SINDH COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION PROGRAM

Training to District Education Officials by Sindh Community Mobilization Program (CMP)

Contents

1. Introduction

Sukkur IBA, a prestigious institution in interior Sindh, is basically dedicated towards open merit and excellence in Education. Sukkur IBA was established in 1994 in two hired rooms of Public School Sukkur. In its early years of inception, IBA Sukkur got affiliation to IBA Karachi in order to maintain merit.

Sukkur IBA has made its market appreciation in farfetched areas of Pakistan; it is now having recognized degree awarding status by Education department, Government of Sindh and Higher Education Commission (HEC) Islamabad. In a period of **15** years Sukkur IBA has taken strides and grown into a center of excellence, with a beautiful building and enviable academic standards.

Sukkur IBA by the grace of Allah is now 3rd best business school by HEC in Pakistan has produced 15 batches. All of them are employed at very good positions, in good organizations including multinationals and with handsome salary packages. This reflects the market recognition of the standards of IBA Sukkur.

IBA Sukkur has a very good faculty and state-of-the-art, teaching equipment & facilities. About 2500 students are studying at Sukkur IBA in various programs, in which 40% students are girls, who mainly come from the rural areas.

The Sukkur IBA philosophy is driven by the belief of providing quality education through modern teaching styles, based on market oriented curriculum at an affordable cost. The core competence of Sukkur IBA is its students and high caliber professional faculty which assists not only the students but also the organizations by providing them facility in the field of research, consultancy, and capacity building.
To assist the business organization by consultancy, Sukkur IBA has started The Executive Development Center (EDC) a year ago, whose aim is to provide technical and managerial skills development training to corporate sector employees as well as public sector employees. The Executive Development Center (EDC) offers Executive programs for publicsector, non–profit sector and private sector executives, organizes customized courses for thecorporate clients.

2. Training of Education Officials for IRD's Sindh Community Mobilization Program

United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is funding the Sindh Basic Education Program to help Government of Sindh in developing infrastructure and community mobilization to improve basic education in the province. As part of its Sindh

Community Mobilization Program (CMP) activities, International Relief and Development (IRD) intends to provide a training for District Education Officials (DEOs), AssistantDistrict Education Officials (ADEOs), and Supervisors in support of the Sindh Basic Education Program's (SBEP's) efforts to increase communities' involvement in the Government of Sindh (GOS) reform of merging, consolidating, and upgrading schools; and to improve community and district administrations' coordination for increased girls' enrollment. The training contract has been given to Sukkur Institute of Business Administration (Sukkur IBA).

3. Justification for the training

Despite multiple interventions in education sector in Pakistan the province of Sindh lags behind in almost all quantitative and qualitative indicators of education. Ineffectiveness of the processes of teaching learning and school management continues from decades. Along with many other, two main consequences include 1) a huge drop out of the students at all grade levels 2) big disparities in girls' education in Sindh. The disparities in girls' educationas suggested by various surveys are quite high. According to ASER 2013 survey 21% of the school-going-age children are out of school in rural areas and the percentage of females out of school is higher than that of males. ASER finds that 72% of the mothers in Pakistan have never been to school (ASER 2014). Among many reasons that account for these disparities lesser involvement of community in the affairs of schools management and teaching is prominent. If this situation continues it will be extremely difficult to implement the Sind Right to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2013 which provides for education beyond 16 years of age in order to ensure, "that a child is so admitted to secondary education shall be entitled to free education till the completion of secondary education even after sixteen years."

It is extremely important that how the school management at school, taluka/town and district level perceives the community involvement and what they are expected to do in this regard. Most importantly, the models of community involvement which have been in practice in Sindh have also provided a framework of thought to the schools management at various tiers from school to district level. Such frameworks of thought refer to School Management Committees (SMC) model which was revised form of Parent Teacher Association (PTA) and it could also not deliver what it was expected. In creating partnership with communities it is very important that the partnership is genuine as emphasized in 1990 Jomtien Declaration. Bray (2001) contends that along with genuine partnership there have also been a number of experiences of false partnerships. If we look at the community participation examples of PTA or SMC in terms of their genuineness, Bray (2001) suggests a balance between the partners and the ingredients of the balance, he suggests include;

- Willingness to respect the viewpoints of other partners

- Identification of common tasks, and
- Collaboration in pursuit of ways to accomplish task (200: p.4)

Hence, it is very important that the community mobilization must take into consideration the local context. To capitalize on the strengths of the context it is very important that the Education Managers at District, Taluka/town and Union Council level must have strong understanding of the logic and purpose behind community mobilization.

Looking for some effective modes of Community Mobilization may help in adapting and contextualizing Education Management Organizations (EMOs). "An EMO is an organization that manages at least one school that receives public funds and operates the public school(s). It manages under the same rules as regular public schools. EMO can be for-profit or non-profit organizations" (wmich.edu/leadership/emo/whatis.html). It isexpected that the proper and need based training will build the capacity of Educationmanagers- District Education Officers, Assistant District Education Officers and Supervisors to properly collaborate with EMOs for meaningful Community Mobilization efforts.

4. Training Needs Assessment

It was decided that before conducting the actual trainings, a Training Need Analysis (TNA) has to be conducted to identify the areas in which DEOs, ADEOs and Supervisors should be given training to increase girls' enrolment, community involvement in schools, and effective working with Education Management Organizations (EMOs).

The findings of TNA highlight some important issues when we attempt to explore the possibilities to increase girls' enrolment, community involvement in schools, and the functioning of EMOs. All these issues were highlighted from the perspective of DEOs, ADEOs and supervisors. In the light of the findings of TNA following areas were identified which will be covered in the trainings for all three tiers.

