely payments and performance recognition amongst other factors. Specifically, 83.5 and 86.6% of the teachers in CDSSs and private schools, respectively, were unqualified to teach in the secondary schools. Many private school teachers also felt higher levels of job insecurity and recruitment appeared to be more ad hoc and mainly subject to fluctuations in enrolment. Hartwig’s (2013) evaluation of primary and secondary schools in rural Tanzania also noted a pervasive lack of resources in government and private schools in the sample. For example, the author found 50% private secondary schools as compared to 67% government secondary schools lacking teaching resources to develop better student outcomes.

An important determinant of the better effectiveness of certain types of PPP schools could be due to their supposedly better and more effective management⁸¹. In particular, specific components of school management such as good target setting practices could be driving the better educational outcomes observed in these schools. For example, it was found that schools in the PEAS network score more highly than all other school types as they tend to be characterized by on-going training for school leaders, consistent use of data to set school improvement plans and through strong accountability mechanisms that include sanctions for those school leaders deemed to be underperforming. This advantage of stronger accountability systems within PEAS schools has also been corroborated by

⁷⁷ Wales et al. (2015), 13 studies examined that focus on philanthropic and religious schools (including 7 studies in the African contexts of Ghana, Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Uganda and Zambia).

⁷⁸ Aslam et al. (2017)

⁷⁹ as reported in the Economic Policy Research Centre Report (2016)

⁸⁰ Aslam et al. (2017)

⁸¹ Ark EPG’s (2016) study evaluates PEAS (Promoting Quality in Access in African Schools)

further evidence⁸² that also concludes that these schools may be more effective due to the fact that their own internal accountability systems are performance focused within a Ugandan country policy framework that does not have in-built mechanisms to incentivize strong performance. Alternatively, more efficient use of teachers and instructional inputs has also been found to be a factor in allowing PPP schools to operate more effectively and efficiently at scale⁸³. PPP arrangements may also provide more opportunities for teachers to implement innovative strategies for teaching and learning that could help not only improve standards but to also use resources more effectively as well as lowering costs and even widening access⁸⁴. It has been found for example that 70% of innovations occurring in schools were being provided by NGOs, 13% by the private sector and about 16% by the government. The innovations reviewed were also financially supported by foundations (32%), government (26%) and donations (20%)⁸⁵.

In addition to these studies, two other papers not specifically covering secondary education also provide insights into differences in inputs and management in the SSA context. A study by Romero et al. (2017) in Liberia found that teacher quality of instruction was higher in Partnership Schools for Liberia (PSL) schools with teachers in these schools more likely to be engaged in instruction during class time and more likely to be in school during a random spot check. It was also found that these PSL schools also had more learning time each week due to increased time on task, longer school days and reduced absenteeism. In Sierra Leone, Nishimuko (2009), in evaluating Plan Sierra Leone found that this initiative resulted in positive changes in the learning environment as a result of reducing teacher-pupil ratios, improving supplies of teaching and learning materials and providing in-service training for teachers. The author was of the opinion that this demonstrated how NGOs can, in this context, work more practically, efficiently and effectively. In particular, the author highlights how the corroboration between international and local NGOs has worked particularly well due to the fact that local NGOs are more aware, and therefore more able, to identify local needs whilst the international NGO was better financially resourced. A report by R4D (2016) in Ghana found suggestions that parents who send their children to low fee private schools are generally satisfied with the caliber of teaching in these schools with teacher quality ranking highest in parental satisfaction. Ninety one percent of low fee private schools in this review reported having guidelines for teachers and 82% reported provided in-service training to teachers. Parents were least satisfied with low fee private school's infrastructure, however, they did not perceive it as a crucial determining factor of school quality and cited teacher quality as the most important indicator of school quality.

6. Cost implications of non-state providers and PPP arrangements

Summary Box

- There is very limited evidence on cost-effectiveness of non-state providers.
- The limited evidence that does exist appears to suggest that non-state schools are more cost-effective than state schools mainly due to lower salaries in this sector.

Proponents of private schooling put forward the argument that the cost of private delivery of education is lower than that of state schooling. There is **moderate evidence that the cost of education delivery is lower in private schools attributed often to the lower salaries that teachers in this sector earn**⁸⁶. There is some limited evidence indicating a relationship between lower relative costs and cost-effectiveness in certain contexts.

⁸² EPRC (2016) and Crawford (2016)

⁸³ E.g. Barrerra-Osorio et al. (2016) in Uganda.

⁸⁴ The Education Commission (2016)

⁸⁵ Winthrop et al. (2016)

⁸⁶ Day Ashley et al. (2014) examine the assumption that the cost of private delivery of education is lower than that of state schooling. The authors report moderate evidence from 7 different studies (3 of which are from SSA– Kenya, South Africa and Nigeria).

Similarly, there is also strong positive evidence that philanthropic and religious schools are also more cost effective⁸⁷. There is evidence that philanthropic schools have lower operating costs particularly due to lower teacher wages and smaller input costs. However, these findings must be treated with caution due to difficulty in calculating exact costs as these types of schools often have hidden costs (e.g. donated supplies and volunteer time).

This Background Paper has also found limited evidence on costs and cost-effectiveness comparisons in SSA at the secondary level. Some studies do, however, provide insights about costs at the primary level. One such example is provided by Romero et al. (2017) in Liberia which finds that costs of public schools managed by private contractors displayed higher costs (both in terms of government staffing and private subsidies). The authors additionally noted that the higher costs did not necessarily correlate with higher learning gains. The previously mentioned EPRC study (2016) of secondary schools in Uganda examines the issue of sustainability and presents evidence that PEAS schools (a type of PPP school where the government subsidises fees etc.) are more affordable compared to other private schools and that their total schooling costs are similar to those in government schools.

7. Government roles and responsibilities

Summary Box

- A balance between monitoring and independence must be struck through well-defined policy frameworks that encourage innovation but ensure quality.
- In the instances where PPPs demonstrate evidence of improving access, learning, quality and/or equity, genuine partnerships exist and include high levels of trust, collaboration, mutual accountability and clearly defined goals, roles and responsibilities between the government and the private sector.
- Another strongly emerging lesson is the need for motivation and capacity within the government sector to be able to effectively design and efficiently manage these systems.

State policies can be facilitative or prohibitive towards non-state providers. For private and non-state providers to contribute to the overall quality of education effectively and in an equitable manner, these policies need to be complemented by interventions that leverage the resources of both sectors efficiently⁸⁸.

‘Government actors alone are the guardians of equal education opportunity’⁸⁹ and encouraging an efficient and competitive free market for private providers would be an ideal policy to maximise social impact. The role of the government can be seen as being trifold: 1) as a steward, encouraging private participation by viewing education systems in totality and developing strategies that maximise impact by using all available resources, be they public or private; 2) as a partner by joining forces with the private sector in the right circumstances and with the right incentives; and as 3) an enabler, by putting into place conditions that encourage investments into the private sector, encourage innovation whilst at the same time maintaining the checks and balances required. However, non-state actors also play a key role through maintaining standards, collaborating with the government sector, adhering to appropriate requirements, campaigning for accountability and fostering change by informing and mobilizing parents⁹⁰.

⁸⁷ Wales et al. (2015); (based on 8 studies, of which 3 studies are from 2 countries from SSA – Ghana and Zambia).

⁸⁸ LaRocque and Lee, 2010

⁸⁹ The Business of Africa Report (2016), p. 50.

⁹⁰ The Education Commission report (2016) and Winthrop et al. (2016)

In examining the roles and responsibilities of critical stakeholders, but in particular government actors, it is necessary to investigate whether states have the knowledge, capacity and legitimacy to implement effective policy frameworks for collaboration and regulation of the private school sector. It has been found that **attempts by the governments to intervene in the private sector are often constrained by their lack of capacity, understanding and basic information on the extent and nature of the private sector**. This has potentially been attributed to the fact that past attempts to withhold or suppress the private sector has damaged the legitimacy of any interventions attempting partnership between the two stakeholders⁹¹. It has also been found that where **government regulation of private schools exists, it is not necessarily effective and often selectively enforced**⁹² and in situations where regulation is unrealistically stringent, opportunities for corruption exist. The literature highlights the importance of **supportive legal frameworks** that are central to the emergence of a viable partnership between the state and the private sectors and that the rules, regulations and charters that define the way in which these actors function, manoeuvre and collaborate with each other will play a critical role in how well the education system functions⁹³.

Other studies and reports have also emphasized the need for government financial and policy support and effective regulation and supervision of the private sector where it has expanded in secondary education in SSA. In many contexts, the private sector has emerged without any specific legislation or framework guiding its expansion. One such example is provided by Malawi⁹⁴ where there was no specific legislation on the Education Act that governed the private sector in Malawi. The private sector therefore grew substantially in the country since 1994 without corresponding development of public policy. Due to the high demand for secondary education combined with a lack of corresponding policy relating to private sector expansion, resulted in ‘chaos’ characterizing private secondary education in the country. This situation highlights the importance for both sectors to establish and monitor regulations regarding entry, quality control and exit of private and public sector providers. For example, norms should be established relating to tuition fees, teacher wages, working conditions, student selection and assessment on both the part of the private providers as well as the government ensuring consistency across both. In addition to this, it is crucial to have a balance between appropriate levels of regulation that neither suffocate innovative provision nor tolerate poor quality secondary provision. This balance has apparently not been struck in Malawi. The government of Tanzania has also placed too much emphasis on enrolling more students and in building schools and not enough on ‘foster(ing) a democratization process of community ownership and governance to assure that students receive a quality education.’⁹⁵

In relation to philanthropic and religious schools, the evidence highlights the fact that **recognition of non-state schools can form a foundation for more collaborative relations** and often provides for more smooth transitions to higher levels of education. Flexibility is presented as a key element to improve the efficacy of regulation and whilst there is little evidence on regulation negatively impacting outcomes, there is some evidence that those regulations that disproportionately focus on inputs and are implemented more to control market entry rather than to improve quality are where the more negative impacts are seen⁹⁶.

