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**IMPACT OF FOOD FOR EDUCATION
PROGRAMME: A REVIEW**

OMAR HAIDER CHOWDHURY

APRIL 2000

FMRSP Working Paper No. 19

FMRSP Bangladesh

Food Management & Research Support Project

Ministry of Food, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh

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1. INTRODUCTION

The government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh is committed towards the goal set for "Education for All". According to the constitution, primary education is given the highest priority and shall be the responsibility of the state. Accordingly, in 1972, the Qudrat-e-Khuda Education Commission was set up to create a modern education system suited to the needs of an independent nation and compatible with the systems of the neighboring countries. The Commission in its report in 1974 outlined a number of objectives for primary education and placed a few recommendations before the government for the development of primary education in the country. Unfortunately, most of the recommendations of the Commission remained unimplemented. However, the government nationalized 36,165 primary schools in 1973 and declared 1,57,724 teachers of those schools as government employees. From then on, strengthening and improving primary education management became a part of the state's responsibility and planned steps were taken for the development of primary education.

Various projects were taken up under successive development plans of the government to promote primary education. The government enacted the Primary Education (compulsory) Act in 1990 in pursuance of its constitutional obligation to adopt effective measures to introduce a uniform, and universal system of primary education that will be free and compulsory. According to this Act, children aged 6-10 years from any area of the country come under the purview of Compulsory Primary Education (CPE) began in 1992 when 68 thanas were brought under this program. The success in the implementation of this program inspired the government to bring the whole country under its scope.

It is argued that poverty is the main reason for low primary school participation and high drop-out rates in a poor country such as Bangladesh. Keeping this in view the

government of Bangladesh has adopted the Food for Education (FFEP) program as a strategy and launched it as a pilot program in July, 1993 for the primary institution level of selected areas (unions) which are educationally backward and economically poorer. The FFEP is designed to attract poverty stricken households to send their children to school instead of engaging them in child-labor for earning a livelihood for the family. The food entitlement provided to the family through this program is expected to substitute for the loss of income of the child while he/she attends the school. The primary objectives of the program are (GOB, 1996):

- (a) to increase enrollment rate;
- (b) to increase attendance rate; and
- (c) to reduce drop-out rate to ensure retention/completion of primary education cycle.

It is hoped that FFEP will contribute towards educating the children of the poorer households and thereby improve the income-earning potential of those households in the long run. In other words, fulfillment of the above mentioned short-run objectives are expected to equip the children with quality education that will open up better income earning opportunities in the long run.

In 1998 there were 79,722 primary level educational institutions in the country, of which 37,710 were Government Primary Schools and 19,658 were registered non-government primary schools, 3,177 were unregistered non-government primary schools. Besides them were 1582 Secondary High Schools (with primary Sections) 7,173 Ebtedayee (Primary) madrasas, 2948 high madrasas with Ebtedayee sections, 1691 kindergarten schools, 2837 satellite schools, 22563 educational institutions operated by NGOs, 2989 community schools and 53 experimental schools. A total of 1,83,60,576 students were studying in all these institutions, 96% of the 6-10 year old children were enrolled in primary schools and 35 percent of them dropped out before completion of primary education (see GOB, 1999). Over the years enrollment rates in primary schools have increased and drop-out rates have decreased. Programs pursuing the enactment of the compulsory Primary Education Act, Food for Education Programmes, social

motivation programs, the increase of physical facilities in education, the enactment of schools attractiveness programs, and the enactment of quality of education programs for all contributed towards the achievement of the present rate of enrollment and attendance and reduction in dropout rates.

Table 1 shows that the FFEP was introduced in 1994 and by 1998 it had expanded rapidly in terms of number of schools, enrolled students, beneficiary students and beneficiary households. The amount of resources in terms of foodgrains distributed has increased by more than four times from 79553 metric tons in 1994 to 340663 metric tons in 1998. The overall cost of the program has increased by more than five times from Tk. 68.93 to Tk. 374.98 crore in the same period. In fact, it is now the biggest single project financed out of domestic resources in Bangladesh.

The objective of this study is to assess the extent FFEP has been successful in expanding primary education in Bangladesh by reviewing the existing literature and analyzing secondary data.

Table 1 — Expansion of the FFE Programme (1993/94 - 1997/98)

Period/ Year	No. of Unions	No. of Primary Schools	No. of enrolled students	No. of beneficiary students	No. of beneficiary households	Foodgrains Distributed (in m. tons)	Cost of the program (Tk. in Crore)
FY/94	460	4914	1504437	706519	549881	79553	68.93
FY/95	1000	12182	3619243	1628659	1416932	174486	193.46
FY/96	1243	16159	4960813	2239850	1962496	241170	267.49
FY/97	1243	17203	5719590	2280467	2174503	277385	329.43
FY/98	1243	17403	5739890	2295956	2182215	340663	374.98

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

It has only been six years since the FFEP was launched. Phenomenal expansion of the program in so short a time has attracted attention of the academics. Primary education is acclaimed to be the state responsibility and is given highest priority. Ever increasing resources are being allocated for running the project. Hence, it is only natural that the impact of such an important program is evaluated carefully.

The International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) evaluated the FFEP immediately after its introduction in 1994. It conducted a survey during April 6 through May 9, 1994. The survey covered 104 FFEP and 97 non-FFEP schools located in 20 unions; two unions in each of the 10 selected thanas spread over the country.

FINDINGS OF THE IFPRI REPORT

Enrollment

Enrollment in FFEP schools increased by 28.1% from April 1993 to April 1994. Prior to the FFE Programme, enrollment in the same schools increased by 7.7% from April 1992 to April 1993. For non-FFEP schools, the rates of change in enrollment between the two periods show a 2% decline. However, the difference is not significant. It shows that the large increase in FFEP school enrollment (after the program was introduced) was not achieved by merely drawing students from the neighboring non-FFEP schools. Rather, this increase in enrollment virtually represents a net increase.

Attendance

The attendance rate in FFEP schools increased from 63.0% in 1993 to 77.6% in 1994, and this difference is statistically significant. The change in the attendance rate

over the same period is not statistically significant for non-FFEP schools. The attendance rate in FFEP schools is significantly higher than in non-FFEP schools.

The attendance rates for beneficiary students were higher than for non-beneficiary students in FFEP schools. It may be noted that the attendance rates of even non-beneficiary students in FFEP schools were higher than those of students in non-FFEP schools and this difference is statistically significant.

Dropout Rates

Yearly drop-out rates in FFEP schools declined from 18.5% in 1993 to 10.9% in 1994. Dropout rates in FFEP schools are substantially lower than those in non-FFEP schools. All these differences are statistically significant. In contrast, the findings do not register any statistically significant decline in dropout rates for non-FFEP schools, though the rates are somewhat lower in 1994 than in 1993.

Targeting

It was found that 12% of the FFEP beneficiary households did not meet any of the eligibility criteria. However, it was also noted that the monthly per capita incomes of 33% of these households were lower than the average income of eligible beneficiary households. Hence, it may be argued that some of the households who do not meet the eligibility criteria can also be categorized as poor and as such deserve to be included in the FFEP. Interestingly enough, the findings also indicate that the income benefits offered to the children from the poorest households are not enough to attract them to attend schools.

The BIDS conducted an evaluation of the FFEP in 1997. The survey for the study was carried out from March 13 to April 12, 1997. The primary data collected at the school level related mainly to the internal efficiency (e.g., enrollment, attendance, dropout rate etc.) of the system. The data at the pupil-level related to the socio-economic status of

the FFEP beneficiary and non-beneficiary households. A simplified random sampling method was employed to select the sample schools and the sample pupil (household). Twelve FFEP benefiting unions from 12 thanas of 12 different districts of six administrative divisions were chosen. The sample thanas and unions were chosen step-wise but randomly; a rough proportional rule was applied to select the mix of thanas (and unions) from the six administrative divisions. All the schools in each sample FFEP union were picked up. Attempts were made to include all the schools of the adjacent non-FFEP unions in the survey as well. Finally, 153 FFEP and 124 non-FFEP schools were surveyed.

For the pupil level survey, 80 pupils (40 pupils each from grades II and V) from one (subject to availability of the students in the specific grade in a school) or two FFEP schools in the selected unions and another 40 pupils (20 each from grade II and grade V) from one or two non-FFEP schools in the adjacent non-FFEP union were chosen.