Challenges/Issues	Recommendations	Training contents	Target audience
Beliefs and attitudes towards girls education	Developing consensus on girls' education by challenging the basic beliefs Gender sensitization in teaching and curriculum	Importance of girls education Ways to make teaching and curriculum gender sensitized Re-conceptualization of the concept of community	DOEs ADOEs Supervisors

		involvement	
Involving community to support girls education	Community involvement and linkages	Case studies around the world: successful models and linking them to local context for practical implication. Redefining the scope of community involvement	DOEs ADOEs Supervisors
Access and Quality of Education	Creating female friendly environment	Develop gender sensitive objectives and goals. Model of continuous quality improvement and assurance.	DOEs ADOEs Supervisors
Poverty	Identifying different funding sources	How to identity and generate funding	DOEs ADOEs Supervisors
Opportunities and challenges of community involvement	Creating and Nourishing Community-School Partnerships	Revisiting SMC structures. Mechanisms to ensure the implementation of SMC . Monitoring and evaluation for SMC funds	DOEs ADOEs Supervisors
Lack of communication channels between Community and education administration	Creating Communication Channels	Orientation to different communication channels practice around the world and within Pakistan. Developing a framework for possible communication channels	DOEs ADOEs Supervisors
Sense of ownership to involve community	Creating a sense of ownership	Develop mutual consensus .	DOEs ADOEs Supervisors

Communication skills to reaching out to community	Communication and soft skills	Moving from I to We	DOEs ADOEs Supervisors
Refining DJs for better results Awareness and orientation of EMOs	Redefining JDs for establishing better community linkages, and increasing girl enrolment	Developing JDs with mutual consensus	DOEs ADOEs Supervisors
Awareness and orientation of EMOs	Orientation of EMOs: Challenges and opportunities	Orientation of EMOs: Challenges and opportunities	DOEs ADOEs Supervisors

5. Training plan

Based on above identified themes for training, the sessions will be divided into three major themes i.e. Girls Enrolment (GE), Community Involvement (CI) and Consolidation ofSchools and Educational Management Organizations (EMOs). Each day a new theme will be addressed. Participants will be introduced a wider context of these reform themes by introducing Sindh Basic Education Program on the first day. Training with each group will be started with pre-test and end with post-test. For each theme, participants will be engaged in conceptualization of importance and issues related to the theme, followed by sharing and discussing success stories in local and international context, and ending with participants developing strategies to address the issues in their context. Specifically, every theme will start with eliciting prior understanding of the participants followed by: importance of themes; sharing success stories, discussing best practices and concrete data on the theme; evaluation of context and responsibilities of the participants; and finalizing feasible strategies to address the issues related to each theme. Following table shows day-based training sessions and activities.

Day 1: Girls Enrolment

Session and Time	Main Area Focused	Activities	Resources	Resource Persons
9:30am to 10:00am	**Pre-test**			
10:00 to 10:30 am	Orientation (Director Schools' participation expected), registration and distribution of resources/materials			
Session 1	Overview of Sindh Basic Education	Eliciting participants' responses on question: What do you know about SBEP and its components? (asking probing questions about	PMIU presentation (by	Dr. Fida Hussain Noor Hussain

10:30am to 11:30am	Program (SBEP)	SBEP if needed) Trainers' Interactive Input on SBEP focused on following main points: - Govt and USAID partnership - SBEP goal, targets, and expected outcomes - Program components (7 components briefly introduced) Responding participants' questions	Tamizuddin Khero) USAID Pakistan: http://www.usaid.gov/pakistan/education	Ali Gohar
Tea Break 11:30am to 12:00 Noon				
Session 2 12:00 Noon to 1:30pm)	Importance of Girls Enrolment Retention of Girls Enrollment	Eliciting participants' knowledge and understanding of girls enrolment and retention rates (20 minutes) Facilitator Input: statistics on girls enrolment and retention rates (20 Minutes) Participants' discussions and reflections on statistics • Reasons for low girls enrolment and retention rates • Social return of girls enrolment Sharing success stories in the international and local context (20 Minutes) Sum up by trainer (10 Minutes)	Video ASER 2013 (p.g. 7-23) Economic Survey Status of Education in Sindh AEPAM Islamabad reports	Dr. Fida Hussain Noor Hussain Ali Gohar
Lunch Break 1:30pm to 2:30pm				
Session 3 2:30pm to 3:30pm	Strategies to promote and retain girls enrolment	Interactive input by trainer on issues (Belief systems, poverty, Access and Quality, and Safety) (30 Minutes) Group work on developing strategies to address issues (Traditional Belief Systems, Poverty, Access and Quality, and Safety) in order to promote and retain girls' enrollment. Focus on role of following: (30 minutes) • Role of District/Taluka/Union Education Management • Role of parents and community • Role of teachers • Role of Notables (especially females)	PPT Data sources: EFA Chapter (Dr. Fida Chang) AEPAM reports MDG Global Monitoring reports	Dr. Fida Hussain Noor Hussain Ali Gohar
Tea Break 3:30 to 4:00pm				
Session 4 4:00pm to 5:00pm	Strategies to promote and retain girls enrolment	Presentations by participants' groups Refining identified strategies based on feedback given by trainers and participants (strategies shared by all groups will be compiled and copies will be distributed among the participants) (50 Minutes) Sum up (10 Minutes)		Dr. Fida Hussain Noor Hussain Ali Gohar

Day 2: **Community Involvement and Consolidation of Schools**

Session /Time	Main Area Focused	Activities	Resources	Resource Persons
Session 1 09:30 am to 11:00 am	Importance of Community Involvement (CI) Consolidation of Schools under SBEP	Eliciting participants' knowledge and understanding on role and importance of community in schools (20 Minutes) Sharing of success stories of community involvement followed by whole-group/class discussion (25 Minutes) Eliciting participants' understanding of consolidation of schools under SBEP (15 minutes) Trainers' interactive input on consolidation of schools under SBEP in selected districts (examples of Khairpur and Sukkur). Providing list of schools targeted for consolidation. Sindh Education Sector Plan's suggested policy actions (20 minutes) Sum up by trainers (10 minutes)	Examples from districts Khairpur and Sukkur (example of School Kouro Goth) Govt schools consolidation notification	Dr. Fida Hussain Noor Hussain Ali Gohar
Tea Break 11:00am to 11:30am				
Session 2 11:30 am to 1:00 pm	Challenges of Community Involvement Addressing issues arising due to consolidation of schools	Identifying the challenges in community involvement (30 Minutes) • Participants ideas and experiences to identify the challenges • Success & failure stories Trainer's interactive input on community based issues (30 Minutes) • Illiteracy • Lack of ownership • Poverty Administration • Power relationship • Passive role • Fear of accountability • Lack of initiatives Culture • Lack of appreciation and initiatives • Lack of ownership Communication • Mistrust • Communication GAP • Lack of structure Whole-group/class discussion on addressing issues which possibly may arise due to consolidation of schools (examples from where schools have been consolidated) – SMC funds, duty reporting, needs of additional staffing and resources (30 minutes) Sum up by Trainer (10 Minutes)	PMIU presentation (by Tamizuddin Khero) USAID Pakistan: http://www.usaid.gov/pakistan/education ASER report Economic Survey of Pakistan 2014 Dr. Sajid's Report AEPAM reports MDG Global Monitoring report	Dr. Fida Hussain Noor Hussain Ali Gohar
Lunch Break 1: 00pm to 2:00pm				
Session	Opportunities	Whole-group/class discussion: identification of		Dr. Fida