⁹¹ Day Ashley et al. (2014) based on evidence from 8 contexts including Nigeria.

⁹² *Ibid*, 11 studies from 6 country contexts with 3 focusing on SSA – Malawi, Nigeria and Kenya

⁹³ De Stephano and Schuh-Moor (2010) as cited in Day Ashley et al. (2014).

⁹⁴ Chimombo (2009)

⁹⁵ Hartwig (2013), p. 1

⁹⁶ Wales et al. (2015); 23 studies 8 of which are from the SSA context (DRC, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, South Sudan and Zambia).

Successful PPP programs hinge on a policy and legal framework that fully supports and positively endorses it⁹⁷. This type of **framework encourages the pooling of government and private abilities, capacities and resources in the format of equal partners committed to delivering education through realistic goals**⁹⁸. As with religious and philanthropic schools, in the first instance, the existence of a healthy private sector is necessary for PPPs to operate effectively which is likely to involve the legal recognition of private providers. Governments are typically reluctant to recognise explicitly the role played by non-state and private providers, which results in an environment of suspicion that becomes a hindrance to effective design and implementation effective partnerships. Overly complex criteria for schools to become part of PPP arrangements, as well as inconsistent enforcement of regulations, weak legal frameworks, corruption and funding restrictions can often hinder these programmes.

Another step towards promoting effective partnerships involves introducing well-designed policy frameworks specifically aimed at promoting PPPs⁹⁹. Within these frameworks, the extent to which risk-sharing actually occurs between the state and private providers can also be an important factor in determining the ultimate success or failure of any given programme¹⁰⁰. The roles and responsibilities of the underlying players need to be clearly defined and the contributions of the non-state sector need to be recognized by the state. A consultative approach encouraging mutual trust is another crucial element for a successful partnership. Recognising that agents of change within the political arena can be a driving force to promote policies and ensure they are sustained requires these change champions to be supported by alleviating the concerns of key stakeholders.

Existing evidence also suggests a need for PPP arrangements to be based on a clear, transparent and competitive bidding process where all private organisations meeting the requirements posed by a given government are able and motivated to bid in a competitive manner. This includes setting clear objectives and streamlined criteria ensuring the surrounding educational climate is conducive to promoting PPPs¹⁰¹.

Box 3 provides evidence collected from interviews with key stakeholders in Kenya to provide a holistic view of the current status of PPPs in education in the secondary sector in the country, specifically highlighting stakeholder views on roles and responsibilities of key players.

BOX 3: KENYA - KEY STAKEHOLDER REFLECTIONS ON ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN PPP ARRANGEMENTS IN EDUCATION

Moves towards PPPs in education in Kenya have shown positive signs and appears to be embraced by all participants. Benefits have already been realized from the limited number of PPPs in secondary education. The PPP Act 2013 signals formalized steps taken by the government to lay the foundations for developing formalised relationships between the private and state sector. So far, most arrangements have taken place in an informal manner and therefore lack a clear framework with records on how exactly they function difficult to trace. Stakeholders have identified the need for increased awareness as a crucial factor for encouraging further development of PPPs across the educational spectrum in the country.

There is an expansive non-state education system in place in Kenya involving a variety of players (see Appendix II). There is also a moderate evidence base that has examined the role of non-state provision in the country. However, much of this evidence is focused at the primary level with some reports investigating transitions into secondary schooling.¹⁰² Given the focus of this report on the secondary education level, a

⁹⁷ Aslam et al. (2017)

⁹⁸ Malik et al., 2015

⁹⁹ LaRoque and Lee 2010.

¹⁰⁰ Termes et al., 2015.

¹⁰¹ Patrinos, 2009; Termes et al., 2015

¹⁰² e.g. Tooley et al. 2008; Oketch et al. 2010; Ohba 2012; Bold et al. 2013 and Education International's report on Bridge Academies 2016

primary data collection exercise was conducted, and this Box presents these findings (see Appendix II for interview schedules and further details)¹⁰³.

Context of PPPs in Kenya

In Kenya, the government PPP Unit's focus is to serve as the secretariat and technical arm of the PPP Committee, which is mandated with assessing and approving PPP projects in Kenya. The Public Private Partnership Unit (PPPU) was established under Section 8 of the [Public Private Partnership \(PPP\) Act, 2013](#) as a Special Purpose Unit within the National Treasury of the Government of Kenya (GOK). This unit acts as a resource centre for best practice and as a guardian of integrity of the PPP processes, playing a key role in identifying problems, making recommendations to the PPP Committee regarding potential solutions, and ensuring that projects meet quality criteria in relation to as affordability, value for money, and the appropriate balance of risk-holding. The Kenya PPP Act defines PPPs as long-term agreements between public and private entities for the performance of a public function principle and in exchange for this the private entity receives compensation, for example, in form of user fees. These contracts tend to be performance-based where the output is specified by the contracting authority and delivery is the responsibility of the private entity.

Existing PPP arrangements in place at Primary, Secondary & TVET levels

The MoE, in collaboration with other government partners, encourages institutions to get into partnerships with the private sector particularly for those members of the private sector who are already engaged in the delivery of education and/or have shown interest in partnering with the government. These include organizations such as the Mastercard Foundation, the main sponsor of the Wings to Fly programme in secondary school.

- a. **Primary: PPP arrangements at the primary education level are based on Alternative Provision of Basic Education & Training (APBET)**, mainly perceived to be for the poor and the most disadvantaged. The government of Kenya implemented the APBET policy to allow communities to set up schools to complement provision of education services. The private providers' role in this regard is to hire and lease facilities in which to operate, employ at least 30% qualified teachers and after three years they should have built adequate resources to register the schools either as private or public school by the MoE. The partnership requires that APBET provide flexible education, where learning can take place anywhere and age is not a prohibiting factor. Within this context, Bridge International Academies were established as a social enterprise where Bridge partners with governments, communities, teachers and parents to deliver evidence based quality education for primary and pre-primary school children. This initiative currently serves more than 100,000 pupils in more than 520 nursery and primary schools across Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, Liberia and India (criticisms of this programme have been discussed previously). Whilst there is **no formal legal structure in place that formalizes the exact nature of this arrangement, it operates as a registered private social enterprise guided by the general rules of business operation in Kenya within the general APBET framework**.
- b. **Secondary:** Collaboration between the government and non-state partners in the secondary sector in Kenya has been **needs-based and more focused on social transformation** of poor and marginalized communities.
 - i. One such successful arrangement in secondary education is that between Equity Foundation and the government. Equity is a local commercial bank in Kenya that runs the Foundation, a private entity supporting secondary education through the MoE that has come to be known as "Wings to Fly". Equity Foundation first established a leaders' program for graduates from secondary education for career mentoring as the graduates waited for admission to university education. To this group, equity offers internships in their various branches in Kenya where graduates from needy families are employed for about nine months and taken through a counselling and mentoring programme. Due to the success of

¹⁰³ This case-study was conducted and written by Dr. Mary Otieno, Department of Educational Management, Policy and Curriculum Studies, School of Education, Kenyatta University (Appendix A details the scope of work and summarises the tools used for the key informant interviews). It provides an overview of the status of private provision and Public-Private-Partnerships (PPP) in secondary education in Kenya. However Primary education and Technical, Vocational Education and Training (TVET) dimensions have also been included. Desk research and interviews were used to collect information from a range of stakeholders including representatives from government departments, NGOs, International Schools and the private sector¹⁰³. Several stakeholders were interviewed as part of this case study research. They included informants from the government sector (e.g. from the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Education Directorate of Policy, Partnerships and East African Community Affairs, the Ministry of Finance Treasury PPP Unit), and the private sector (Kenya Private Schools Association, GEMS, Bridge International Academies, Braeburn School etc.), foundations (e.g. Equity Group Foundation, Mastercard Foundation) and from donor partners (e.g. USAID).

this leadership programme support for secondary education was established (Wings to Fly) mainly funded by MasterCard Foundation, a PPP operating under the PPP Act of 2013. Equity Foundation– pays tuition fees, shopping, transport, pocket money, provides supplement medical services, offer psychological support, mentorship – peer to peer mentors –conducts mentorship programme through university students, provide hearing materials (for special needs), uniform, digital learning content on a flash disk with past paper questions & answers, provide motivational talks, as well as mentor magazines to inspire students to perform better. Students attend a congress conference once a year where they are exposed to career success stories from a variety of guest speakers that have included speakers such as Bill Clinton to motivate them to perform well and take leadership roles. In this PPP arrangement, the government ensures adequacy of qualified teachers, learning materials, effective quality assurance and standards as well as paying exam fees. About 16,000 students are beneficiaries of this programme. According to stakeholders, this is an example of a successful and well-regarded PPP initiative in the country.