Findings

- The overall comparison between FFEP and non-FFEP schools clearly shows that FFEP schools do perform better than non-FFEP schools in terms of enrollment and attendance rate in both grades I and IV.
- Female enrollments in the two grades of FFEP schools are significantly higher than in the non-FFEP schools. Attendance rates are also higher in FFEP schools than in non-FFEP schools.

EVIDENCE OF DROPOUT AND REFEATER RATES

- Dropout rates for grade IV are better for FFEP schools compared to non-FFEP schools, while they are better for non-FFEP compared to FFEP in grade I.
- Repeater rates are also better for grade IV in FFEP schools while it is better for non-FFEP schools in grade I. Thus, the above comparisons made between schools under FFEP and non-FFEP in adjacent unions in 1996 on dropout and repeater rates do not provide any conclusive evidence in favour of FFEP.

Now comparing performance of sample FFEP schools "without and with" FFEP - intervention - over two calendar years i.e., one year without FFEP, preceding the intervention and second year with FFEP, the calendar year, 1996.

- With FFEP in both sample grades I and IV, the enrollment size has gone up significantly. Similarly, the female enrollment size has also gone up.

Finally, relative yearly changes in total enrollment between FFEP and non-FFEP schools 'before' and 'after' the introduction of FFEP are compared.

- Total enrollment had gone up by 13 to 14 percent in FFEP schools after the introduction of the program whether one considers Phase I (the first phase sample unions where FFEP started in 1993-94) or Phase II (started in 1994-95). In the non-program schools, the rate of change in total enrollment was observed to be much lower, 2.56% to 5.96%. Even in the case of Phase II non-food schools, the rate was observed to be negative i.e. (-1.38)%. This may have happened after a pupil (and parents) moved to an FFEP school in the neighboring union.
- In general, the FFEP schools (whether covered under Phase I or II) show higher rates of total enrollment growth even before FFEP intervention.

Anthropometrics tests carried out among those students benefited by FFEP and those not benefited by the program could not establish any favorable impact on the beneficiary students. This is probably because:

- the foodgrain entitlement for a child (15 kg) is consumed by all the members of the beneficiary household (usually 5 - 6) and as a result the impact, if any, gets diluted.
- A part of the foodgrain received as food entitlement by the student from the FFEP is sold out in the market to meet cash requirements of the family for other purposes. Hence, it does not contribute towards improving the nutritional status of the students under FFEP.
- The program has not made any significant impact on child labour situation.

An analysis of the socio-economic background of the families of the beneficiary students indicated that around 74 percent of the students belonged to the target group

according to the eligibility criteria laid down for the FFEP. However, according to a poverty line estimated by the authors around 88 percent of the students could be categorized as belonging to the poor households. In other words, an objective evaluation of the incidence of poverty would include many more households than the easily identifiable rough and ready indicators of poverty defined in the FFEP. Poverty is so pervasive in rural Bangladesh that it is difficult to differentiate between poor and non-poor households. Hence, even an honest and efficient management with all the good intentions may end up including students from non-poor households and excluding students from poor households in the FFEP.

Discussions with people at the grass roots level and thana officials level in six different FFEP benefited unions in six different administrative divisions of the country revealed the following:

- That the program has been quite successful in attracting and sustaining eligible children from the rural poor family in the FFEP benefiting schools.
- That strict adherence to the rule of food entitlement to the target group household children has not been ensured in many cases. People sitting in the School Management Committee (SMC) or the ward committee have their favorites among the non-poor families and it is alleged that they have covered them up under FFEP. Moreover, the committee (SMC) finds it difficult to differentiate between the poor and the non-poor in borderline cases. According to a poverty line estimated by the authors it was found that many non-eligible households could be categorized as poor. Poverty is so widespread and endemic in rural Bangladesh that it is really difficult to objectively differentiate a household according to incidence of poverty.

Md. Abdur Razzaque, Project Director, Food for Education Programme, also evaluated the program in 1996 on the basis of reports and returns collected from the thana level in the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) of the FFEP. It is supplemented by the working experience of the author in the PIU as Project Director. The reports of inspection and visits to the program areas by the PIU officials have also been used to provide a picture of what could actually have happened in the field. The information on

enrollments, attendance and dropouts in primary schools are based on raw data collected from the Directorate of Primary Education, Bangladesh. For this purpose the enrollment, attendance and dropout rates in FFEP schools were compared with those prevailing before the introduction of FFEP (i.e., before July, 1993). Moreover, the programs of FFEP schools were compared with those of non-FFEP schools. The before and after comparisons in the FFEP and non-FFEP schools were based on information collected from the PIU of FFEP.

The findings indicate that the FFEP has been generally successful in achieving its three short-run objectives, namely, (i) enrollment of primary-age children in the area of intervention had increased substantially (ii) the rate of attendance had also increased and dropout rates had fallen remarkably.

A number of managerial inefficiencies in foodgrains distributions were mentioned. "Besides the aforesaid management inefficiency in foodgrains distribution, the attitudes of the community leaders in viewing the program as a "relief" activity directed towards poverty alleviation deviated them from the main aim of the FFEP. It is meant to impart education to children of poor households and it required the attendance of their children at least for 85 percent of school days. The leaders and even the beneficiaries cared very little for attendance. They persuaded teachers to make every enlisted child eligible for monthly food-rations. As a result, food was made available without strictly adhering to the attendance requirement. There has thus been very little impact on the quality of primary education. They enroll their children to get a monthly food ration and do not understand what their children get out of such school enrollment." (Razzaque, 1996, pp. 15).

A few individuals representing different civil society organizations or themselves decided to initiate an independent 'Education Watch' (Chowdhury et al. 1999) to publicly monitor the nation's progress in achieving the goals of universal primary education. They have published their first report based on field studies using scientific random sampling

techniques. The study covered 3360 students of the 11-12 age group, 885 schools and 42,548 households in 312 villages in all the 64 districts of the country. Six different types of schools were identified: government primary, non-government primary (registered and non-registered), non formal primary, Ebtedayee and other madrassas, English medium Kindergarten and primary schools attached to secondary schools. Data were collected in the months of October and November 1998. The Education Watch report notes that enrollment is increasing (particularly for girls), the completion rate is rising, and poorer and less educated parents are sending their daughters in large numbers to school. However, the progress in terms of increase in net enrollment is slow and children are not learning much in school. With a net enrollment of 73 percent, 70 percent completing the primary cycle and 57 percent of those completing class V achieving basic education, not even 30 percent receive some meaningful education. In other words, 2.6 million children are leaving the primary school age each year with no or sub-standard education. The analysis has shown that the rate of progress over the past five years or so has been rather slow - less than one percent per year. With this rate of progress, it is reckoned that the goal of 80 percent basic education can be achieved only by the year 2082.

It was found that fifty nine percent of the students were in school on the day of visit by the survey team (girls 64%; boys 61%). When the number of students in the school register was compared with the actual seating capacity in the respective school, the schools had capacities to accommodate up to 66% of the enrolled students. This did not pose any problem, however, because of absenteeism. There were also wide variations among different types of schools in attendance rates (see annex Table 5).

There have been improvements in various internal efficiency indicators of primary education over the years. However, the impact of FFEP on these indicators is not discernible. For example, there was no significant difference in the rate of attendance of students in government primary schools depending on whether they were under the FFEP or not. Moreover, both the boys and girls of non-FFEP schools fare better than those of FFEP schools in terms of dropout and repeaters rate (Annex Tables 6 and 7).

Increasing the access to education of children coming from disadvantaged groups has not improved much. Children coming from socio-economically worse off families enroll in schools less in numbers, attend school less frequently, dropout more and perform worse in achievement tests. It is clear that neither the Food For Education Programme of the government nor the NGO focus on the poor have had much of an impact in reducing inequality of access at the aggregate level. An overwhelming majority of the un-enrolled, the dropouts and the poor performers still come from families with socio- economically poorer backgrounds.

An evaluation of the FFEP was carried out by the Development Planners and consultants in associations with the Center for Development Research, Bangladesh (CDRB) in early 1999. It evaluated both the quantitative and qualitative impacts of the program. The study was based on a review of the relevant literature and primary data collected through administration of questionnaires and interviews with the stakeholders on the spot.

The findings of the study are based on data collected through on-the-spot visits to randomly selected schools and recording the opinion of the respondents in the pre-designed structured instruments. The study covered 1284 primary level institutions of 1243 beneficiary unions taking at least one from each such union, 1284 head teachers, 1284 pupils and their beneficiary guardians who were interviewed. Moreover 250 head teachers of non-government primary level institutions adjacent to the program schools were also interviewed. Besides, 92 SMC Chairmen, 96 CPEWC members, 61 union parishad chairmen, 23 TNOS, 76 TEOs/ATEOs and 10 DCs were interviewed and their responses were recorded in structured instruments.