3 2:00pm to 3:00pm	of Community Involvement Developing Strategies for Community Involvement and Consolidation Schools	opportunities focused on following points: (30 minutes) • Cultural and religious events and programs • Community activists and notables • Involvement of notable females in community • Role of Masjid, CBOs, and Media Small group work: developing strategies for community involvement and supporting consolidation of schools (30 minutes) • Roles and responsibilities of DEOs, ADEOs, and SPEs • Positive use of media (eg. Parha likha Punjab) • Capitalizing on cultural gatherings • Engaging CBOs		Hussain Noor Hussain Ali Gohar
Tea Break 3:00 to 3:15pm				
Session 4 3:15pm to 4:30pm	Developing Strategies of Community Involvement and Supporting Consolidation of Schools	Group presentations Strategies will be complied and copies will be shared with each participant.		Dr. Fida Hussain Noor Hussain Ali Gohar

Day 3: Educational Management Organizations (EMOs)

Session and Time	Main Area Focused	Activities	Resources	Resource Persons
Session 1 09:30 am to 11:00 am	Introducing EMOs EMOs for Govt Schools: No change in structures and privileges. Focus on improving management of schools	Eliciting participants' ideas: what are EMOs? Do you know any local or international examples? And more questions if needed (20 minutes) Sharing international and Local examples of EMOs followed by discussion and analysis of the examples (30 minutes) Interactive Input by trainer on introduction of EMOs in Govt Schools. Focus on explaining that structures and privileges will not change; however, management of schools will improve and teachers will be burdened off of many managerial tasks. (30 minutes) Sum up by trainer (10 minutes)	USAID brief on EMOs under SBEP Paper: Frequently Asked Questions about EMOs and CMOs	Dr. Fida Hussain Noor Hussain Ali Gohar
Tea Break 11:00am to 11:30am				
Session 2 11:30 am to 1:00 pm	Identification of Potential Roles of EMOs in Improvement of School Management Nature of EMOs and Govt. Partnership	Small Group work: Identification of key roles of EMOs by participants followed by whole class sharing (40 minutes) • Enrolment and attendance • Community involvement • Teaching and Learning • Professional Development • Resources Group work: Nature of Partnership between EMOs and Govt. followed by sharing with whole-group (40 Minutes) Sum –up by trainer (10 minutes)	Paper: Trends and Best Practices of Educational Management Organizations	Dr. Fida Hussain Noor Hussain Ali Gohar
Lunch Break 1;00pm to 2:00pm				
Session 3 2:00pm to 3:00pm	Development of District/Tehsil-based Action Plans	District-based group work: developing action plans which include strategies and timeline to support girls enrollment, school consolidation process, and monthly or quarterly district-based meetings of officials with participation of CMP teams Sum up by trainer (10 minutes)		Dr. Fida Hussain Noor Hussain Ali Gohar
Tea Break 3:00 to 3:30pm				
Session 4 3:30pm to 4:30pm	Conclusion	Sum up Post Test Certificate distribution Photo session		Dr. Fida Hussain Noor Hussain Ali Gohar

Resources for Training

6.1 Sindh Basic Education Program (SBEP)

(As shared by: Program Management & Implementation Unit (PMIU), Education & Literacy Dept Govt of Sindh)

- **Goal:** Increase and sustain student enrolment in primary, middle and secondary schools in targeted geographic locations in Sindh by developing a school environment conducive to teaching and learning.

Planned Period: 5 years – 2012 - 2016

(under extension till Sep 2018)

Program Cost: US $165 million
USAID Share, $155 million
GoS Share, $10 million

Components:

Government to Government (G2G):

I. Construction of Schools affected by 2010 floods

II. Support to GoS Reform Policy to merge, consolidate and upgrade schools through construction

Non Government to Government:

III. Sindh Reading Program

IV. Community Mobilization Program

V. Technical Assistance to the Department of Education

VI. Monitoring and Evaluation

VII. Office of Infrastructure and Engineering (A&E)

Geographical Regions

Targets:

- Construction of approximately 120 child friendly schools (1400 classrooms)
- Improve competencies of 25,000 teachers for effective early grade reading and mathematics instruction
- Improve reading and mathematics skills of 750,000 students
- Improve reading skills of 100,000 out of school children
- Train 8000 community members/parents in 400 communities in school management and nutritional needs of young children

- Increasing availability of adequate health care facilities for children

Expected Outcomes:

- Improved Educational Facilities
- Improved Teacher Competencies
- Increased Girls' Enrollment
- Improved Early Grade Reading and Mathematical skills
- Enhanced Participation of Parents and Communities in Support of Promoting Reading and Numeracy Among School Children
- Improved Health & Hygiene Practices in Target Communities
- Effective Civil Society for Oversight, Engagement and Advocacy
- Improved Management Capacity at Provincial and District Levels within the Education and Literacy Department
- Improved Education Administration through "**EMOs**"

School Engineering and Design Approach:

- Child friendly
- Culture sensitive
- Gender sensitive
- Disability access
- Sustainable, durable and energy efficient
- International best practices
- Secure
- High Quality
- Cost effective
- Low maintenance

School Features:

- Conducive Classrooms
- Principal's Office
- Multipurpose Hall
- Staff room
- Administration Office
- Library
- Science & Computer labs
- Clinic
- Water supply & treatment
- On-site wastewater disposal
- Playground
- Boundary wall
- Furniture & Equipment

Rendered Front View of School:

Rendered Side View of School

Rendered Inner View Image

Sindh Basic Education Program

Sindh Community Mobilization Program

Education Management Organizations

On September 21, 2011, USAID signed an Activity Agreement with the Government of Sindh (GoS) to implement the Sindh Basic Education Program (SBEP) which is one of several donor interventions that supports the Government's broader Sindh Education Reform Program (SERP) agenda. SBEP is a large $155 million five-year program, with $10 million cost share from Government of Sindh. SBEP aims on increasing and sustaining student enrolment in primary, middle and secondary schools in seven target districts i.e. Sukkur, Khairpur, Larkana, Jacobabad, Kashmore, Qambar Shahdadkot, Dadu and five selected areas of Karachi city i.e. Kemari, Orangi, Lyari, Gadap and Bin Qasim.