- ii. Another PPP arrangement is between Safaricom-Mpesa Foundation Academy and the government. MoE agreed with the Foundations’ design and signed an MoU under the PPP Act 2013. Safaricom is one of the main mobile service providers in Kenya that owns the school. The Academy offers 8-4-4 system and a platform for economically disadvantaged students who would otherwise not be in a position to further their education beyond primary level. The academy selects two high-performing students from highly disadvantaged backgrounds in each county and offers them a full scholarship to study beyond primary level.
 - iii. The government is also shifting its policy focus by putting more resources into promoting Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) in primary, secondary and Technical Training Institutions. The Kenyan government signed an MoU with STEM companies (SIEMENS and JICA for example) under the PPP Act 2013 to coordinate STEM Initiatives in Kenya. Many other private companies and international organizations have since offered and continue to offer support. Under this PPP arrangement, MoE identifies two schools in each county and through the Centre for Mathematics, Science and Technology Education in Africa (CEMASTEA) conducts in-service for teachers through demonstration of best practices in STEM. Secondary schools in the PPP arrangement are provided with computers and connectivity. CEMASTEAs, is a public institution under the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MoE). Its mandate is to build the capacity of mathematics and science teachers in primary and secondary schools for effective classroom practices not only in Kenya but also in Sub-Saharan Africa countries, for effective delivery of curricula and providing quality in-service Education and Training (INSET).
- c. **Technical, Vocational Education & Training (TVET):** In general, PPPs within the TVET system are very limited. The TVET Act of 2012 envisions a TVET system that is demand driven with deep private sector engagement– guided by occupational standards that meet the human resource needs, and skills and competencies required in the private sector. Sector Skills Advisory Councils (SSACs), comprised of business industry representatives are supposed to provide guidance and develop occupational standards and validate curricula for training to established standards. Currently within the Kenya TVET system, there are a few SSACs, and a limited number of occupational standards and curricula. The Government of South Korea and Kenya are reportedly having discussions on setting up a TVET college. Canada has paired up several colleges in Canada & Kenya for TVET exchange programmes. There are some examples of donor-funded TVET programmes in the country. For example, USAID/Kenya and East Africa have two youth workforce development programs – Kenya Youth Employment and Skills Program (K-YES) and Generation Kenya. Both of these programs rely on PPPs as a foundation and include components such as Youth Employment Compacts under K-YES where government and the private sector form a stakeholder platform to align youth workforce development and county business’ skills needs (Kericho County is the best example of this approach), and customized training academies for a single employer within the financial sales sector under Generation Kenya (Sanlam Training Academy is another good example of this approach). Kenya is hopeful that these moves will translate into active PPPs. The TVET system as envisioned under the TVET Act of 2012 requires deep PPPs in order for it to be valued by the private sector and effectively prepare youth for government wage or self-employment. Government engagement with PPPs has tended to be mainly by invitation where private sector stakeholders are invited to attend meetings to listen to what the government has to say. Normally in such meetings, private sector involvement is limited to the government agenda. Notable recent engagement was in the development of the competency-based curriculum (CBC), NEMIS (National Education Management Information System), where KPSA contribution was significant. The government is seen as trying to build relationships but most of it is loose and not formalised or guided by the PPP Act.

Stakeholder views on the provision of education through PPPs

All of the individuals who participated in this study presented a homogenous view that public and private sectors should come together to provide education depending on the need and public issue of interest to both parties. This would require a recognition of the specific needs of the target population, identification of roles and responsibilities of the both the private and public sectors and, collaboratively agreeing on the means through which these needs can be most effectively met and in what format. The **main role of the government was recognized by the stakeholders as ensuring the existence of a conducive environment within which this programme could flourish and a solid educational infrastructure within which it could grow.**

The government PPP unit representative and the KPSA stakeholders both indicated that the current focus of PPPs in education are mainly on the training of teachers, infrastructure development, more efficient delivery of education, support in the form of materials to reduce the cost of books, management support etc. Specific details on what format these initiatives would take have not currently been specified. However, by all accounts, stakeholders appear to have the will to take these forward.

Regulations or Legislation relating to private schools or PPPs in education

According to the KPSA there isn't any other specific regulation aimed at private schools with regards to provision of education vis-à-vis PPPs in education, and regulation tends to depend on the type of partnership. KPSA has always recommended a PPP arrangement where private schools provide admission spaces for government sponsored students and the government being responsible for pay fees and other school charges. However, to date, this recommendation is yet to come to fruition.

Cost effectiveness of private sector solutions/PPPs in education

According to the MoE representative, quality education can be delivered through private sector solutions at an affordable rate. However, if this is done by sacrificing quality, PPPs or private sector solutions are not the answer. He highlighted several PPP arrangements that provided examples of effective PPP relationships including the Wings to Fly programme. A stakeholder from the Equity Foundation, in discussing the cost effectiveness of their programme, stated that in a study on returns to social investment of this programme, a return of \$2 was found for every dollar invested. This cost-effectiveness was attributed to factors such as the centralized purchasing of student resources as well as the fact that this programme could utilize the existing bank infrastructure whereby the branch network supported the programme by incorporating 50-60 students per branch into internships.

Stakeholders also proposed different initiatives that could be conducted such as undertaking a feasibility study to identify the best procurement methodology, conducting value for money analysis, public sector comparative analysis to determine the type of PPPs which could be viable and cost-effective solutions. Other suggestions for engaging effectively with the private sector were proposed such as allowing solicited and non-solicited tenders and inviting bidders through pre-qualification and shortlisting technical and financial bids in an open and competitive process.

Responsibilities of stakeholders in design and implementing of PPPs in education

A common opinion by participants shows that **both parties in a PPP arrangement in education should be involved in the design.** It is also recognized that the private sector is the implementer and the government plays the oversight role in this relationship. Financing should be clearly apportioned within some formal agreement or framework. As regards knowledge sharing, it was noted that institutions that have succeeded in knowledge sharing and transfer of technology should form the core of implementation. The private sector needs to define the skills-needs and support innovations with government in developing systems to better train and prepare youth to enter the workplace. This also includes private sector providing opportunities for work-based learning and assessment, apprenticeships models that allow youth to learn and earn, and other types of attachments and internships. It was also stated by some stakeholders that the government must ensure proper accreditation of training institutions and Competency Based Education and Training (CBET) curricula and capacity building support across the system to push reforms.

According to one stakeholder, non-state actors along with development partners develop and implement innovative models and approaches that align with education reforms sought by national governments. For example, K-YES and Generation Kenya are both testing and leading innovations around the CBET approach that is expected to be implemented across all Kenyan TVET institutions. The innovations within these programs and the capacity building provided to TVET institutions to implement them is a critical role of non-state actors. This stakeholder also highlighted the fact that sufficient resources for the system will always be an on-going issue. This includes funds to ensure modern training equipment is available within all sector-based training

programs, retraining and upskilling of instructors to teach and assess through a CBET approach, bursaries and scholarships for marginalized students unable to cover training enrolment fees, and resources to ensure the presence of quality and transparent state TVET directorate that is sufficiently staffed and trained to do their jobs.

Stakeholders' view regarding PPPs in education in Kenya particularly at the secondary level

Overall, from all stakeholders interviewed, there is a general feeling of **willingness to collaborate both from the view of the private sector as well as government officials interviewed**. Both sides recognized the value partnerships can bring especially at this level of education. However, private sector stakeholders did hold the view that whilst there were indications of public sector wanting to engage with them, **concrete efforts to this end are still needed**.

Conclusion

Kenya has some good examples of the private sector engaging with the public sector to provide education. Many of these projects are viewed positively by stakeholders both on the government and private sides. All stakeholders recognize the need for education provision to be of good quality irrespective of whether it is delivered by the state, private entities or a collaboration of both. This requires a **strong regulatory framework and concrete policies that create an enabling environment** in which all types of learning provision can thrive. In particular, stakeholders have noted that those initiatives that are not only scalable but also sustainable need to be the ones that are focused on. Whilst the Universal Secondary Education mandate has been in place for several years, it would appear that recognizing it in reality has been far more challenging and that the non-state sector has a role to play in actualizing this goal.

8. Enabling environment

Summary Box

- An effective enabling environment balances the two channels of autonomy and accountability and encourages effective partnerships through a facilitative and collaborative approach with all partners cooperating.
- Developing a partnership framework through which the private sector can truly be integrated and not merely exist as a parallel system in the delivery of education.
- Nurturing an enabling environment for private and non-state actors is even more challenging in conflict-affected and fragile contexts.

An enabling environment is one that encourages the growth of educational provision in an effective manner. In particular, the evidence shows that a crucial element required of an enabling environment is one with clear and transparent government policies for private partners. Additionally, as highlighted in the previous section, it is important to balance autonomy and accountability by encouraging independence within clear parameters of accountability.

An environment that encourages the growth of the private sector could potentially result in increased competition that enhances performance across both sectors. There is, however, limited high quality empirical evidence that focuses on the enabling environment for the private sector both in terms of influence of the overall political and market conditions and the effects of the relationship between the public and private sectors¹⁰⁴. In this regard, there is insufficient evidence on whether markets drive up quality, whether interventions such as financing and partnership support or distort education markets and or whether encouraging private schools diverts donors, government support and pupils away from the public sector. The evidence on philanthropic and religious schools¹⁰⁵ suggests that these types of non-state providers complement and strengthen state education provision by providing examples of effective education models (where state schools adopt teaching methodologies and adapt curricula in line with models used by non-state providers, however there is not enough evidence to determine whether these adaptations have benefited state school teaching or student outcomes) that can be replicated in state schools, filling capacity gaps in state provision and reaching disadvantaged groups

¹⁰⁴ Day Ashley et al. (2014)

¹⁰⁵ Wales et al. (2015)

that may not be catered for by the public sector. There are very few examples of the state sector competing with the philanthropic sector for pupils although they might compete for resources particularly from aid organizations. Evidence on religious schools is too limited to draw concrete conclusions. There is also no direct evidence on the impact of non-state provision on state legitimacy.