A basic learning competency test of the students was arranged and administered in 449 of the sample program schools and 92 non program schools distributed throughout the country (district and thana). Competencies of the students of the program

(beneficiary) schools vis-a-vis non-program schools were compared on the basis of the findings of the outcome of this test.

The quantitative impact of the program, according to the study, is quite favorable as were the findings of earlier evaluations of the FFEP. Enrollment in program schools rose sharply from 406,000 in 1993 to 533,000 (131%) in 1998. Impact on enrollment of girl students was higher than that of the boys. The enrollment in the surveyed non-program schools had been 86,000 in 1993, 101,000 in 1995 and 97,000 in 1998. The fall in enrollment in 1998 may be attributed to trouble in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and migration of poor students from non-program schools to program schools for food according to the authors.

The rate of attendance has increased, the rates of dropouts/schools leavers and repetition in program schools have decreased. Teachers' willingness to learn and habits in attending program schools have improved. It was found that child labour has been reduced due to the introduction of the FFEP and the poverty of the beneficiary families has been reduced, at least on a temporary basis. It was also found that the FFEP is the most cost-effective of all the food intervention programs of the government.

However, the impact of the program on the quality of education is quite disappointing. According to the study, "judged and compared by any of the methods of evaluation viz., (a) achievement by level of scores, (b) results by subjects and (c) results by mean scores, the learners of the non-program schools show achievement of higher academic skills than those of the program schools."

The authors argued that the students of the program schools showed poorer results than those of the non-program schools probably because the former:

- i) are the first generation learners
- ii) do not get necessities conducive to learning
- iii) their migration is rampant
- iv) are frequently asked to help their parents in their jobs
- v) do not get useful assistance/guidance from their parents, and
- vi) educationally backward unions are selected for FFEP.

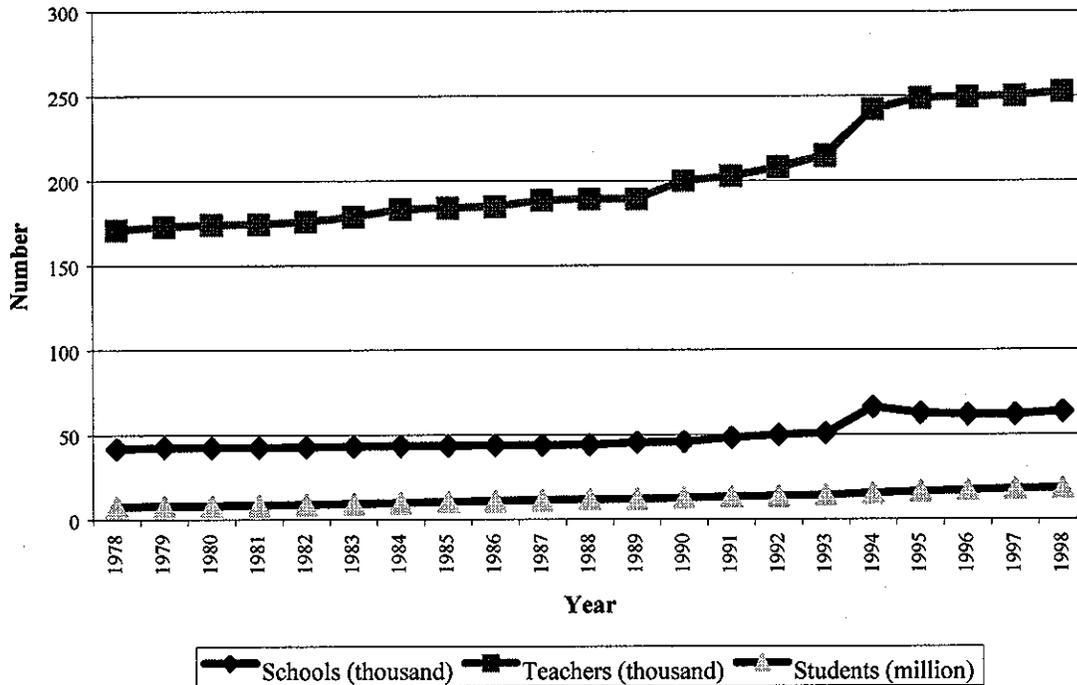
3. EVALUATING THE IMPACT OF THE FFEP BASED ON SECONDARY DATA

Over the years enrollment and attendance rates in primary schools have increased and drop-out rates have decreased. Programs pursuing the enactment of the Compulsory Primary Education Act, the Food for Education Programme, social motivation programs, an increase in physical facilities in education, enactment of schools attractiveness programs and the enactment of quality of education programs, have all contributed towards the achievement of the present rate of enrollment, attendance and reduction in drop-out rates. On the other hand, coverage by the FFEP has also increased phenomenally since its introduction in July 1993. Around 27% of all primary schools are now covered by FFEP and about a third (31%) of all primary school students are enrolled in these schools. About 12.5% of primary school students benefit from this program. Government expenditure on education in general and the FFEP in particular has also increased substantially. The review of literature on the early evaluation of the FFEP based generally on primary data suggests that the impact of the program on the various indicators mentioned above are mixed. We attempt here to supplement the analysis based on primary data by an analysis based primarily on macro data.

FRAMEWORK

Figure 1 shows that the shape of the time trend of growth of various variables relating to primary education (number of primary schools, number of students enrolled in primary schools) are not similar. However, we would expect a kink and/or a change in the slope of the curve indicating the intertemporal change in the growth of these variables at, or since, the introduction of Food for Education Programme (FFEP) in Bangladesh in 1994. Hence, to test the impact of FFEP in those terms the following equation was fitted:

Figure 1 — Expansion of Government and Non-government Primary Schools in Bangladesh, 1978-1998



$$\log Y_t = a_1 + a_2 Z_t + b_1 T + b_2 Z_t T \quad \dots \quad \dots \quad \dots \quad \dots \quad (3.1)$$

where

Y_t = Dependent variable (expenditure on primary education; number of schools, teachers, students etc.)

T = Time = 1 for 1978 (or any period (1982) for which the information is available) ... 20 (or whatever) for 1998. Subscript t denotes the same for variables

Z = 0 for the period upto 1993 (inclusive) and 1 from 1994 (inclusive), the year FFEP was introduced and upto 1998.

The fitted equation will indicate whether the value of the variables registered a rise (estimated a_2 coefficients positive and significant) or not when the program was launched in 1994 and that the trend rate of growth in the post FFEP period was significantly higher

than the trend rate of growth in the pre-FFEP period (b_2 is positive and significant). Finally, what happened to the overall trend rate of growth of the variable in the post-FFEP ($b_1 + b_2$) compared with the pre-FFEP (b_1) era.

NUMBER OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Figure 2 describes the time path of expansion of primary schools between 1978 and 1998. Total number of primary schools increased from 41787 in 1978 to 63481 in 1998. In other words, the total number of primary schools increased by around 52% during the last 20 years. However, when we disaggregate it by schools managed by the government and the private sector then a picture of imbalanced growth emerges. Government primary schools have grown from 37100 to 37799, or by less than 2%, and the non-government schools from 4687 to 25682 or by an astonishing 448%. The proportion of non-government primary schools to total primary schools of the country has increased dramatically from 11 percent in 1978 to 41 percent by 1998. In other words, almost the entire growth in the number of primary schools has taken place in the private sector.