Education Management Organization

Sindh has passed "Sindh Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2013" in compliance with Article 25-A of Constitution of Pakistan. The legislation puts a renewed obligation on the Government of Sindh and the Education Department to provide improved service delivery to all the children.

Given the funding and performance limitations of the public school system in Sindh, the Department of Education is interested in exploring private sector participation in the

sector through the development of new management contracts for provision of core and ancillary educational services under the PPP model, whereby the private sector organizations will be expected to manage and maintain the schools and provide services to schools, students, teachers, institutions and to Department during the concession term.

To improve access and quality of education in public sector schools Education & Literacy Department is planning to engage reputable private sector organizations for managing the schools. Over the years private sector organizations have developed considerable expertise in the provision of quality education. The Citizen Foundation, CARE Foundation, Zindagi Trust, and IBA Sukkur are among the pioneers. Similarly, excellence models have also been developed by Beaconhouse School System (Educators), City School System (Smart Schools) and Allied Group of Colleges/Schools. SBEP's state of the art schools will need a high quality of school management to deliver the best education to students. These schools will have a demonstration effect going beyond SBEP schools and covering other schools and other districts of Sindh, bringing hope and 'can do' approach to the public education sector in Sindh.

Policy Framework

USAID is providing technical support to Education & Literacy Department to prepare a policy framework. In this regard, a legal firm will soon be engaged to provide a legal opinion and the firm will prepare feasibility report for the intervention. The legal firm will also structure the transaction and will assist the Department throughout in the process.

Approval of EMO Budget

Government of Sindh has allocated Rs. 200 million for piloting the EMOs model in FY 2014/15. It is expected that Package-I, II and III schools in district Khairpur and Sukkur will complete construction phase during the fiscal year and can be outsourced to reputable educational organization under PPP mode.

REFORM SUPPORT UNIT
EDUCATION & LITERACY DEPARTMENT
GOVERNMENT OF SINDH
No: RSU/School Consolidation Policy/2011
Karachi dated: February 16, 2012

NOTIFICATION

Government of Sindh has approved the policy of School Consolidation. The policy envisages to rationalize education sector to enhance the quality of education while ensuring the access to education to all communities. The following framework is being notified to implement the approved policy.

(A) Campus School

- **Campus School Definition:** A main, functional school formed by merging adjoining, embedded or nearby schools.

-School Level: The highest grade taught in the school will decide the 'level' of the campus school.

-Principal: Campus Schools will work under one Principal. The principal will be the administrator, instructional leader and manager of the merged schools.

-SEMIS Code: The campus school will have one SEMIS code. All merged schools will cease to have separate SEMIS codes and these will be surrendered to RSU-SEMIS.

-Surplus Staff: There will be **NO** surplus staff. All staff will be accommodated in the Campus Schools strategically.

-SMC Funds: Existing SMC funds will be used as planned. The remaining funds in defunct SMCs will be managed and spent by the old SMCs with the support of Academic Incharge(s).

-Teaching and non teaching staff: All teaching and non-teaching staff will report to Principal of the Campus School.

-Seniority and Service matters: Teaching and non-teaching staff will maintain their separate cadre and seniority as per existing rules.

-School Medium: If the schools merged had different medium of instructions, the campus school will be declared bi-lingual. Each medium of instruction will be assigned a different section within the Campus School.

-School Shifts: In case merged schools have afternoon/evening shifts, the head teacher/headmaster of the merged schools will continue to act as 'Academic Incharge" of the afternoon shift of the school. The Academic Incharge will report to Campus Principal.

-School Gender: The merged schools will keep their 'gender characteristic'. Each gender will be treated as a section within the school. The head teacher/headmaster of the section will report to Campus Principal.

-Notification: On the recommendation of District Education Officer , Director Schools Education is the authorized officer to form and notify Campus Schools. Specimen is attached.

-One time Grant: Campus schools will receive one time grant from provincial government to carry-out necessary spatial changes and repair and renovate school. The grant amount will be calculated as per the following formula

-Campus School Grant: [Total Room *Rs. 25,000] + [Total Enrollment * 3,600]

(B) Powers of Campus Principal

-Campus principal will be no less than BPS-17 officer. The appropriate grade for each campus will be decided on case to case basis.

-DDO Powers: Campus Principal will have DDO power. The principal office will be supported by an administrative section, comprising of Superintendent, Account Officer, Transport Officer, Nurse, and Computer Operator(s)/Clerk(s).

-Hiring/transferring powers: Campus Principal will have the powers to surrender non-performing teachers after due diligence. Campus Principal will also have the powers to hire "academic interns" from pre-screened pool.

-Sd-
(Muhammad Siddique Memon)
Secretary Education

No: RSU/School Consolidation Policy/2011 Karachi dated: February 16, 2012

(Parvez Ahmed Seehar)
Chief Program Manager, RSU

Cc:

- Principal Secretary to Chief Minister, Sindh
- PS to Senior Minister Education, Government of Sindh, Karachi
- Deputy Commissioner, All
- Director Schools Education, All
- District Education Officer, All

Following specimen will be used to notify a campus school

Specimen- Notification No. : After assessing the feasibility and on the recommendation of District Education Officer Government xxxxx School is declared a Campus School, having SEMIS Code xxxxx. The following schools are merged into the Campus Schools:

a. Government xxx school, SEMIS Code
b. Government xx school, SEMIS Code
c. Government xx school, SEMIS Code

Following measures will take effect immediately:

a. The SEMIS Codes of the merged schools are surrendered to Provincial Education Department
b. Mr/Ms. is designated as Campus Principal of the Government xxx School
c. The budgets and liabilities (such as utility bills) of the merged schools are placed under the Government xxx Campus School
d. The record, stock and facilities of the merged schools are handed over to Government xxx Campus School

Director Schools Education
(Name of Region)

Cc

- Secretary Education & Literacy Department, Karachi
- Chief Program Manager, Reform Support Unit, Karachi w/r to remove aforementioned SEMIS codes
- District Account Officer, w/r to record transfer of budgets

Sindh Basic Education Program (SBEP)
Notified Schools under Consolidation Policy

Program Management and Implementation Unit - PMIU

HAFEEZULAH – MANAGER LR&CM – PMIU – December 23, 2014

Details

❑ Director Schools Education (DSEs) Sukkur, Larkana, Hyderabad and Karachi were shared lists of schools to notify as per the "Consolidation Policy".