Aslam et al.'s (2017) review of different types of partnership arrangements notes that two key dimensions can potentially change as a result of a PPP arrangement: with **greater autonomy comes the need for greater accountability** compared with public schools. For example, this would include freedom with regard to operations: schools are able to run their day-to-day matters unhindered, giving them the freedom to determine things such as the length of the school day or year, the ability to set the curriculum of their choice, and the opportunity to choose new and innovative pedagogical styles. This freedom could also extend to allowing schools the flexibility to hire and fire their staff according to their own schooling policies. This increased autonomy, however, needs to be aligned with better accountability measures that ensure all providers not only meet the standards of quality set out by the state, but also that they are answerable to other stakeholders, such as parents. While engaging the private sector may be seen as a means of improving innovation in academia and bettering student performance through the two channels of autonomy and accountability, literature suggests that the nature of the contractual arrangements put in place may result in substantially different degrees of autonomy and therefore generate varied sets of incentives for providers, which may in turn ultimately result in differences in students' academic performance. For example, arrangements with minimal achievement-based accountability goals may result in schools investing sub-optimally in resources aimed at improving academic achievement. This review also notes that in order to encourage effective partnerships, a facilitative approach is required and it is important to gain the cooperation of partners beforehand rather than imposing legislation on them¹⁰⁶. Box 4 summarises the evidence from the Ugandan experience with the government having recently announced a change in direction with regards to its PPP policy framework.

BOX 4: THE UGANDAN PPP EXPERIENCE– WAS THERE A BALANCE OF POWER IN THIS PARTNERSHIP?

Uganda presents the case of a country where a large-scale PPP programme was launched in 2007 in an aim to improve access to secondary education. More than 400,000 secondary school children are funded under this PPP. Evidence has suggested that this is a programme that improved capacity but also led to a more equitable distribution of education and, therefore, provides a showcase of specific design features and contextual factors that have led to the efficacy of this specific programme in this regard. A case study by Aslam et al. (2017) - which was authored by the two authors of this report – had noted some positive outcomes of this intervention. The current case study draws heavily from Aslam et al. (2017).

'The policy context: a demand-driven PPP primarily aimed at improving access'

To meet capacity demands resulting from the Universal Secondary Education (USE, 2007) programme, the government of Uganda developed a PPP under which private schools were invited to apply to the Ministry of Education and pass certain quality standards in order to enroll. To qualify, private schools needed to be registered and certified as low-fee schools, i.e. charging less than 75,000 UGX, or USD 21 per term.¹⁰⁷ These schools also needed to meet eligibility criteria in relation to infrastructure, staffing, governance, etc. While government schools were entitled to 41,000 UGX (approximately USD 11.7¹⁰⁸) per term per student (including other transfers to schools such as teacher salaries), private schools were entitled to receive 47,000 UGX (USD 13.4¹⁰⁹) per term on the condition that they did not charge any other non-boarding fees.

Eligible schools received a per-student, per-term subsidy equivalent to a USD 12.4¹¹⁰ capitation grant, with the programme being phased into the entire school over the course of several years. PPP schools maintained the

¹⁰⁶ As was the case in India, see Box 5, Aslam et al. 2017)

¹⁰⁷ Based on the exchange rate on 7-11-2016.

¹⁰⁸ As above (footnote 19).

¹⁰⁹ As above.

¹¹⁰ As above.

authority to choose the number of students who could enrol as well as determine admissions criteria. In addition to this, the school administrators continued to maintain authority in respect to budgeting. By 2010, more than 600 schools were implementing the programme. Since 2008 the PEAS network has also been operating 24 schools in partnership with the Government of Uganda.

Regulation is known to be generally weak across the Ugandan school system due to government officials facing capacity constraints and tending to focus on primary education (Ark Education Partnerships Group, June 2016). PPP schools may be regulated *very slightly* better. All private schools must meet the basic requirements and minimum standards when they are set up.¹¹¹ These requirements are based largely on quality of inputs rather than teaching. In theory schools are then inspected every two years, again based largely on inputs, although this doesn't always happen in practice. PPP schools *may* be assessed against the Basic Required Minimum Standards (BRMS) when they join the programme and may be inspected slightly more frequently as local government feels a greater connection with the school. Private schools inside and outside of the PPP operate under a very similar policy context in terms of curriculum flexibility, teacher contracting arrangements and governing boards.

How did learning outcomes fare?

The main evidence on this PPP arrangement is based on the study by Barrera-Osorio et al. (2016), which compared PPP schools to non-PPP private schools and found that test scores in mathematics, English and biology were approximately 0.2 standard deviations better than test scores for students in non-participating private schools. The scores were statistically significant for English and mathematics but not for biology. It was also found that these PPP schools were able to enrol more students, displayed better teacher attendance rates and were less likely to be shut down.

Two other studies have examined a specific type of PPP – PEAS schools – and found that although PEAS students tend to be from more socially disadvantaged backgrounds and with worse prior learning outcomes, they presently perform as well as their counterparts in non-PEAS schools in English and mathematics. These schools are perceived to be more affordable than non-PEAS schools (EPRC, 2016). Crawford (2016) notes that the way a school is managed matters when it comes to its performance, with better management leading to improved student outcomes. The management score does not vary across school type in Uganda except for a small number of elite public schools and the PEAS schools, which score 1.1 points better than the average school in terms of management quality.

The Ugandan PPP experience: did it meet the desired objectives?

The main objective of this programme was to improve access and to allow children from lower-income households to access private education that they may not otherwise be able to afford. The evidence suggests that PPP schools are capable of absorbing USE students. In this regard, it can also be argued that increases in enrolment are illustrative of this programme having been successful in improving capacity and, some would argue, having provided a more equitable distribution of education by empowering a broader spectrum of parents to influence school matters (Barrera-Osorio et al., 2016).

Given that PPP schools often tend to be located in rural areas and therefore may not be the highest performing schools, the statistically significant findings of better outcomes in PPP schools is all the more encouraging of this type of arrangement. There is a clear difference in the financing of eligible private schools and government schools, with private schools receiving a larger per-student subsidy. This difference in financing could potentially explain the greater longevity of these schools, and the ability of more parents to send their children to these schools. Given that the major difference between PPP and non-PPP private schools is greater financing, it could be argued this extra funding is a potential driver of better outcomes in this case.

Despite the prohibition that partner schools and/or government schools could not charge additional fees, parents still reported fees being paid to both government and private schools (Crawford, 2016). PPP schools are also seen to have a large number of teachers. A better teacher presence in PPP schools would suggest that they may be better managed and/or regulated as a result of joining the PPP.

¹¹¹http://www.businesslicences.go.ug/asset_uplds/Licensing%20and%20regGuidelines%202014%20latest%20version-2.pdf

The results are also indicative of these schools utilising excess capacity, enabling them to operate at a scale that better utilises existing resources. Further work to analyse the causes of improved outcomes in the PPP in Uganda would be valuable, as would a comparison between government schools and their private and PPP counterparts. This might show whether PPP schools are a worthwhile investment compared to government schools, and allow an understanding of what drives this difference. For example, do PPP schools benefit from greater flexibility in their contractual relationships with teachers?’

Are changing winds indicating a change of heart?

The Ugandan government had shown signs of a wavering commitment to this support for private secondary schools since 2014 with President Museveni writing ‘A lot of government money is squandered in supporting private secondary schools under USE. What a waste all these years.’ (24 Dec 2014)¹¹². This has come to a head in 2018 with the government announcing its intention to stop funding 792 private secondary schools that have been implementing the USE programme¹¹³. The government’s plan to phase out USE in all PPP schools in the first term of 2018 will mean that all these schools stop receiving grants from the government in 2020. This sudden shift of focus is likely to have serious implications for those students who are already attending these schools or were planning to attend shortly.

On the one hand there is evidence that the PPP schools in Uganda have achieved their main objective – allowing greater access to private education for children especially from the lower socio-economic strata which they would not otherwise be able to afford. In this regard, Aslam et al. (2017) argue that this initiative has been successful. Additionally, as these schools tend to be located in rural areas and are unlikely to be amongst the best performing schools, the positive evidence of better learning outcomes is all the more encouraging. However, the Ugandan example also presents a case where such seemingly positive initiatives are often at the mercy of government’s decision-making with the result that what was an enabling environment suddenly becomes less so. As mentioned in the text, a key element of an enabling environment for an effective PPP is to have clear and transparent policies for private partners, and for the government to adopt a facilitative approach towards them, if they are to prove effective partnerships. In the same vein, both parties need to continue to fulfil their obligations for mutual trust and sustained progress.

Main source: Aslam et al. (2017)

Providing the private sector with autonomy has been put forward as one of the key factors that has resulted in effective engagement of the private sector in meeting education delivery goals across different contexts. For example, the success of PEAS school in Uganda¹¹⁴ has been attributed to some key elements of the PEAS model pertaining to accountability and autonomy. These include more and improved targets in relation to enrolment as well as achievement, based on detailed school improvement plans with performance targets; high levels of head teacher accountability, with rewards and sanctions based on performance; ongoing continuous professional development with support and training provided throughout the year; and finally, more efficient deployment of labour, in particular the appointment of a school director to manage each school allowing head teachers to focus on the quality of teaching and the schooling experience of students as opposed to being burdened by administration.