Now to assess the impact of the FFEP on the growth of the number of primary schools we fitted the eqn. 3.1. The regression results in Table 2 indicate that the total number of primary schools (eqn. 1) registered a rise (a_2 positive and significant) at the introduction of the FFEP in 1994 but the trend rates of growth in the number of primary schools after the introduction of the FFEP declined compared to in the pre-FFEP (b_2 negative and significant) era. In fact, even the overall growth rate ($(b_1 + b_2)$ in the post-FFEP era is negative. This is almost entirely explained by the growth in the number of non-government primary schools (eqn. 2). In the case of government schools (eqn. 3) there is no significant change in the intercept (a_2) or the trend rate of growth (b_2). Our analysis indicates that whatever growth took place in the number of primary schools since 1978 occurred in the private sector and the impact of the FFEP was felt at its introduction, indicated by a rise in the number of non-government primary schools. However, the

Figure 2 — Expansion of Government and Non-government Primary Schools in Bangladesh, 1978-1998

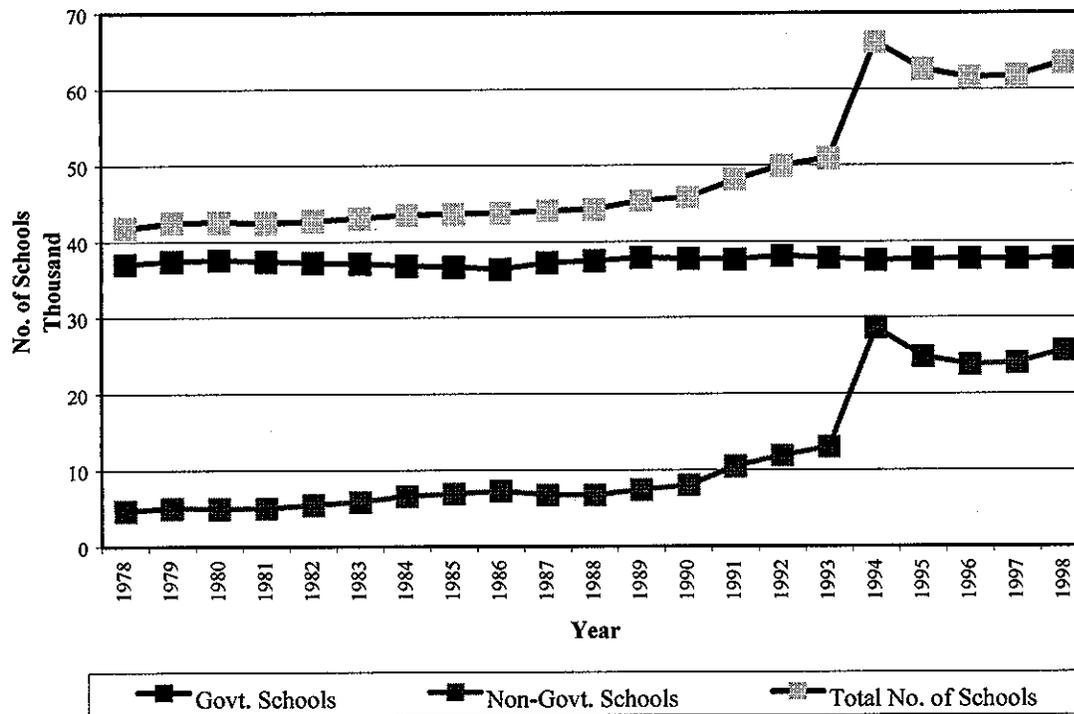


Table 2 — Growth of Primary Schools

Log of Dependent Variable	a ₁	a ₂	b ₁	b ₂	\bar{R}^2
Number of total primary schools	10.608140* (.014097)	.626818* (.162570)	.011330* (.001458)	-.020927** (.008625)	.97
Number of non-government primary schools	8.315940* (.052781)	2.305873* (.608704)	.061792* (.005459)	-.087097** (.032293)	.97
Number of government PRIMARY SCHOOLS	10.518576* (.005382)	-.010464 (.062071)	.001184** (.0005622)	.000374 (.0033)	.19

Note: Standard errors in the parentheses
 * Significant at less than 1% level
 ** Significant at less than 5% level

trend rates of growth in the post-FFEP era of both total number of schools and non-government schools were negative.

NUMBER OF PRIMARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

Figure 3 traces the growth of primary school students in Bangladesh. The number of primary school children increased phenomenally from 7.557 million to 18.314 million between 1978 and 1998. In other words, primary school going children increased by 142% during the last 20 years. Here also the growth has primarily occurred in the non-government sector. Students in non-government schools have increased from .939 million to 6.638 million and those in government schools from 6.618 million to 11.676 million. The growth in the enrollment of students in non-government schools increased by 600% and those in government schools by a mere 76%. In other words, the phenomenal growth in the number of primary school children in the last 20 years has been largely absorbed by the schools in the private sector. The share of students in non-government schools increased from around 12% of total primary school students to 36% during the same period.

Now to isolate the impact of FFEP on the expansion of primary school children we analyze the regression results in Table 3. Equation 1 in the table indicates that there is no significant impact of the FFEP either on the intercept (a_2) or the slope of the curve (b_2) describing the growth of total number of primary school children. In fact, the enrollment of primary school children was increasing significantly (statistically) at 4.4% per annum before the introduction of the program. However, the trend rate of growth of primary school children in non-government schools (eqn. 2) shows a substantial and significantly higher growth rate in the post-FFEP (6.9%) era compared to the pre-FFEP period. Eqn. 3 indicates that the introduction of the FFEP did raise the enrollment of students in government primary schools at the point of introduction in 1994 (a_2 positive and significant) but the trend rate of growth of enrollment declined (b_2 negative and significant) after the introduction of the program compared to the pre-FFEP era.

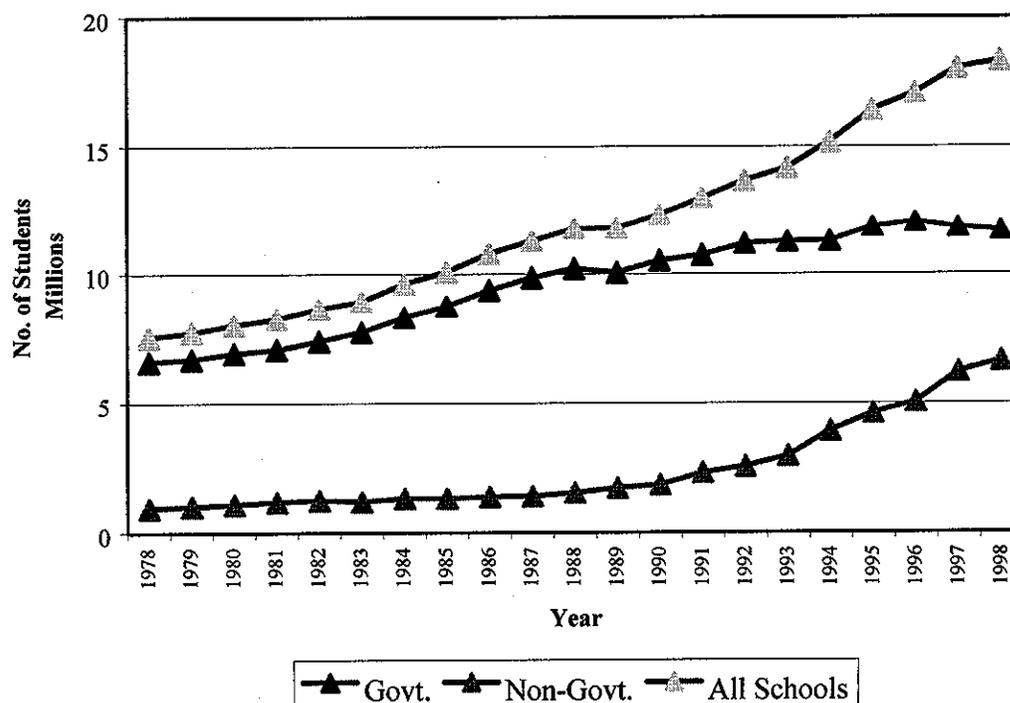
However, the government schools registered a healthy growth rate of enrollment (4.0%) of primary school children before the introduction of the FFEP.

Table 3 — Growth in the Number of Primary School Children

Log of Dependent Variable	a ₁	a ₂	b ₁	b ₂	R ²
Total primary school students	8.863351* (.009511)	-.013076 (.1097)	.043986* (.00098)	.002790 (.0058)	.996
Number of students in non-government primary schools	6.733948* (.04982)	-.755346 (.5746)	.06657* (.005152)	.068979** (.0305)	.98
Number of students in GOVERNMENT PRIMARY SCHOOLS	8.742195* (.0167)	.493714** (.1926)	.039662* (.00173)	-.032665* (.01022)	.98

Note: Standard errors in the parentheses
 * Significant at less than 1% level
 ** Significant at less than 5% level

Figure 3 — Enrollment of Students in Government and Non-government Primary Schools in Bangladesh, 1978-1998



NUMBER OF TEACHERS IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Figure 4 traces the growth of employment of teachers in primary schools. The employment of total number of teachers increased from 171024 in 1978 to 252709 in 1998 i.e., employment of teachers in primary schools increased by around 48 percent during this period. Teachers employed in government and non-government schools in 1978 were 147740 and 23284 respectively and they stood at 152954 and 99755 in 1998. Thus, the growth rates in employment of teachers in government and non-government schools during the last 20 years were 3.5% and 328% respectively. As a result of the phenomenal growth in the employment of teachers in non-government schools, the share of employment of teachers in non-government schools in total primary school teachers increased from around 14% in 1978 to around 40% in 1998.