Table – I District wise number of proposed schools for notification

Name of District	No. of Schools
Khairpur – Package I & II	15
Sukkur – Package III	11
Larkana – Package IV & VI	14
Karachi – Package V	05
Dadu – Package VII	06
Total	**51**

Notified Schools - District: Khairpur - Cont….

Notification Date: 25 / 09 / 2014

S #	Main Campus School Name	New SEMIS Code	Taluka	UC	No of Merged Schools	Names of Merged Schools as per Consolidation Policy	Proposed Schools as per Consolidation Policy	Remarks/ Gaps	
1	GBHS Kouro Goth	415030378	Khairpur		1	GPS Kouro Goth (415030204)	None	GBLSS Kuoro Goth was proposed for Campus School	PACKAGE - I
2	GBHS Tando Nazar Ali	415030402	Khairpur		1	GGPS Tando Nazar Ali (415030198)	None		
3	GBHS Tando Mir Ali	415060810	Thari Mirwah		2	GGPS Tando Mir Ali (415060508) GPS Tando Mir Ali (415060810)	None		
4	GBHS Bozdar Wada	415060807	Thari Mirwah		3	GPS Bozdar Wada (415060161) GPS Ansar Mohalla (415060644) GGPS Bozdar Wada (415060542)	None		
5	GHS Satabo	415020273	Gambat		1	GGPS Satabo (415020273)	Same		PACKAGE - II

Notified Schools - District: Khairpur - Cont….

Notification Date: 25 / 09 / 2014

6	GBHSS Hussainabad	415050584	Kot Diji		3	GPS Hussainabad (415050151) GPS Hussainabad No. 1 (415050205) GGHS Hussainabad (415050554)	Same Same Addition	-	PACKAGE - II
7	GBHS Fakirabad	415050578	Kot Diji		2	GPS Aliabad (415050535) GPS Dhukkar (415050159)	Same GPS Bhatti (415050391)		
8	GBHSS Kolab Jial	415040383	Kingri		2	GPS Kolab Jial (45040211) GBHS Kolab Jial (415040055)	GBPS Memon Mohalla (415040212) GBPS Khair Mohammad Kandhro (415040323)		
9	GBHS Drib Mehar Shah	415040380	Kingri		3	GPS Drib Mehar Shah (415040010) GGPS Drib Mehar Shah (415040060) GGLS Drib Mehar Shah (415040353)	Same Same Addition		

Notified Schools - District: Khairpur

Notification Date: 25 / 09 / 2014

10	GBHS Sami	415080275	Sobho Dero	2	GGMS Sami (415080255) GPS Sami (415080275)	GBPS Merik (415080035) GBPS Mohammad Maroof (415080007) GPS Changal Bhutto (415080005)		PACKAGE – II
11	GBHS Karoondi	405010524	Faiz Ganj	2	GGPS Karoondi (415010095) GPS Karoondi (415010168)	GGHS Karoondi (415010504) GPS Ghulam Rasool Rajpar (415010387) GPS Main Karoondi (415010168)		
12	GBHS Jhajh Regulator	415010528	Faiz Ganj	1	GPS Jhajh Regulator (415010219)	GBPS Jhajh Regulator (415010355) GBLSS Allah Bux Rajpar (415010509) GBPS Noor Ahmed Japo (415010030) GBPS Molvi Ali Mohammad (415010220)		
13	GBHS Setharja	415060822	Thari Mirwah			None		

Notified Schools - District: Sukkur – cont…

Notification Date: 23 / 09 / 2014

S #	Main Campus School Name	New SEMIS Code	Taluka	UC	No of Merged Schools	Names of Merged Schools as per Consolidation Policy	Proposed Schools as per Consolidation Policy	Remarks/ Gaps	
1	GBHS Kamal Indhar	Not alloted	Pano Akil		3	GBPS Mohammad Ibrahim Indhar (418010494) GBPS Mohammad Saleh Indhar (418010095) GBMS Mohammad Ibrahim Indhar (418010551)	GBPS Kamal Khan Indhar (418010448) GGPS Kamal Khan Indhar (418010255) GPS Satabho Indhar (418010358)		PACKAGE - III
2	GBHS Mulla Ali	418010570	Pano Akil		4	GGPS Community Model School Mulla Ali (418010235) GGHS Dadloi (418010572) GBPS Dadloi (418010005) GBPS Umarabad (418010143)	GGHS Mulla Ali (418010545)		
3	GBHS Hussain Kalwar	418010579	Pano Akil		2	GGPS Rohri (418010055) GBPS Adal Kalwar (418010413)	GGPS Hussain Kalwar (418010231)		

Notified Schools - District: Sukkur – cont…

Notification Date: 23 / 09 / 2014

4	GBHS Dodanko	418020391	Rohri		2	GBELS Bhit Noor Shah (418020375) GBPS Alam Khan Sirohi (418020272)	GBPS Dodanko (418020229) GBPS Kalri (418020034) GBPS Mahar Katpar (418020264)		PACKAGE - III
5	GBPS Bakhshan Chakrani	418040048	Salehpat		2	GBPS Lal Jurio (418040008) GBPS Jaffar Khan Shambani (418040024)	GGPS Abdul Rehman Arain		
6	Govt. (N) Modern HS Sukkur	418030070	Sukkur City		4	GGHS Sukkur (418030064) G(N)M.K HS Sukkur (418030069) GGPS Hajani Bakhtawar (418030014) GBPS Nusrat Colony (418030029)	None		
7	GGELS Arain New Sukkur	418050131	New Sukkur		3	GBPS Arain (418050024) GBLSS Kando Wahan (418050125) GBPS Old Shahpur (418050023)	None		