Specifically in the SSA region, Joshi and Verspoor (2012) in a study focusing on secondary schooling in Ethiopia, note that the non-state sector only accounted for 5 per cent of total enrolment at the secondary education level, however reaching USE targets in the country would be highly unlikely without a substantial increase in enrolments in the non-public sector. In particular, they recognize the fact that this increase will require changes in policy through streamlining the regulatory environment in such a way as to provide a more enabling framework that allows non-state providers to function more

¹¹² <http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Govt-stop-funding-800-private-USE-schools/688334-4266826-15iulss/index.html>

¹¹³ <http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Govt-stop-funding-800-private-USE-schools/688334-4266826-15iulss/index.html>

¹¹⁴ According to Crawford (2016)

efficiently and respond more effectively to market demands. According to the authors, PPPs in the form of scholarships and/or vouchers could help support the enrolment particularly of disadvantaged pupils. They see such partnerships as a means of reducing the pressures on public resources, increasing progress towards USE as well as freeing up public resources towards enhancing quality in government schools. Another approach highlighted by the authors is to target an area without a secondary school or with a government school that lacks adequate capacity and to contract non-governmental schools in the area to provide a place on an agreed per student-basis fee. Over the long-term, merely accepting the private sector as a self-financing parallel system would not be enough. In fact, **policy should aim at making the non-government sector an integral part of the development strategy for secondary education** by implementing substantial efforts to develop a partnership framework that is satisfactory to all parties, **developing capacities in both sectors** and ensuring that each party fulfils their roles and responsibilities.

An enabling environment must also **take account of context-specific needs of the population** concerned. Akeyompong (2009) having evaluated three examples of non-state provision of non-formal schooling programmes that have had links with the public sector in Ghana (School for Life, the Shepherd School Programme and the School Feeder Programme) has drawn the conclusion that for PPPs to serve the needs of disadvantaged groups they need to take into account both the diversity and context-specific education access needs of the populations concerned. He also finds that the three examples examined had two major drawbacks from which other models of PPPs could learn: 1) they had no long-term public financial security as part of their design and delivery (an issue also faced in Uganda, see Box 4); and 2) no attempt had been made to synchronise their management with the public sector to protect their strategies and enhance those in the public sector. Such concerns are applicable for education PPPs at the secondary level as well.

Similarly, the review of certain government subsidized schools, albeit in non-SSA contexts, provides interesting insights into the mechanism through which a PPP programme can positively influence learning outcomes and provide lessons relating to the type of enabling environment most conducive to this type of arrangement. In examining the Fe y Algeria (FYA) programme, it was found that the **decentralised nature of the FYA programme's management structure contributed to the positive outcomes** observed¹¹⁵. In particular, the fact that these schools give head teachers more decision-making power in aspects such as teacher recruitment, has resulted in them being able to influence the culture of their schools more effectively, with many schools able to instill a 'family feeling' by improving relationships between staff, parents and students. There are several examples of instances where FYA schools' autonomy and accountability structures improve their provision of educational services¹¹⁶. The overarching aspect of these schools is the fact that their educational objectives and pedagogical model are guided by the "...relationship between five elements: context, experience, reflection, action, and evaluation. This paradigm defines the curricular and pedagogical orientation and supports the teaching-learning relationship in Jesuit education centres"¹¹⁷. As an international organisation, FYA affords the countries, regions and centres '**functional autonomy**' within a **central framework of principles and objectives**. While schools comply with their respective country's educational regulations, they also enjoy significant levels of autonomy. Several factors explain the success of FYA schools in Peru, many of which have also been offered as factors explaining the success of these schools in other contexts. They include the following¹¹⁸:

- A high degree of independence to generate and manage resources;
- The creation of a favourable institutional environment to provide a more holistic learning experience that goes beyond the classroom;
- Central office provision of tutoring, training and supervision to teachers as well as senior leadership;

¹¹⁵ Allcot and Ortega (2009)

¹¹⁶ Osorio and Wodon's 2014 book

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p. 39

¹¹⁸ Alcazar and Valdivia (2014) in Osorio and Wodon (2014)

- Independence with regard to teacher recruitment, with a particular emphasis on hiring those new teachers based not only on their observable characteristics, but also on the more unobservable ones, such as their attitudes and motivation;
- Offering similar salaries to those of public sector teachers, however with non-monetary incentives such as training, recognition, etc. forming an important part of the package;
- The active engagement of parents; and
- Effective pedagogic management.

Nurturing an enabling environment is even more complex in conflict-affected settings and fragile states¹¹⁹. For example, restoring the education system forms a key component of building state legitimacy after conflict and some may feel that encouraging non-state provision of education undermines the legitimacy of the state and its reconstruction and reconciliation efforts. Furthermore, within these contexts, there is also the fear that such programmes may exacerbate existing divisions within society rather than reduce them (evidence in Pakistan, Uganda and Kenya) and whilst this may not always be the case, it is definitely an area that warrants further research given the dearth of evidence in this regard. Finally, the issue of sustainability is crucial in that financial inputs into non-state schooling in high profile contexts can run the risk of later being withdrawn and redirected to new contexts when these projects do not immediately bear fruit. Therefore, a critical element in these settings is **ensuring that education PPPs do not aggravate already complicated situations** but that they, in fact, assist in promoting crisis-recovery and sustainable peace. In a recent report, Tooley and Longfield (2017) examine the role of private schools highlighting the role that private schools can play in conflict affected countries with the authors seeing these low-cost private schools as a potentially major contributor to providing educational opportunities for all. They call for a larger role of the private sector in education contexts such as Liberia, Sierra Leone and South Sudan where faith in the government has been eroded due to conflict. They also suggest that private schools emerged ‘...in largest numbers after the conflict was over. Moreover, these private schools had many advantages over government schools – typically, they showed higher academic performance and were much better value for money. They were also affordable to the poor and were not biased against girls.’ (p. 95).

9. Gaps in evidence

This section highlights the key gaps in the evidence and where future research efforts could be concentrated.

- **Geographical focus** – the literature is very heavily weighted in South Asia and other developing contexts. Whilst there is some literature on the African continent, the SSA context remains understudied and should form the focus of future rigorous empirical research. This is especially true given that SSA houses a large proportion of pupils needing education and skills development in the near future.
- **Secondary education** – there is very little literature that focuses specifically on the secondary education level and even less literature, if any at all, that disaggregates between junior secondary and senior secondary in a coherent manner. Given that the numbers of youth out of school of secondary age and the growing rate of this population, this education level should be at the forefront of researcher’s initiatives especially given the growing attention it is receiving globally from policy makers. Whilst there is some evidence on the transitions between primary and secondary education, this area could also benefit from further investigation particularly for the more marginalized groups.
- **TVET** – remains an area requiring more rigorous research in the SSA region. This review has not found much rigorous empirical evidence on the true nature or the impact of this sector particularly with regards to any PPP arrangements despite strong evidence that private providers play an ever-increasing role in providing technical and vocational training to students

¹¹⁹ Novelli (2016).

across the SSA region. However, this is an area where cooperation between the public and private sector is potentially most needed. As shown in the Ghana case study in Box 3, the key challenges facing this sector include outdated equipment, unqualified teachers, underfunding, shortage of apprenticeships and poor reputation as well as low labour market returns to graduates. When TVET is provided by the private sector (mainly informal sector training and apprenticeships), the absence of quality standards and accreditation have affected the quality of provision.

- **PPPs** – There is a dearth of literature specifically focusing on public-private partnerships. Non-state provision has received research attention but instances where this provision takes the form of collaboration between the public and private sector has received far less attention. This review has highlighted a growing recognition of the important role that such partnerships can play in providing education across several contexts.
- **Cost analysis** – as with many areas of educational research, obtaining high quality disaggregated cost data is incredibly challenging. Therefore, robust evidence on the cost-effectiveness of various types of education provision is severely lacking.
- **Systems-level research** – also does not exist. This review had hoped to uncover policy evaluations of large-scale programmes with a focus on politics and implementation. Such research that recognizes how actors interact and how the structure of the system around them influences them has not been identified and should form a key area of future research focus. The Research on Improving Systems of Education (RISE)¹²⁰ programme seeks to understand what features make education systems coherent and effective and how the complex dynamics within these systems allow policies to be effective. This large-scale, £27.6 million, Department for International Development-funded (DFID) multi-country research programme aims to overcome this particular research gap by promoting research that helps us understand how school systems in the developing world can overcome the learning crisis. In particular, this programme aims to gain a better understanding of these education systems including policies, institutions and educators in both the public and private sector and how they must work together to ensure children receive a quality education.

¹²⁰ <https://www.riseprogramme.org/vision>

10. Conclusions and key policy pointers

Governments retain the ultimate responsibility for ensuring that all children from all walks of life have access to a quality education. However, they do not need to bear sole responsibility for providing that education especially when constrained by resources and faced with ever increasing demand for education at highest, more costly education levels. Where governments do rely on others to help them in the provision of education, it is their responsibility to ensure that they provide a framework of accountability and monitoring to ensure that that education is of sufficient quality and reaches all groups of society equitably. Specifically, the goals of any arrangements between the public and private sector (e.g. improved access, quality, learning outcomes etc.) need to be clearly defined and communicated to all stakeholders involved. These goals should be agreed upon in a collaborative manner to ensure the will of all parties to meet their respective roles and responsibilities. For these arrangements to be effective they also need to be explicit in nature and specifically targeted. For example, if the needs of the population are such that a particular sub-section of that population are being targeted, this needs to be done right from the design stages. In addition to this, it is the responsibility of governments to ensure that the surrounding climate is conducive and enabling in a manner that allows all providers to function effectively.

This review has highlighted some specific policy pointers that have arisen during the course of the review of underlying evidence.