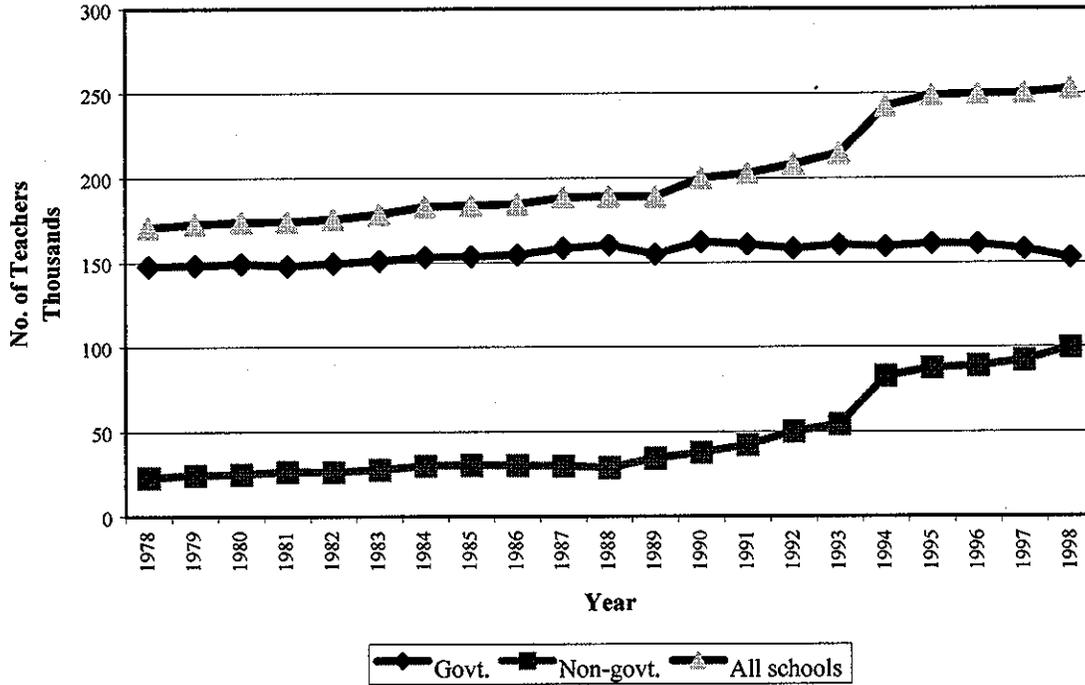
Regression results in Table 4 indicate that the growth of employment of teachers was influenced by the introduction of the FFEP in 1994. Eqn. 1 indicates that the number of teachers increased (a_2 positive and significant) at the introduction of the FFEP in 1994. However, there was no significant change in the trend rate of growth of employment of teachers in the post-FFEP (b_2 significant) era. However, the trend rate of growth of employment of teachers during the pre-FFEP era was (b_1 is positive and significant) 1.4

Table 4 — Growth of Employment of Primary Schools Teachers

Log of Dependent Variables	a_1	a_2	b_1	b_2	\bar{R}^2
Total number of primary schools teachers	12.015748* (.008866)	.236931** (.102249)	.014182* (.00092)	-.005164 (.005425)	.99
Number of non-government primary schools teachers	9.946363* (.047817)	.651758 (.551455)	.048555 (.00495)	-.005958 (.0293)	.97
Number of government PRIMARY SCHOOLS TEACHERS	11.891955* (.00715)	.279966* (.08244)	.006448* (7.392)	-.016879* (.0044)	.82

Note: Standard errors in the parentheses
 * Significant at less than 1% level
 ** Significant at less than 5% level

Figure 4 — Teachers in Government and Non-government Primary Schools in Bangladesh, 1978-1998



percent per annum. FFEP had a significant impact on both the intercept (a_2) and the slope (b_2) of the equation describing the growth of employment of teachers in government primary schools. It shows that there was a significant rise in the employment of teachers when FFEP was introduced. But the trend rate of growth of teachers in the post-FFEP era was lower than that in the pre-FFEP era. Employment of teachers was growing significantly at 0.65% per annum during the pre-FFEP era but it declined to -1.0% (b_1+b_2) during the post-FFEP era.

Eqn. (2) indicates that the FFEP had no significant impact on the growth of employment of teachers in the non-government primary schools. However, employment of teachers was growing significantly at 4.9% per annum in the non-government primary schools during the pre-FFEP era.

Table 5 indicates the changes in the rate of enrollment of primary school children in Bangladesh in the nineties. It shows that the rate of enrollment for boys declined from 55.3% in 1990 to 52.2% by 1998 while that of girls improved from 44.7% to 47.8% during the same period. However, the overall rate of enrollment for primary school children stagnated at around 50% during the whole period. In other words, the introduction of the FFEP may have had some favorable impact on the rate of enrollment of girl students but there was little impact on the overall attendance rate of the primary school children.

Table 5 — Rate of Enrollment

Year	Boys(%)	Girls(%)	Total
1990	55.28	44.72	50.560
1991	54.69	45.31	50.440
1992	54.15	45.85	50.340
1993	53.50	46.50	50.246
1994	53.02	46.98	50.182
1995	52.62	47.38	50.136
1996	52.44	47.56	50.118
1997	51.94	48.06	50.074
1998	52.16	47.84	50.096

Source: Cols. 2 and 3 from GOB (1999), Table 6 pp. 18 and col. 4 calculated from GOB (1999) Tables 5 and 6 pp. 18.

Table 3.5 shows that there was a substantial reduction in the dropout rate of primary school children during the nineties. It fell from 59.3% in 1991 to 35.00% by 1999. But a very rapid fall in the dropout rate occurred during the pre-FFEP era. It fell from a high of 59.3% to 39.6% in a very short period of only two years between 1991 and 1993. In other words, the dropout rate fell by around 20 percentage points within two years before the introduction of the FFEP. It has fallen by only around 4 percentage points in the 5 years following the introduction of the FFEP. Hence, a dramatic fall in the dropout rate occurred shortly before the introduction of the FFEP and since then a very modest reduction in dropout rates was observed.

Table 6 — Rate of Dropouts in Primary Schools

Year	Rate (%)
1991	59.30
1992	46.60
1993	39.60
1994	38.70
1995	38.00
1999	35.00*

Note: * Estimated

Source: Directorate of Primary Education. Primary & Mass Education Division, (1999)
Table 7, pp. 19

4. FUNDING THE PROGRAM

The Food for Education Programme (FFEP) is funded out of grants from the Annual Development Programme (ADP). The entire fund of the program is financed out of the government's own resources. In fact, this is the largest program financed by domestic resources. Procurement of foodgrains constitutes the major cost of the program. Procurement, carrying and distribution of the foodgrains to LSDs and from LSDs to the respective primary schools constitute about 99% of the total cost of the program. The establishment cost of the PIU has never exceeded 0.1% of the total cost of the program. The cost of the foodgrains is debited from the Food Ministry's account from the PIU.

The source and the manner of financing the program suggests that it is essentially a development program and that it falls in the education sector. In other words, it may be argued that the objective of the program is to achieve development by imparting primary education to all in general and children of the poor households in particular. Alleviation of poverty is not the immediate objective of the program. Food is provided to the primary school going children from poor households to encourage them to enroll, attend and continue to finish the cycle of primary education. Hence, the success of the program has to be evaluated not only by the expansion of primary education in quantitative terms but, more importantly, by its impact on the quality of education that is being imparted. In the final analysis it is the quality of education that matters in opening up opportunities for improving income-earning capacity by contributing to employment in skilled jobs for the poor and improving their well-being.

The FFEP was launched in July 1993 at a cost of Tk. 68.93 crore involving distribution of 79661 metric tons of foodgrains. By 1998 the cost of the program increased by 5.4 times to Tk. 374.98 crore and the distribution of foodgrains increased by 4.3 times to 340663 metric tons. The share of FFEP in the total expenditure incurred for

primary education (including FFEP) in the country rose from less than 5% in 1994 to around 20% by 1998. However, the share of primary education in the total expenditure for education has declined from 53% to 45% during the same period. In other words, the expansion of the FFEP has not raised the share of expenditure on primary education in total expenditures on education.