Notified Schools - District: Sukkur

Notification Date: 23 / 09 / 2014

8	GBPS Abad Lakha	418050091	New Sukkur		1	GGPS Abad Lakha (418050052)	GBHS Abad Lakha (418050139) GBPS Khair Mohammad Khoso (418050043) GBPS Postal Colony (418050113)	Merger	PACKAGE - III
9	GGELS Arain New Sukkur	418050131	New Sukkur		3	GBPS Arain (418050024) GBLSS Kando Wahan (418050125) GBPS Old Shahpur (418050023)	None		
10	GGES Rohri (Bedil Bekus)	418020125	Rohri			N/A	N/A		

Notified Schools - District: Larkana – cont…

Notification Date: 28 / 08 / 2014

S #	Main Campus School Name	New SEMIS Code	Taluka	UC	No of Merged Schools	Names of Merged Schools as per Consolidation Policy	Proposed Schools as per Consolidation Policy	Remarks/ Gaps	
1	GGPS Wikiya Sangi	413020088	Larkana	Dhamrah	3	GBPS Wikia Sangi (413020299) GBPS Wandh Basham (413020209) GBPS Pandhi Khan Golo (413020300)	Same		PACKAGE – IV
2	GGLSS Kehar	413020384	Larkana	Fatehpur	3	GGPS Kehar (413020073) GGPS Choharpur (413020072) GGPS Mahota (413020102)	Same		
3	GGPS Ali Mohammad Chawro	413020111	Larkana	Ratokot	1	GBPS Mohammad Hashim Chawro (413020355)	**GBPS Rato Kot (413020289)** GBPS Mohammad Hashim Chawro (413020355)	**Proposed by PMIU but Not consolidated**	

Notified Schools - District: Larkana – cont…

Notification Date: 28 / 08 / 2014

S #	Main Campus School Name	New SEMIS Code	Taluka	UC	No of Merged Schools	Names of Merged Schools as per Consolidation Policy	Proposed Schools as per Consolidation Policy	Remarks/ Gaps	
4	GBPS Pir Jo Goth	413030316	Ratodero	Behman	1	GGPS Pir Jo Goth (413030009)	Same		PACKAGE – IV
5	GGES Phulpoto - I	413030032	Ratodero	Behman	1	GBPS Phulpota - I (413030258)	Same		
6	GBPS Saidudero	413030301	Ratodero	Saidudero	3	GGPS Saidudero (413030010) GGMS Saidudero (SEMIS not allotted) GBMS Saidudero (413030352)	Same		
7	GBPS Mehrab Sandilo	413040222	Bakrani	Rasheed Waghan	1	GGPS Mehrab Sandilo (413040144)	Same		VI
8	GGPS Daulat Khokhar	413040132	Bakrani	Madbahoo	1	GBPS Daulat Khokhar (413040082)	Same		
9	GGPS Ahmed Metlo	413040122	Bakrani	Mehrabpur	3	GGPS Ahsan Wahan (413040141) GGPS Chatto Wahan (413040112) GBPS Ahmed Metlo (413040076)	GBPS Ahmed Metlo (413040076)	Addition	PA

Notified Schools - District: Larkana

Notification Date: 28 / 08 / 2014

S #	Main Campus School Name	New SEMIS Code	Taluka	UC	No of Merged Schools	Names of Merged Schools as per Consolidation Policy	Proposed Schools as per Consolidation Policy	Remarks/ Gaps	
10	GBMS Purano Abad	413040311	Bakrani	Purano Abad	2	GBPS Puranoabad (413040081) GGPS Puranoabad (413040175)	Same		PACKAGE – VI
11	GBMS Abdul Karim Unar	413010216	Dokri	Dokri	3	GBPS Haji Abdul Karim Unar (413010132) GGMS Haji Abdul Karim Unar (413010209) GGPS Haji Abdul Karim Unar (413010044)	Same		
12	GBPS Jakhra	413010004	Dokri	Tatri	2	GGPS Jakhra (413010048) GGPS Pir Bux Brohi (413010053)	Same		
13	GGPS Wadi Wahani	413010046	Dokri	Badh-II	1	GBPS Wadi Wahani (413010014)	Same		
14	GBPS Zakario Mahesar	413020281	Larkana	Kothi Kalhori	2	GBPS Ali Murad (413020185) GBPS Kahro Khan Jamali (413020234)			

Notified Schools – Karachi City

Karachi Towns: Notification Date: 28 / 08 / 2014

S #	Main Campus School Name	New SEMIS Code	Taluka	UC	No of Merged Schools	Names of Merged Schools as per Consolidation Policy	Proposed Schools as per Consolidation Policy	Remarks/ Gaps	
1	GBPS Sindhi Jamaat Cooperative Housing Society	408170153	Bin Qasim		0	N/A	N/A		PACKAGE - V
2	GBSS Cattle Colony	408170190	Bin Qasim		2	GGLSS Noor Mohammad Bhawo (408170161) GGPS Haji Gul Mohammad (408170058)	GGPS Cattle Colony (408170138) GBPS Allah Wali (408170141)		
3	GBSS Yousuf Goth	408180446	Gadap		2	GBPS Abdul Raheem (GPMSQS) Boys (408180127) GBPS Abdul Rahim Goth (408180110)	GBPS Abdul Rahim Goth (408180127)		
4	GBELS Waryo Gabol	408180440	Gadap		0	N/A	N/A		
5	GBSS Dumba Village	408180456	Gadap		3	GBPS Dumba Village - 1 (408180205) GBPS Dumba Village - 2 (408180006) GGPS Dumba Village (408180152)	Same Same Same		
							GGLSS Dumba Village (408180403)		

Notified Schools – Dadu City

District Dadu: Notification Date: 25 / 11 / 2014

S #	Main Campus School Name	New SEMIS Code	Taluka/ Town	UC	No of Merged Schools	Names of Merged Schools as per Consolidation Policy	Proposed Schools as per Consolidation Policy	Remarks / Gaps
1	**GBMS Waleed Shaikh**	**402010609**	Dadu	Mounder	6	GBPS Daro (402010406)		
						GGPS Bhudho Shaikh (402010281)		
						GBPS Waleed Shaikh (402010405)	Same	
						GGMS Waleed Shaikh (402010625)		
						GGPS Waleed Shaikh (402010245)	Same	
						GBPS Allah Warayo Shaikh (402010567)		
2	**GBHS Taga**	**402010649**	Dadu	Piyaro Station	2	GBPS Taga (402010086)	Same	
						GGPS Taga		
3	**GBHS Haji Khan**	**402020501**	Johi	Drigh Bala	4	GBPS Haji Khan (402020067)		**Check SEMIS Code of campus school**
						GGLSS Haji Khan (402020482)		
						GGPS Haji Khan (402020089)	Same	
						GBPS Haji Khan (402020018)	Same	