- **Recognising the important role that non-state providers can play in the delivery of education.** This would require Ministries of education mapping the existence of various players in the non-state sector, integrating the non-state sector into sector documents and plans, ensuring that processes for registering and regulating non-state providers are clear, streamlined and transparent with good quality indicators that are measurable and objective¹²¹.
- **The roles and responsibilities of education providers need to be clear and transparent;** policies should engage with all stakeholders in a consultative manner before they are implemented in order to encourage mutual trust and to engage all stakeholders in ensuring that they become effective partners in implementing and sustaining these policies.
- **Engage key stakeholders throughout the policy process** – by engaging key stakeholders in the early stages of policy design, their support is not only garnered but their critical insights may prove useful in designing policies that are more effective at the ground level. It also ensures sustainability of these programmes as key stakeholders are more likely to then provide a driving force to sustain these policies on an ongoing by giving them ownership of the policy.
- **Clarity and consistency** – policies and particularly those relating to PPPs need to be clear and transparent in order to create an environment of mutual trust. Not only do they need to be developed carefully and in a consultative manner but need to incorporate mechanism to ensure that parties consistently fulfil their obligations once they have committed to them. There are numerous examples worldwide where parties have initially engaged in partnerships only later to renege on their commitments unfortunately to the detriment of the pupils.
- **Securing long-term sustainability through securing and committing finance in the long-run** to ensure that programmes have longevity and do not come to abrupt ends due to lack of financial planning. In this regard, governments should also ensure that when engaging with the private sector, future budgets make provision that these finances remain available on an ongoing basis.

¹²¹ R4D and USAID (May 2018).

- **Foster a climate of innovation and knowledge exchange across the public and private sector** – this capacity building and exchange of tools and skills across the sectors can benefit all parties involved in the provision of education. The government can strengthen the capacity to leverage the potential of all partners by improving regulation to enhance their contributions and to strengthen their capacity whilst also learning from their innovations in the system. This is especially true at the secondary education level where the system hits constraints.
- **Social accountability** – encouraging an environment of social accountability whereby both governments and private providers are responsible socially to the children being educated within the country particularly those facing multiple forms of disadvantage and whose education needs are yet to be met.
- **Establish formal mechanism of dialogue** – not only to ensure communication channels are open and grievances can be heard but also to help knowledge exchange to provide examples for future initiatives.
- **Recognising that the private sector not only plays an important role in the core delivery of education** but also in the provision of supplementary services that can provide support across the education system.^{ib}
- **Donors can also play an important role in engaging the non-state sector** through supporting government champions who display political will necessary to shepherd the development of a meaningful and coherent strategy towards non-state providers or to initiate PPPs. Donors should also contribute to the dialogue about the role non-state providers may play¹²².
- **Breaking away from traditional service delivery** with new channels of education delivery including distance education courses, short vocational courses and informal training programmes as an alternative increasingly being provided by private providers offer an opportunity for governments to partner with private providers. This will have important implications not only for how secondary education is delivered but also how it is financed (Joshi and Verspoor 2012).

¹²² Ibid.

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Appendix I

Key questions investigated in Background Paper

Most recent reviews of evidence on PPP arrangements in developing contexts suggest our knowledge of PPP arrangements, in particular but more broadly on how governments can best partner with non-state actors and provide an enabling environment for well-functioning arrangements, is still in nascent stages.

This paper will seek to answer the following questions:

Current status of PPPs and other forms of private provision

1. What share of private provision of secondary education is under PPP agreements as defined above, and what share is under Low Cost Private Schools, religious schools, and any other category of private provision of significant magnitude?
2. What does the evidence tell us regarding differences between different types of non-state providers, e.g., religious versus non-religious providers in terms of cost to parents, quality of education, and equity in terms of income group, gender, urban/rural residence?
3. Are PPPs different for TVET institutions than for general secondary (GE) schools? E.g., the former may be more closely related to firms/production units than GE schools. This may provide advantages such as more labor market relevant training than in public TVET institutions; better access to workshops/equipment, teachers that are better technically trained and with more work experience; and ability for students to get on-the-job training.
4. Are there important distinctions and impacts for PPP and private provision for lower as compared to the upper secondary cycle? What is the evidence re non-state actor provision in countries that have expanded the duration of the basic education cycle to include lower secondary education? If expansion occurs mainly by extending public primary education, most of the expansion of private education could be expected to be in upper secondary education, for example.

Evidence of impact and cost

5. A summary of the evidence: can private provision and PPPs improve access and/or equity, teacher practice, teacher absenteeism, school management, and/or student learning outcomes?
6. What is the cost-effectiveness of private sector solutions/PPPs compared to state provision? Is there evidence on whether a PPP makes it possible to use existing resources more efficiently? E.g., as the retirement age is low in SSA, teachers retired from public schools may teach in private schools; religious schools may use existing church facilities; vocational training facilities run by firms may use existing production staff as trainers, and existing workshops, etc.
7. What are the most important evidence gaps regarding non-state provision of secondary education and where should future research be concentrated?

Government roles and responsibilities

8. What should be principles for government engagement with the private sector through PPPs and other forms of private provision?
9. What are roles and responsibilities for critical stakeholders, especially government actors, in designing and implementing PPPs?
10. Are there examples of effective government management/regulation of PPPs, such as procurement and contracting (a transparent bidding process); rigorous, continuous monitoring of performance;

quality assurance; and use of sanctions when needed? What are key elements to this effective regulation?

11. How can governments be best supported to understand, plan, regulate and monitor PPPs and other forms of private provision for education? How can non-state actors be best supported to understand and contribute to the planning, regulation and monitoring of PPPs?

Enabling environment

12. How can the private sector positively influence public systems and vice versa? (This may include management, contracting, advocating for government accountability and curricular reform, etc.)
What creates the best enabling environment for PPPs and other forms of private provision of education?
What might be the tools to assess the quality of the enabling environment for PPPs?

It is worth noting that this range of questions is too far reaching for the scope of this Background Paper. However, the authors have aimed to address as many of these questions as possible given the limited evidence there is available on many of them. Based on a scoping exercise, this report has been structured to cover the following broader themes with the aim to address as many of the aforementioned research questions as possible:

- Current status of PPPs and other forms of private provision;
- Evidence of impact and costs/cost-effectiveness and
- Government roles and responsibilities/Enabling environment

Appendix II

Scope of Work for Kenya primary data collection on PPPs in education at the secondary level

Information for Dr. Mary Otieno

This Background Paper aims to inform *Secondary Education in Africa: Preparing Youth for the World of Work* (a report led by the MasterCard Foundation). This paper will summarize the latest evidence on Public-Private-Partnerships (PPP) in education and will focus on important policy questions and implications, including on how entire secondary systems could be strengthened through the reforms and lessons that emerge from managing a PPP. Part of this report will include 2 country case studies to provide examples of **PPPs and private provision of secondary education**.

Kenya has been selected as one of the countries to form a case study. The following are your responsibilities in relation to the Kenya case study:

1. An overview of a) private provision and b) PPP arrangements across the primary, secondary and TVET in Kenya. This should take the form of any data analysis and narrative on context. Within this section you will provide information on data such as the following: number of private schools at each level of education (disaggregated by type of school if possible e.g. religious school, low-fee private schools etc.; % enrolled in private schools at each level of education; any existing PPP arrangements in place at each level of education; any relevant regulations or legislation relating to private schools or PPPs in education etc.). This section can be a write-up of up-to 3-4 pages.
2. A crucial component of the case study will be narrative based on interviews with key stakeholders (based on questions that are listed below). You will need to provide written answers to these questions from all stakeholders (with their names, titles etc. clearly indicated).

In section 1 above and in the interviews, please be VERY clear as to whether the information relates to PPPs or to non-state schools in general (please see definitions below). If you are unclear about this differentiation, we can discuss it during our meeting at the CIES in Mexico City.

Below is the interview schedule as well as an introductory paragraph that can be shared with all stakeholders before you meet them.

Information for Stakeholders (to be shared prior to the interview)

This interview will form part of a Background Paper that aims to inform ‘*Secondary Education in Africa: Preparing Youth for the World of Work*’ (a report led by the MasterCard Foundation). This paper will summarize the latest evidence on Public-Private-Partnerships (PPP) and non-state schooling and will focus on important policy questions and implications, including on how entire secondary systems could be strengthened through the reforms and lessons that emerge from managing a PPP. Part of this report will include 2 country case studies to provide examples of **PPPs** and **non-state provision of secondary education**.

Important Definitions

For the purposes of clarity, the following definitions are to be used for this report:

PPP contracts can be defined as ‘some sort of durability between public and private actors in which they jointly develop products and services and share risks, costs and resources that are connected with these products’. Essentially this means that the provision (finance/subsidy and/or delivery) of education is undertaken by the government *in collaboration* with non-government entities (which could be low-fee private schools, elite private schools, religious schools, NGOs etc.). This relationship could take a variety of forms. One such example is government finance/subsidisation and private delivery (e.g. through vouchers or scholarships or bursaries etc.). Another example is government finance and private delivery through a contractual arrangement whereby the government pays the non-government/private school directly etc.

Private schools encompass market oriented schools that depend on tuition fees for some or all of their running and development costs. These schools have a degree of independence from the state and can encompass a broad array of types of provider facing different (if any) levels of government regulation. **Non-state schools** include private schools as well as religious schools, schools run by national or international NGOs, schools established by charitable foundations, philanthropic schools and community schools.

Kenya has been chosen to form one of the country case studies and you have been selected as a key stakeholder whose views and opinions we would like to include as part of this case study. Any information you share with us will remain anonymous unless you specifically ask to be named.

We thank you for your time in answering the following questions in a face-to-face interview with Dr. Mary Otieno.