Figure 5 traces the growth of the share of expenditures in primary education (including, as well as excluding, expenditure incurred on the FFEP) to total public expenditure and to total expenditure on education for a period covering 1982 to 1998 that includes pre-and post-FFEP era. The regression results in the table indicate that the share of primary education to total public expenditure (eqn. 4.1) registered a sharp increase at the introduction of the program (a_2 positive and significant). However, the trend rate of growth was lower in the post-FFEP era compared to the pre-FFEP era (b_2 negative and significant). In fact, the overall trend rate of growth in the share of primary education to total public expenditure was negative ($b_1 + b_2$ is negative) during the post - FFEP era. Obviously the trend rates of growth of the share of primary education excluding expenditure on the FFEP (eqn. 3) fares worse than that includes the expenditure on the FFEP (eqn. 1).

The growth of the share of primary education in total education (eqn. 2) does not indicate any significant relationship. Yet the growth of the share of primary education excluding FFEP to total expenditure on education (equ. 4) indicates a sharp rise at the introduction of FFEP (a_2 positive and significant). However, the trend rate of growth of the share is lower (b_2 negative and significant) during the post-FFEP era compared to the pre-FFEP era. Moreover, the trend rate of growth during the post-FFEP era is negative ($b_1 + b_2$ is negative). Hence, even though the expenditure on primary education excluding expenditure on the FFEP in relative terms (in relation to total public expenditure and expenditure on total education) registered a sharp rise at the introduction of the FFEP, the growth rate during the post-FFEP era not only declined but turned negative.

Figure 5 — Expenditure Ratio

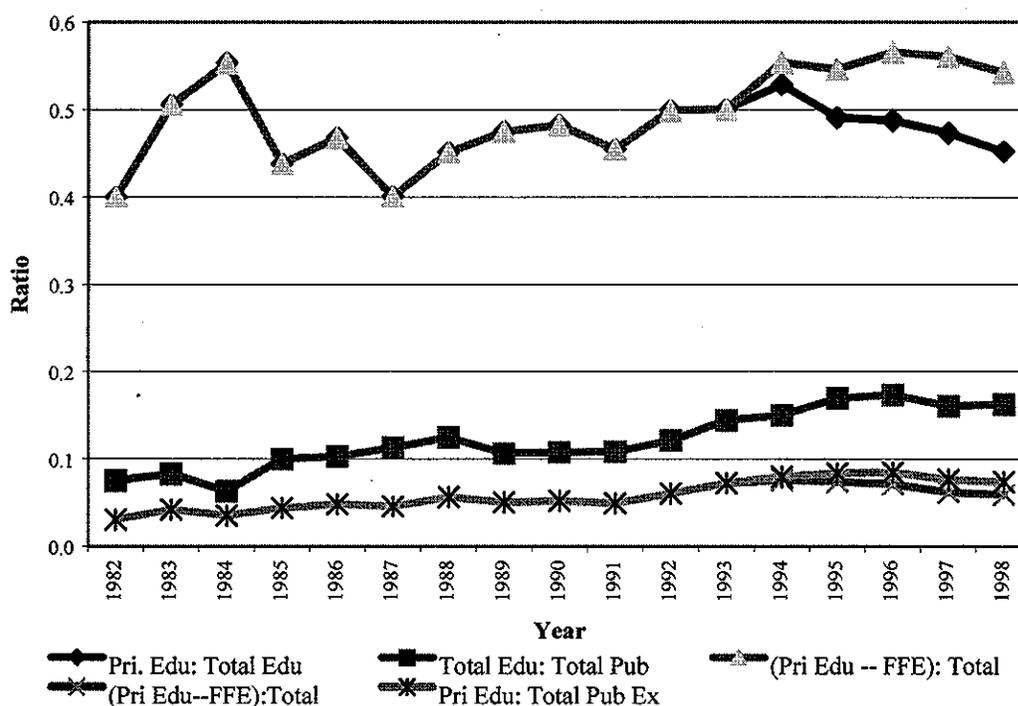


Table 7 — Relative Expenditure Growth

Log of Dependent Variables	a ₁	a ₂	b ₁	b ₂	R ²
Ratio of expenditure on primary education to total public expenditure	- 3.422306* (.062093)	1.253366** (.484672)	.058114* (.008437)	-.08242** (.033)	.90
Ratio of expenditure on primary education to total expenditure on education	-.796943* (.052584)	.599288 (.168)	.005583 (.007145)	-.0405 (.02795)	.01
Ratio of expenditure on (primary education minus FFEP) to total public expenditure	- 3.422306* (.061058)	1.745719* (.4766)	.058114* (.008296)	-.125474* (.032451)	.86
RATIO OF EXPENDITURE ON (PRIMARY EDUCATION MINUS FFEP) TO TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION	-.796943* (.053097)	1.011641** (.41446)	.005583 (.007215)	- .083554** (.02822)	.43

Note: Standard errors in the parentheses

* Significant at less than 1% level

** Significant at less than 5% level

Figure 6 — Expenditure on Education in Real Terms

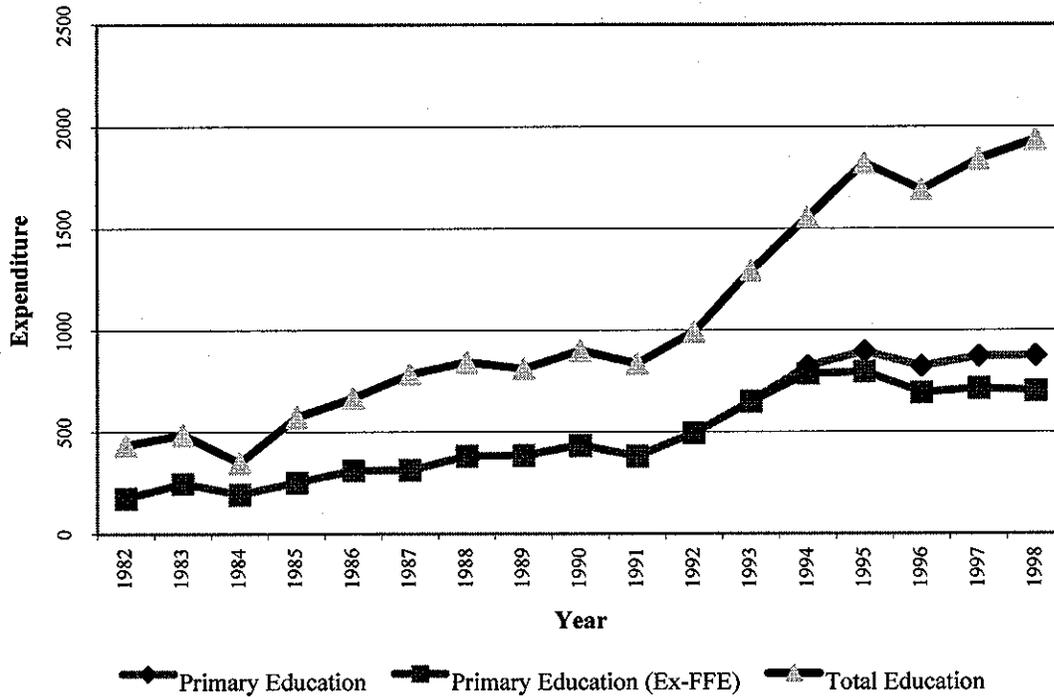


Table 8 — Growth of Expenditures in Real Terms

Log of Dependent Variables	a ₁	a ₂	b ₁	b ₂	\bar{R}^2
Total Expenditure on Education in Real Terms	5.930430* (.083970)	.877339 (.655438)	.096061* (.011409)	-.051559 (.044628)	.94
Expenditure on Primary Education in Real Terms	5.133487* (.066831)	1.476628** (.519810)	.101644* (.009048)	.092059** (.035393)	.96
Expenditure on Primary Education minus Expenditure on Food for Education in Real Terms	5.133487* (.066831)	1.96898* (.521655)	.101644* (.00908)	-.135113 (.035518)	.96

Note: Standard errors in the parentheses
 * Significant at less than 1% level
 ** Significant at less than 5% level

Figure 6 traces the absolute growth in expenditures for total education and primary education including, as well as excluding, the FFEP.

Regression results in the table indicate that expenditure in real terms in primary education (eqn. 2) received a filling (a_2 positive and significant) at the introduction of the FFEP in 1994. However, the trend rate of growth of expenditure in the post-FFEP period (b_2 negative and significant) is lower than that in the pre-FFEP period. The trend rate of growth of expenditure in primary education is only 0.96% ($(b_1 + b_2)$) per annum during the post FFEP period. This also turns into a negative figure (eqn. 3) when we exclude the expenditure on the FFEP from the expenditure on total primary education.