P. CKAGE - VII

Notified Schools – Dadu City

District Dadu: Notification Date: 25 / 11 / 2014

S #	Main Campus School Name	New SEMIS Code	Taluka/ Town	UC	No of Merged Schools	Names of Merged Schools as per Consolidation Policy	Proposed Schools as per Consolidation Policy	Remarks / Gaps
4	**GBHS Patt Gul Mohammad**	**402020495**	Johi	Patt Gul Mohammad	3	GBPS Pat Gul Mohammad (402020193)	Same	
						GBPS Muhammad Yousif Leghari (402020389)		
						GGPS Pat Gul Mohammad (402020083)	Same	
5	**GGPS Kamal Khan Lund**	**402020486**	Johi					
6	**GGPS Ghulam Hussain Gaadhi**	**402020098**	Johi					

PACI

Pending Notifications

District: Khairpur						
S #	**Main Campus School Name**	**New SEMIS Code**	**Taluka**	**Proposed Mergers/ consolidations**	**Remarks/ Gaps**	
1	GBLSS Gaghri	415030380	Khairpur	GBPS Gaghri (415030295) GGPS Gaghri (415030147)		PACKAGE – I
2	GBELS Pir Essa	415020309	Gambat	GGPS Pir Essa (415020257) - **Merger** GBPS Shaikh (415020151)		PACKAGE– II

Pending Notifications

District: Sukkur						
S #	**Main Campus School Name**	**New SEMIS Code**	**Taluka**	**Proposed Mergers/consolidations**	**Remarks/ Gaps**	
1	GGPS Numaish Colony	418030006	New Sukkur	GBPS Numaish Colony (418050016)		PACKAGE – III

SUMMARY SHEET

S #	Target District/ Towns of Karachi	Package	Proposed No. of Campus Schools	Proposed No. of Merged Schools	No. of Notified Schools	No. of Merged Schools	Pending Notifications (Campus Schools)	Remarks
1	Khairpur	I & II	15	24	13	23	02	
2	Sukkur	III	11	17	10	23	01	
3	Larkana	IV & VI	14	23	14	27	--	
4	Karachi	V	05	07	05	07	--	
5	Dadu	VII	06	10	04	15	02	
6	Kambar Shahdadkot	--	--	--	--	--	--	
7	Jacobabad	--	--	--	--	--	--	
8	Kashmore	--	--	--	--	--	--	
			51	81	46	95	05	

AVERAGES/ANALYSIS

S #	Target District/ Towns of Karachi	Proposed No. of Campus Schools	Proposed No. of Merged Schools	Avg. Mergers	No. of Notified Schools	No. of Merged Schools	Avg. Mergers
1	Khairpur	15	24	1.6	13	23	1.7
2	Sukkur	11	17	1.5	10	23	2.3
3	Larkana	14	23	1.6	14	27	1.9
4	Karachi	05	07	1.4	05	07	1.4
5	Dadu	06	10	1.6	04	15	3.75
6	Kambar Shahdadkot	--	--		--	--	
7	Jacobabad	--	--		--	--	
8	Kashmore	--	--		--	--	
		51	81	1.6	46	95	2.06

Other

- Clarification on consolidation policy – other points:
  - Title of campus schools needs to be reviewed in few of the cases;
  - Notification letters of target schools, with no proposal of consolidation or mergers, are not being issued by Director Schools Education – Clarification needed;
  - Process/status of buildings of merged/consolidated schools, to be vacated, not defined;
  - SEMIS Codes and school titles in few of the cases need to be corrected;
  - Consolidation notifications not shared by RSU;

Thank You

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CHAPTER 3

FIDA H CHANG

The Effectiveness of Policy and Practice for "Universal Primary Education" Within Education for All

Case Study Of Pakistan

> Education is a basic human right. Like all human rights, it is universal and inalienable – everyone, regardless of gender, religion, ethnicity or economic status, is entitled to it.
>
> (UNICEF, 2008)

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the effectiveness of the national policies and plans to achieve "universal primary education" within the framework of EFA (Education for All) goals in Pakistan as well as to inform future policy decisions and research. An intense drive around the world to achieve education for all, particularly "universal primary education", has completed a decade. Nations of the world have been successful at different levels, ranging from highly successful to poorly successful. Pakistan is still struggling for significant success in achieving "universal primary education". Hence, to make well-informed future policy decisions and actions at this critical juncture, it is imperative to study what worked, what did not work, and why. This chapter analyzed official policy and plan documents issued by the government of Pakistan, UNESCO reports and data bases, and published empirical sources. The analysis revealed low achievement on the target of access to "universal primary education" (in 2007–08 the net primary enrollment was 66%, and the primary completion rate was 56% with remarkable disparities among urban and rural as well as male and female groups in the population). It appears that different reasons account for these results such as inefficiency in attending the poverty-stricken population, resistance from traditional segments of society, failure to devolve power at the grassroots level, low budget allocation to education, and bureaucratic governance of education under heavy political influence. Recommendations are made for future policy decisions and research.

In 2000, Pakistan along with other nations of the world committed to achieve Education for All (EFA) goals, as stated in the "Dakar Declaration", by 2015. Hence, Pakistan's National Government in 2002 developed the National Plan of

Maria Teresa Tatto, (Ed.), Learning and Doing Policy Analysis in Education: Examining Diverse Approaches to Increasing Educational Access, 41–60.

Action on Education for All 2001–2015, to achieve the EFA goals in Pakistan. The National Education Policy (NEP) 1998–2010 and NEP 2009 also contained a significant proportion of EFA goals, particularly directed at increasing access to "universal primary education". Thus, the Pakistan Government has been implementing EFA-based policies and plans for almost ten years.