Interview Schedule

Name:

Designation:

Date and time of interview:

Interview questions

1. In your opinion, what is the current status of non-state schooling at the primary and secondary levels and in the provision of TVET in Kenya?
2. What is the status of existing Public-private-partnerships (PPPs) at the primary, secondary and TVET levels? If they do not currently exist at any one of these levels, do you see this changing in the near future and if so, why and how?
3. Do you have any opinions on the cost-effectiveness of private sector solutions/PPPs in education?
4. How do you think the government has engaged with the non-state sector through PPPs and through other forms of private provision in Kenya?
5. Do you know of any examples of effective PPP relationships in education in Kenya, particularly at the secondary level? And what do you think are the key factors that have hindered or enhanced these arrangements in relation to procurement, contracting, monitoring, management etc. particularly at the secondary level.
6. How can the non-state sector positively influence public systems and vice versa in the education sector in Kenya?
7. What do you think are the key roles and responsibilities for key stakeholders in the design and implementing of PPP arrangements in education?
8. Do you have any final thoughts regarding education PPPs in Kenya particularly at the secondary level?

Overview of non-state provision in Kenya

Overview of non-state provision of education in the country: Education in Kenya at all levels is provided by both the government as well as the private sector. Examples of these non-state providers of education include: private schools, faith-based institutions, partnerships, companies, NGOs, international schools etc. Private schools typically exist in three categories: low-fee schools, medium and high-fee schools of which the latter are mainly located in urban centres. International schools are also categorized as private schools but are not members of the Kenya Private Schools Association (KPSA). Most of the remaining types (low/medium and high fee charging private schools) are members of the KPSA¹.

The Kenya government, through the Ministry of Education, MoE, takes leadership in providing education based on its own development agenda. Non-state provision has developed in key areas where the government lacks support for instance through interventions in the Arid & semi-Arid regions. The Kenyan government also supports private investors both in terms of legal registration and tax rebates to compliment provision of education services. This non-state provision, according to interviewed stakeholders aims at social transformation of lives and livelihoods.

Non-state schooling at primary, secondary and TVET levels: Stakeholder interviews suggest that secondary education in Kenya is very expensive and many students may not be able to access it even after the tuition waiver implemented by the government in 2008. Of specific concern is the fact that it is the very poor children who are unable to access this level of education. Whilst non-state schools are responsible for which students they admit, which teachers they hire and fire as well as other day-to-day aspects of running the school, ensuring quality and maintaining standards is also recognized to remain a responsibility of the government to ensure that quality standards are met. According to stakeholders, there has been a recognition by the government of the role that the private sector is playing in providing secondary education through their support of the tuition waiver programme and through the mentoring policy that is in place. Stakeholders from the private sector do feel supported by the government 'in most its calls.'

According to KPSA estimates, there are 2300 private secondary schools enrolling just under 300,000 students of the 2.5 million enrolled in private schools¹. In terms of TVET, there is a big initiative by USAID involving the youth, and the system is currently under massive reform due to the mandate set in the TVET Act of 2012. The Act requires TVET institutions to transition to a Competency Based Education and Training (CBET) approach at all levels of TVET institutions within Kenya. Accreditation of these institutions, both public and private, will require the adoption of CBET training, assessment and certification. At the Vocational Training Centre (VTC) level, this has been highlighted by the stakeholders as being extremely challenging given that the management of these 750 public institutions is spread across all 47 Kenyan counties, limited funding flows from the national education budget, and also a lack of awareness, expertise, and funding available at the county level.

Appendix III

Summary of Key literature

Year	Authors	Title	Context	Level of Education	Schooling Type	Study Focus	Notes
2014	Akaguri, L.	Fee-free public or low-fee private basic education in rural Ghana: how does the cost influence the choice of the poor?	Ghana	Primary and Junior High School	Fee-free public schools and low-fee private schools	The paper uses data from a household survey of three rural communities and interviews in the Mfantseman Municipality in the Central Region of Ghana to investigate the costs incurred by households that choose either fee-free public schools or low-fee private schools.	This paper argues that the poorest households in rural areas do not have a choice as they are unable to afford the cost of private schooling.
2009	Akyeampong, K.	Public-private partnership in the provision of basic education in Ghana: challenges and choices	Ghana	Basic Education	Three types of non-state provision which have attempted to address the needs of children from communities with this profile are: the School for Life programme (SFL), the Shepherd School Programme (SSP) and the School Feeder Programme (SFP). All have collaborated informally with the public sector to improve access for out-of-school children in Northern Ghana.	By examining three examples of non-state provision that have had links with the public sector to improve access, this paper evaluates the impact of such partnerships to draw lessons for policy and practice.	An important conclusion the paper draws is that for public-private partnerships that serve the needs of disadvantaged groups to work, it is important that they take into account both the diversity and context-specific educational access needs of the groups concerned.

2016	Alcott, B. and Rose, P.	Does private schooling narrow wealth inequalities in learning outcomes? Evidence from East Africa	East Africa	Aged 11-14 years	Children enrolled in private schools and those who are not enrolled in private schools	The paper uses household survey data from Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda to identify whether any observed impact of private schooling on core literacy and numeracy skills differs according to children's household wealth.	We demonstrate wealth gaps in access to private schooling, and use inferential models to account for observable differences between those who do and do not enroll in private schools. In Kenya and Uganda, we find that private schooling appears to improve the chances of children learning relative to their peers in government schools, but the chances of the poorest children learning in private schools remains low and is at best equivalent to the richest learning in government schools. In Tanzania, private schooling does not seem to improve poorer children's learning, whereas it does for richer children. These findings raise a caution about the extent to which private provision can help narrow learning inequalities.
2017	Barrera-Osorio, Blakeslee, D.S., Hoover, M., Linden, L.L., Raju, D., Ryan, S.P.	Delivering Education to the Underserved through a Public-Private Partnership Program in Pakistan	Pakistan, Sindh	Primary (5-9 years, but indirect results also presented for children up to the age 17 years)	Per student subsidy to low fee private schools	This study experimentally evaluates the short-term impacts of public per-student subsidies to partnering local entrepreneurs to establish and operate tuition-free, coeducational, private primary schools in educationally underserved villages in Sindh province, Pakistan. Two subsidy structures were tested, one in which the subsidy amount did not differ by student gender, and the other in which the subsidy amount was higher for female students.	The program increased school enrollment by 30 percentage points in treated villages, for boys and girls. It increased test scores by 0.63 standard deviations in treated villages. The gender-differentiated subsidy structure did not have larger impacts on girls' enrollment or test scores than the gender-uniform one. Program schools proved more effective in raising test scores than government schools located near the villages, with program-school students scoring 0.16 standard deviations higher, despite coming from more socioeconomically disadvantaged backgrounds. Estimations of the demand for schooling and education production suggest nearly efficient choices on school inputs by the program administrator and partnering entrepreneurs.

2010	Casely-hayford, L., Hartwel, A.	Reaching the underserved with complementary education: lessons from Ghana's state and non-state sectors	Ghana	8-14 year olds	Complementary school education program	Between 1995 – 06 and 2005 – 06, more than 85,000 children between the ages of 8 and 14 years participated in a complementary education programme in rural areas of northern Ghana. School for Life, a non-profit organisation, provides nine months of instruction in the children's spoken language.	An impact assessment of the programme demonstrates that complementary education programmes are able to help children attain basic literacy in their mother tongue within a shorter timeframe and more cost-effectively than formal state primary-school systems can.
2009	Chimombo, J.	Expanding post-primary education in Malawi: are private schools the answer?	Malawi	Secondary	Public and Private Provision	The study was concerned with the range of public and private provision of secondary education and how it is configured in terms of key dimensions of participation, staffing, curriculum, management and costs. It sought to explore how private schools have been developing to meet rapidly growing demand for secondary education of different types in Malawi, and to develop policy-relevant insights based on evidence using illustrative case studies.	The evidence showed that private schools are playing a pivotal role in supplementing government efforts in secondary school provisioning. However, lack of control and regulatory mechanisms has meant that the quality of the education offered in both Community Day Secondary Schools (CDSSs) and private schools is very low. The development of secondary schooling policy in Malawi revolves around the striking of proper balances in the quality of education provided by CDSSs and the lower-end private schools. The tug of war in the contribution towards increased secondary school access seems to be between the CDSSs and the private schools and the extent of contribution by the private sector will be determined by what policies are put in place by the government to improve the CDSSs. There is need to establish some regulatory mechanisms so that access to private school is within the limits of parental affordability, otherwise private schools may not be the answer to problems of secondary education in poor Malawi.

2016	Crawford, L.	School Management in Uganda	Uganda	Secondary	Government, private and PPP	This paper explores the relationship between measures of school management quality and student test scores. Data on management practices from interviews with Ugandan secondary school head teachers is combined with individual level panel test score data from two high- stakes examinations.	We find that the overall average quality of management is similar to the other low and middle- income countries for which comparable data exists (India and Brazil). Management matters for school performance in Uganda – with a standard deviation improvement in management performance being associated with a 0.05 – 0.2 standard deviation improvement in test scores. Observable characteristics of schools and headteachers explain little of the variation between schools in test scores.
2017	deGalbert, P.	Beyond Primary School Completion: Exploring How a Public-Private Partnership in Uganda Supported Secondary School	Uganda	Secondary	PPPs	A previously conducted quantitative evaluation of the PPP assessed the impact of the policy on access and student learning, as well as three potential mechanisms through which the PPP was anticipated to function. Results indicated that private schools participating in the program experienced large increases in enrollment and that, after 18 months, students who attended these schools performed better on average than their peers in similar private schools who were not part of the program. Importantly, the evaluation found that the most likely mechanism that explained the difference in student test scores was a difference in the characteristics of students enrolled, rather than a change in school management or educational inputs. Importantly, however, the quantitative study did not exclude other causal mechanisms to explain student gains. The current study explores whether head teacher and parental perceptions were consistent with these quantitative findings and uncovers other mechanisms that could explain student learning gains.	The findings from the qualitative study are consistent with the quantitative study, confirming an increase in learning opportunities for students from relatively lower-income backgrounds, as well as an opportunity for low-fee private schools to enroll students with higher performance at primary school. In addition, the study found that the program led to an increase of continuation of education for students and additional forms of support to teachers. These mechanisms could partially explain higher student achievement.