Our analysis indicates that the growth in the expenditure on primary education in relative terms (as a share of total public expenditure and total expenditure in education) as well as in absolute terms (in real terms) declined after the introduction of the FFEP. Hence, it appears that, contrary to common perception, the introduction of the FFEP has not augmented expenditure on primary education. Rather it has substituted expenditure that used to be incurred in this sector before its introduction and, as a consequence, helped in diverting resources from primary education to other areas.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Primary education in the country has expanded modestly in the last two decades covering the period 1978 -1998. It has expanded by 52%, 48% and 142% in terms of schools, teachers and students respectively. However, a disaggregation by type of institutions reveals that the growth in the private sector has been quite spectacular. Schools, teachers and students in non-government primary education registered a growth of around 450%, 330% and 600% compared to a mere 2%, 3.5% and 76% respectively in government primary education in the last two decades. As a consequence, the share of the private sector in total primary schools, teachers and students have increased from 11%, 14% and 12% in 1978 to 41%, 40% and 36% respectively in 1998. In other words, over the last two decades, the private sector has increasingly become an important player in providing primary education in the country. Yet the government primary schools still remain the most dominant type of primary education institution in Bangladesh.

It was pointed out earlier that various programs were implemented in the past to expand primary education in the country. The FFEP was launched in 1994 to attract primarily people from poverty stricken households to send their children to school. The coverage under the FFEP increased rapidly and by 1998 around 27% of all primary schools, 31% of all primary school students came under the FFEP. However, our analysis indicates that the trend rates of growth of school teachers and students were positive and significant during the pre-FFEP era followed by a significantly lower trend rate of growth in the post-FFEP period. Both government and non-government primary schools, teachers and students registered a significantly positive trend rate of growth in the pre-FFEP era. As would be expected from our earlier analysis, the rate of growth in the non-government schools was substantially higher in all these areas compared to in government schools. However, trend rates of growth of enrollment of students and employment of

teachers were significantly lower in government schools during the post-FFEP era compared to the pre-FFEP era. Trend rates of growth of enrollment of students in non-government schools were, however, significantly higher in the post-FFEP era compared to that in the pre-FFEP era. Hence, it appears that the FFEP project had little impact on the expansion of primary education in government schools.

The rate of enrollment stagnated at around 50% during the nineties. The dropout rate fell dramatically from around 59% to around 40% between 1991 and 1993, i.e. before the introduction of the FFEP. The fall in dropout rate was more modest during the post-FFEP era, falling from 39% in 1994 to 35% by 1999. Hence, it appears that the FFEP has not had much impact on these so-called efficiency indicators of the primary education system.

The early evaluations of the FFEP done by IFPRI and BIDS indicate that it had, in general, a favorable impact on such efficiency indicators of the primary education system as the enrollment rate, attendance rate and dropout rates. Comparison between FFEP and non-FFEP schools as well as for FFEP schools before the introduction of the program and after its introduction indicate that these indicators were, in general, significantly higher for the FFEP compared to non-FFEP school and for the FFEP after the introduction of the program compared to that before its introduction.

However, it was also noted in the IFPRI study that the attendance rate of even non-beneficiary students in FFEP schools was higher than that of students in non-FFEP schools and this difference is statistically significant. The evidence on dropout rates, according to the BIDS study, was mixed. Both the dropout and repeater rates were better for the FFEP for grade V and worse for grade I compared to that of non-FFEP schools. A "with/without" and "before/after" comparison of schools under the FFEP carried out by the Project Director of the FFEP in 1996 based on reports and returns collected from the thana level in the PIU of the FFEP indicates that the FFEP has, in general, been

successful in achieving its three short-run objectives of improving enrollment, attendance and reducing drop-out rates.

As far as targeting was concerned, both the IFPRI and BIDS studies found that the beneficiary households generally belonged to the poorer section of the community. However, both the studies indicated that it is difficult to objectively identify the poor by the targeting criteria laid down in the FFEP. Many households who would not meet the eligibility criteria belonged to the poorer households when compared against an objectively estimated income poverty line. Poverty being so pervasive and endemic in rural Bangladesh that it is very difficult not to include a child from a non-poor household or exclude one from the poor households in the program. In fact, the director of the project in his evaluation mentioned that the perception of the parents and even the community leaders that it is a poverty-alleviating program comes as a hindrance towards achieving its objectives. It is noted that the parents and the community leaders do not care about the attendance. They put pressure to make every enlisted child eligible for food rations. Hence, not only are the resources diverted to benefit the ineligible households but more importantly the quality of education suffers.

A large-scale nationwide survey on primary schools, students and households based on primary data collected in October and November of 1998 by individuals representing different civil societies has recently been published. It found that the general primary schools can accommodate up to 66% of the enrolled students. Attendance of students in the schools is not satisfactory. It was found that only fifty nine percent of the students were in school on the day the survey team visited the schools.

The findings of the study indicated that there have been improvements in various internal efficiency indicators of primary education over the years. However, comparison between FFEP and non-FFEP government schools did not reveal any significant difference according to these indicators. In fact, there was no significant difference in attendance rates between FFEP and non-FFEP government primary schools. Moreover,

both the boys and girls of non-FFEP government primary schools fared better than their counterparts in FFEP schools.

Our analysis based on secondary data indicated that there has been a substantial expansion of primary education in terms of schools, students and teachers in the last two decades. However, this was accomplished primarily by a phenomenal growth in the private sector. A simple econometric test showed that the implementation of the FFEP, if anything, slowed down the process of expansion in government primary education. Analysis based on primary data also do not indicate any favorable impact of the FFEP on the internal efficiency of the system. Yet it was found that 9747 out of a total of 16117 primary schools covered by the FFEP were government primary schools. In other words, 60 percent of the schools covered by the FFEP do not indicate any favorable impact of the program.

As far as the non-government primary schools are concerned, our analysis based on secondary data shows that it has been experiencing spectacular growth over the last two decades beginning in 1978. The growth in the enrollment of students continued at a highly significant rate even after the launching of the FFEP. Hence, it is not clear as to what extent the FFEP has contributed towards the growth of the enrollment of students as various other initiatives in this sector have also been in operation in the expansion of primary education in the private sector for a long time.

It is clear that over the years access to primary education has been achieved in quantitative terms. There have been improvements in various internal efficiency indicators over the years. But there is little evidence of the changes in the quality of education that is imparted. However, according to Education Watch, among the children of Bangladesh aged 11-12 years in 1998, only 29.6% percent satisfied the minimum levels in all four areas of competence including reading, writing, numeracy and life skills/knowledge. The level of basic education varied according to school type: the students from NGO schools performed moderately well and in the government and

registered (or unregistered) non-government schools students' performance was unsatisfactory. In other words, the evidence indicates that the quality of education in both the government and non-government primary schools is very poor.

The official primary school age group is 6-10 years but one third of all children enrolled in primary level institutions are from outside this age group. This leads to the consideration of the net enrollment rate, which is the population of children 6-10 years old attending schools (excluding children over and below the age group). Seventy seven percent of children at primary school age are enrolled in different institutions. This means that 23 percent of these children are still outside the reach of any educational institutions. Both gross and net rates of enrollment have increased over the years yet increasing the access to education of children coming from disadvantaged groups has not improved much. Children coming from socio-economically worse-off families enroll in schools less in numbers, attend school less frequently, dropout more and perform worse in achievement tests. It is clear that neither the Food For Education Programme of the government nor the NGO focus on the poor have had much of an impact in reducing inequality of access at the aggregate level. An overwhelming majority of the un-enrolled, the dropout and the poor performers still come from families with socio-economically poorer backgrounds. Hence, one of the major objectives of encouraging children from the poorer families by the FFEP is not being achieved. In fact, the IFPRI study has also noted the fact that the food incentive provided in the program is not enough to entice the children from the poorest households.

It is now clear that children from a large number of poor households still cannot access primary education. Existing incentives as provided by food entitlements in the FFEP do not seem to be adequate to attract these children. However, expenditures on primary education in relative terms as well as in absolute terms appear to have declined since the introduction of the FFEP even though the share of it in total expenditure on primary education has increased from less than 5% in 1994 to around 20% by 1990. The

expenditure on the FFEP has, in fact, substituted expenditure on primary education rather than augmenting it.