2016	Harma, J.	Is there a private schooling market in poor neighbourhoods in Maputo, Mozambique? Exploring the role of the non-state education sector	Mozambique	Secondary	Non-state providers	This research study sought to find out if non-state schooling has developed to any considerable extent in the Mozambican context, where government education is of poor quality and learning outcomes are low.	This paper reports that non-state provision is playing some role in providing places at the secondary level where government under-provides, and it is providing differentiated demand for some primary pupils. The study finds that the only level at which a true market appears to be developing is at the pre-primary level where government does not provide at all, which has resulted in complete inequity in access to early learning opportunities. At this most crucial level most schools are established, owned and run like typical low-fee private schools, i.e. as small businesses with individual owners.
2013	Harma, J.	Access or quality? Why do families living in slums choose low-cost private schools in Lagos, Nigeria?	Nigeria	Primary	Low-fee private schools	This paper draws on original household survey data to investigate why parents living in slums would put considerable strain on their household budgets to access fee-paying primary education for their children, and discusses the equity implications of this situation. Context is provided through data from the first comprehensive private school census in Lagos during the school year 2010–2011.	It is found that parents choose private schools because government schools are perceived to be failing (or too far from home), but also that they have higher expectations than can be provided by private schools run on incredibly tight budgets with often untrained teachers. It is highly questionable then how under such circumstances social justice can be served through this scenario.
2012	Hartwig, K.	Using a social justice framework to assess educational quality in Tanzanian schools	Tanzania	Primary and Secondary	Public, private and Catholic schools	This paper uses a social justice framework to assess the educational quality of over 100 primary and secondary schools surveyed in northern Tanzania from 2009 to 2011.	Significant shortages of teachers, infrastructure, and teaching resources were observed in all government schools. National test exam scores for secondary school students highlighted the growing inequities between private and public schools as a learning environment. Although Tanzania has made some progress, severely under-resourced schools and dismal exam scores raise questions about the quality of education offered. This paper calls for a radical transformation of the current curriculum, strategies, and accountability systems.

2013	Komba, A. & Yohana, W.	The Implications of Provision of Secodary Education through Public- Private Partnership to Equity of Access among Low-Income Households in Tanzania	Tanzania	Secondary	PPPs	This paper seeks to answer three research questions: (1) what kind of public-private partnerships exist in the provision of secondary education in Tanzania? (2) What are the implications of the existing kinds of public- private partnership for equity of access among low-income households? And (3) Are there mechanisms for ensuring equity of access to low-income households within the existing kinds of public-private partnership? The study employed a mixed methodology approach.	The study produced three key findings: (1) the existing public-private partnership in the provision of secondary education in Tanzania is merely an invitation of the private sector into the provision of secondary education and that there is no specific, documented kind of public-private partnership; hence, the partnership arises due to default or despair rather than design: (2) the existing public-private partnerships have negative implications for equity of access among low- income households; and (3) there is a paucity of mechanisms for ensuring equity of access for students from low-income households. The paper recommends that it is necessary to review the existing public-private partnerships in education and devise strategies that may prove of benefit to less well-off students.
2009	Nishimuko, M.	The role of non-governmental organisations and faith-based organisations in achieving Education for All: the case of Sierra Leone	Sierra Leone	Primary	Non-governmental organisations and faith-based organsitions	This paper discusses the role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and faith-based organisations (FBOs) in the provision of primary education by supplementing governmental efforts.	Through the exploration of forms of services delivered by NGOs and FBOs, this paper argues that the collaborating work among the government, NGOs, and FBOs has made progress towards achieving Education for All (EFA) in Sierra Leone.
2016	Novelli, M.	Public Private Partnerships in education in crisis and conflict affected contexts: a framing Paper	Various	Primary and Secondary	PPPs	This framing paper seeks to lay out some of the issues related to the role of private actors and PPPs in these kinds of crisis and conflict affected contexts. In doing so, it seeks to bring together insights from the eld of Education in Emergencies, particularly research on education in conflict affected contexts, and link this to already existing work on PPPs in some of these contexts.	This paper raises a number of issues that need to be addressed and suggests a possible approach through which Education PPPs might be researched, monitored, and evaluated—prior to, during, and after implementation—to ensure that they contribute towards, rather than impede, education system development and post-conflict and crisis recovery.

2016	Economic Policy Research Centre	Evaluation of the PEAS network under the Uganda Universal Secondary Education Programme, Baseline Survey Report	Uganda	Secondary	PPPs	PEAS started operating schools in Uganda in 2008; however most of the 24 PEAS schools active in 2015 were opened after 2012. PEAS, in partnership with Ark, sought to evaluate the PEAS programme in Uganda in comparison to private schools and government schools to establish pathways through which the PEAS programme impacts on the quality, access and sustainability of secondary education provision in Uganda. This baseline study is the first of three expected studies and focuses on three major attributes – Access, Quality and Sustainability	PEAS admits relatively disadvantaged students who would otherwise not have access to secondary education. Even though PEAS students have lower prior academic attainment, they are nonetheless able to catch up with their peers in nonPEAS schools in maths and English due to several unique elements of the PEAS school model. PEAS schools are more affordable on 'total' costs to attend than nonR PEAS schools.
2011	Brans, B-J.	PPPs - Public Private Partnerships in education Analyzing PPPs as a policy tool for Universal Secondary Education in Uganda	Uganda	Secondary	PPPs	In this research I analyzed the stakeholders' perceptions on the impact of the recently implemented PPPs policy on the education field as part of Universal Secondary Education in Uganda.	By using a Critical Discourse Analysis I found first of all that there are strong discursive differences on the impact of the translated PPPs policy on the education problems in Uganda, and secondly that the conditions for translation policy are only partly met. As a consequence, the case of Uganda is in line with critics in the global debate on PPPs, who argue that the actual 'partnership' arrangement is highly ambiguous and that it therefore can be seen as a form of privatization.
2017	Romero, M., Sandefur, J., Sandholtz, W.A.	Can Outsourcing Improve Liberia's Schools? Preliminary Results from Year One of a Three-Year Randomized Evaluation of Partnership Schools for Liberia	Liberia	Primary	PPPs	This paper investigates whether partnership schools' pupils perform better, whether the teachers in these schools display better teaching quality and whether these schools are more cost effective as compared to government schools.	After one year, public schools managed by private contractors in Liberia raised student learning by 60 percent, compared to standard public schools. But costs were high, performance varied across contractors, and contracts authorized the largest contractor to push excess pupils and under-performing teachers onto other government schools.

2008	World Bank Working Paper	The Challenge of Expanding Secondary Education and Training in Madagascar	Madagascar	Secondary	All secondary	<p>This report is designed to contribute to ongoing education reform discussions by presenting: analysis of the secondary education and training system; policy options to expand and improve secondary education based on other country experiences; and possible next steps for identifying the most appropriate course of action. This report aims to encourage discussion among policy makers, stakeholders and donors, and does not promote one approach over another. It is part of the ongoing Secondary Education in Africa (SEIA) study being undertaken by the AFTHD and is funded by the GOM, the World Bank, the Norwegian Education Trust Fund (NETF) and the Irish Education Trust Fund (IETF).</p>	<p>Private schools are very active even without benefiting any public subvention; they enroll more than 50 percent of the total SE students and they are mostly located in urban and suburban areas. The system shows low cost-effectiveness with: (i) few of the public SE teachers complying with the regular teaching time (20 hours per week; still lower than international practices); (ii) low student-to-teacher ratios due to a very specialized teacher system; and (iii) an excessive number of administrative staff. On the demand side, inability to pay secondary school costs is still the primary barrier to enrollment. Some private schools have lowered school fees (registration and enrollment fees), which has been possible by the schools hiring time-based salary SE public teachers. In spite of that, private schools are generally still too expensive for the poorest quintiles. Cost opportunity is also a constraint, and it is more pronounced where parents do not believe in the value or relevancy of SE. The paper recognises the important role the private sector can play in meeting the demands of JSE places given the policy reform taking place to increase the primary cycle to include JSE.</p>
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2017	Unterhalter, E.	A Review of public private partnerships around girls' education in developing countries: flicking gender equality on and off	Developing Countries	All	PPPs	The article reviews the literature on Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) and policy on girls' schooling in developing countries. It considers the ways in which aims around gender equality and women's rights are positioned in policy texts concerned with girls' education PPPs.	The argument made is that these documents exemplify an oscillation, using a multipolar register, between pragmatic initiatives that recognise existing sites of power, and attempts to develop a political project that dissolves differences between public and private constituencies, who share an interest in getting girls into school. The potential and limits of this approach to support integrated policy around rights and equalities is considered using the case of DFID's Girls' Education Challenge. An analytical framework is sketched that maps a political and epistemological process termed dispersal, which is used to consider some ways to investigate the effects of PPPs as a mechanism to address intersecting inequalities. Understanding how to work better for gender equality in education always needs to be connected to the detail of context, and the complexities of building solidarities across differences. PPPs may, under some circumstances, offer one small part of this project, but much more investigation is needed for us to understand how or whether they build toward its heart. We need much more investigation to know whether they offer a compelling way to realise gender equality and women's rights or a diversion from this project.
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