Our review indicates that the quality of primary education in Bangladesh is very poor. But there has been substantial expansion of primary education in quantitative terms. This expansion has been occurring since even before the introduction of the FFEP. However, still a large number of primary school going children do not go to any educational institution. Most of these children belong to the poorest households. The food entitlements offered by the FFEP do not seem to be adequate to entice children from these households to attend schools. Thus, on the one hand, the quality of primary education will have to be improved and, on the other hand, a more imaginative mechanism will have to be put in place to attract children from the poorest households. But this will involve increasing investment in primary education substantially. Investment should be directed towards expanding the number of schools, employment of teachers and increasingly the efficiency of the system through improved supervision, effective training and appropriate curriculum development.

Attracting the students from the poorest households is a very different proposition. It may be necessary not to think of bringing them within the net of formal primary education. They may be brought within the fold of non-formal education offered by the NGOs. Government help in terms of financing such efforts may be more cost-effective rather than providing resources through an all-embracing food entitlement for attending school where it is difficult to differentiate the poor from the non-poor by some general socio-economic indicators.

ANNEX TABLES

Annex Table 1 — No. of Primary Schools, Teachers and Students of Govt. and Non-Govt. Schools

Year	No. of Schools			No. of Teachers			No. of Students (000)		
	Govt.	Non-Govt.	Total	Govt.	Non-Govt.	Total	Govt.	Non-Govt.	Total
1975									
1976									
1977									
1978	37.100	4687	41787	147740	23284	171024	6618	939	7557
1979	37439	5004	42443	148389	24392	172781	6709	1024	7733
1980	37609	4979	42588	149152	25009	174161	6939	1088	8027
1981	37430	5017	42447	147921	26526	174447	7081	1179	8260
1982	37263	5420	42683	149492	26379	175871	7407	1249	8656
1983	37186	5853	43039	150945	27644	178589	7763	1192	8955
1984	36846	6619	43465	153207	29966	183173	8325	1318	9643
1985	36689	6899	43588	153608	30247	183855	8768	1314	10082
1986	36422	7290	43712	154446	30172	184618	9395	1381	10776
1987	37238	6754	43992	158605	29764	188369	9864	1399	11263
1988	37471	6731	44202	160370	28821	189191	10212	1543	11755
1989	37910	7429	45339	154814	34402	189216	10053	1721	11774
1990	37760	8023	45783	162237	37819	200056	10494	1851	12343
1991	37659	10487	48146	160744	42103	202847	10722	2313	13035
1992	38097	11867	49964	158180	50091	208271	11157	2560	13717
1993	37855	13043	50898	160497	54282	214779	11239	2963	14202
1994	37528	28640	66168	159538	82714	242252	11266	3919	15185
1995	37717	24900	62617	161251	87532	248783	11826	4603	16429
1996	37752	23831	61583	161026	88689	249715	12026	5042	17068
1997	37762	24043	61805	158055	92141	250196	11808	6223	18031
1998	37799	25682	63481	152954	99755	252709	11676	6638	18314

Note: Non-Government schools include: (1) Registered Non-Government Primary Schools, (2) High School Attached Primary Schools, (3) Experimental Schools, (4) Ebtadayee Madrashes (5) High Madrashes Attached E/M, (6) Kindergarten Schools, (7) Satellite Schools, (8) Community Schools

Source: 1978 to 1996, BBS, 1997 and 1998 Directorate of Primary Education.

Annex Table 2 — Coverage by FFE Programme

Year	Students in schools under FFEP as share of Total Students Enrolled under Primary Education	Schools covered by FFE Programme as a Share of Total Primary Schools	(Percentage)	
			Share of beneficiaries of FFEP to Total Students under Primary Education	
1994	10	7	4.65	
1995	22	19	9.90	
1996	29	26	13.10	
1997	32	28	12.65	
1998	31	27	12.50	

Annex Table 3 — Expenditure on Education

Year	Expenditure on Primary Education			Expenditure on FFEP	Expenditure on Total Education	Total Public Expenditure	GDP Deflator
	Revenue	Development	Total Expenditure				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1982	98.64	27.32	125.96	0	314.50	4179.85	72.51
1983	145.36	48.01	193.37	0	382.46	4616.79	78.51
1984	112.06	61.43	173.49	0	313.26	4972.55	89.91
1985	188.63	62.55	251.18	0	572.89	5740.98	100
1986	276.88	65.58	342.46	0	731.48	7115.44	109.81
1987	292.24	89.7	381.94	0	952.21	8399.37	121.9
1988	395.09	104.69	499.78	0	1107.21	8839.83	131.2
1989	422.92	124.01	543.93	0	1144.46	10752.79	141.36
1990	489.74	154.17	643.91	0	1334.09	12350.96	148.25
1991	526.85	89.51	616.36	0	1354.44	12497.8	162.19
1992	657.04	179.61	836.65	0	1677.53	13815.91	169.06
1993	745.02	351.45	1096.47	0	2190.93	15152.03	169.2
1994	804.14	648.52	1452.66	68.93	2746.56	18261.8	176.48
1995	850.27	868.58	1718.85	193.46	3500.84	20620.12	191.91
1996	926.17	745.22	1671.39	267.49	3427.03	19746.8	203
1997	999.78R	797.17	1796.95	329.53	3792.85	23575.5	206
1998	1147.51R	73378	1881.29	374.98	4160.59	25537.6	215(P)

Source: Up to 1994/95, Chowdhury, O.H. (1998): Primary Expenditure Revenue, Primary Expenditure Development Total Primary Expenditure, Table: Annex Table B.1 Page 71 to 84: 1995/96 - 1997/1998) calculated from IMED (development expenditure). Demands for Government and Appropriate (Revenue expenditure) and GDP deflator (BBS).

Annex Table 4 — Total No. of Primary Schools, Total Students and Benefited Students under the FFE Programme, Year-wise

Year	Total No. of Primary schools under FFEP	Total No. of Students under FFE Programme Schools	Total No. of Students benefited under FFE Programme
1994	4914	1504437	706519
1995	12182	3619243	1628659
1996	16159	4960813	2239805
1997	17203	5719590	2280467
1998	17403	5739890	2295956
1999			

Source: BBS and Directorate of Primary & Mass Education

Annex Table 5 — Mean Number of Students Registered, Can Seat with Ease and Present in the Classroom on the Observation Day by School Type

Type	Mean number of student		
	Registered	Can seat with ease	Present
Government primary	53.9	35.1	31.3
Non-Govt. primary	45.0	26.7	23.4
Non-formal primary	31.0	28.9	25.1
Madrassa	34.7	20.4	16.5
Kindergarten	18.3	23.0	14.5
Secondary attached	65.3	42.2	46.6
All	48.2	32.0	28.4

Source: Hope not complacency. Annex 4.19 pp. 132

Annex Table 6 — One Year's Information about Retention and Dropout of the Students of Government Primary Schools Who Registered in Different Grades at the Beginning Of 1997 by the FFE Programme, Grade and Sex

	Promoted		Dropped out		Repeated	
	FFEP	non-FFEP	FFEP	non-FFEP	FFEP	non-FFEP
Girls						
I	86.8	89.0	6.1	5.7	7.1	5.3
II	92.0	90.3	4.3	5.3	3.7	4.4
III	79.8	80.2	7.8	7.6	12.4	12.2
IV	82.7	85.0	6.7	5.4	10.6	9.6
V	91.0	88.8	3.6	5.0	5.4	6.2
All	86.2	86.7	5.9	5.8	7.9	7.5
Boys						
I	84.8	89.7	6.5	5.3	8.7	5.0
II	89.1	90.2	4.7	4.6	6.2	5.2
III	79.7	80.9	7.8	6.7	12.5	12.4
IV	78.7	83.3	8.0	7.2	13.3	9.5
V	87.8	89.0	5.9	4.2	6.3	6.8
All	84.1	86.7	6.5	5.6	9.4	7.7

Source: Hope not complacency state of Primary Education in Bangladesh 1999. Annex 4.13 pp. 129.

Annex Table 7 — Attendance Rate among the Government Primary School Students by the FFE Programme, Class and Sex

Whether school is under FFE Programme	Class					
	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Girls						
Yes	58.2	62.0	62.6	61.1	65.1	61.4
No	58.6	58.8	56.4	58.5	61.5	58.6
Boys						
Yes	54.4	58.8	54.9	53.2	60.9	56.1
No	57.4	58.4	55.6	55.7	59.2	57.2
Both						
Yes	56.3	60.4	58.4	56.7	62.2	58.5
No	57.9	58.5	55.9	57.1	60.3	57.8

Source: Hope not complacency. Annex 4.20 pp. 132.

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FMRSP Bangladesh

**Food Management & Research Support Project
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