The problem encountered in these attempts is reflected by the EFA assessment report of Pakistan (Saleem, 2000), which shows very poor indicators of enrollment at the primary level. The net intake rate for primary grade one was 59.7%, with remarkable gender-based and province/region-based disparities. The quality indicators were also very low. For example the highest percent of students achieving a curriculum objective was 19% for math grade three, 33.3% for science grade three, and 33% for English grade three. In 2002, to address the problems of very low primary enrollment, low quality of students' achievement, and low primary completion rate, the Education for All National Plan of Action 2002- 2015 was developed by the Ministry of Education in the Government of Pakistan. In this chapter I analyze the effectiveness of this policy in terms of achieving the EFA goal of universal primary education as well as developing suggestions for future policy decisions and actions. This chapter focuses on my analysis of the implementation of the policy aimed to achieve "universal primary education" by 2015. The analysis was conducted by comparison of the targets achieved over the ten years as well as how different factors, situations or conditions, and relationships between actors and conditions led to what the policy has achieved. The policy analysis was guided by following research questions and hypotheses:

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

1. How does the EFA policy address the problems of low enrollment, low completion rate, and low quality of primary education in Pakistan?
2. What characterizes the implementation of this policy and how effective has it been in its goal to achieve universal primary education in Pakistan?
3. What does the analysis of the policy and its implementation with regard to achievement of universal primary education suggest for future policy decisions and actions?

The analysis explored two main hypotheses in an attempt at explaining the low achievement of the EFA policy to date: one the failure to achieve the policy stated goals is due to the poor governance in the education department which can be attributed to its highly bureaucratic structure and to being consistently under political influence; and two because the policy inadequately addresses the root causes for the poor achievement in primary education such as poverty; irrelevance of education; tribal and community based resistance to modern education; shortage of schools, teachers, and resources in remote areas; and low quality of teaching.

PERSPECTIVES AND FRAMEWORKS

Pakistan, situated in South Asia, is one of the low-income and highly populated developing countries in the world. Pakistan is surrounded by India in the east,

China in the north-east, Afghanistan in the north-west, Iran in the west and Arabian Sea in the south. According to the Ministry of Education of the Government of Pakistan (2009) estimate, the population would be about 177 million by 2010. The per capita income is 2,942 $US and about 23% of the population lives in poverty. According to The World Bank (2010), Pakistan is ranked 125th on human development index (HDI).

The diverse geographic landscape, different cultures and languages, and different ways of living in different provinces/regions constitute the social fabric of Pakistani society. Pakistan has four provinces (Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and four federally administered areas (Islamabad, Federally Administered Tribal Areas, Federally Administered Northern Areas, and Azad Kashmir). Each province has a different language whereas Urdu is the national language and English is used as official language. About 40% of the population lives in urban areas and 60% in rural areas. The ways of living are different in different areas/regions, ranging from very conservative traditional to quite liberal ways of living in some parts of the mega cities such as Karachi, Islamabad, Lahore, Faisalabad, and Peshawar.

The political history of Pakistan reflects a continuous power struggle between a strong military establishment and civilian politicians. More than half of the time the military has been in power, whereas the rest of the period reflects struggling and unsustainable civilian governments, either by liberal pro-democracy or by conservative political groups. Scholar and political analyst Hoodbhoy (1998) claimed that the military has been very influential in shaping national policies even in the times it was not directly in the government.

The education system, mostly inherited from British India, continues demonstrating stratification of the society on the basis of socio-economic, rural / urban and religious factors by including three parallel systems of schooling in Pakistan. The three different systems obviously reflect different basis for the education. The public sector comprises about 66% of the student population. It is generally considered traditional; instruction is given in Urdu/regional languages; teaching is telling; and learning is memorization. It lacks physical facilities such as buildings, toilets, drinking water, and playgrounds. It also lacks human resources such as competent teachers, learning coordinators, and administrators. The private sector comprises about 28% of the student population, mostly in urban areas. The private school system varies from highly developed elite schools to small schools in working-class neighborhoods (Andrabi, Das and Khwaja, 2008). The elite or middle-class private schools usually instruct in English and follow foreign syllabuses adapted from Oxford, Cambridge, or other Western Universities, whereas the private schools in poor neighborhoods instruct in Urdu or in regional languages and follow the national curriculum, including government published textbooks and learning materials. The Madarsa school system constitutes about 6% of the nation's education and is run by different charity organizations. It is populated by children from religious conservative segments of society and emphasizes the religious values of different sects.

Table 1. Comparison of School Types in Pakistan (2007–08).

School Type (primary to higher secondary)	*No. of Schools*	*No of Students*		*No. of Teachers*	*Students per teacher*
		Enrollment	*% of total*		
Private	58,064	7,610,991	28	527,541	14.5
Government	166,534	18,322,552	66	623,089	29.4
Madarsa	12,085	1,558,000	6	53,986	28.9

Source: Ministry of Education Government of Pakistan (2009).

THEORY OF THE POLICY

For a good analysis of a policy, it is important to understand the underlying theory of the policy as well as other theories that represent successful practices in the policy area in order to determine whether the program was successful or unsuccessful, why and how. Weiss (1998) argued that "To make a respectable contribution to such a discussion, it helps if the evaluator understands-and investigates- the program/policy's explicit and implicit theory" (p. 55). The underlying theory in EFA policy seems to be the notion that "education leads to human development and human development leads to economic prosperity". On these lines, Pakistan's National Education Plan for EFA goals (Ministry of Education Government of Pakistan, 2002) takes development in education as part of the wider macro-economic growth strategy in Pakistan.

Another aspect of looking at the theory of a policy is what Weiss (1998) terms "Implementation Theory" or "Program Theory" which reflects how the policy theorizes the successful implementation of the policy/plan. Pakistan's National Plan for EFA does not demonstrate explicitly the theory for its successful implementation of the policy; however it can be derived from looking at its major three objectives (on page vii), which demonstrate an assumption that the EFA target of universal primary education (and others) can be achieved "by reaching out the disadvantaged groups of population, involving community in educational management at grassroots level, and enhancing relevance and quality through learning achievements of the children". This chapter analyzes the implementation of the EFA policy in Pakistan according to four elements: (i) program inputs, (ii) program activities, (iii) interim outcomes, (iv) and desired end results (Weiss, 1998).

METHODS AND SOURCES OF DATA

Thorough analysis of the research questions suggests that both quantitative and qualitative data is required to answer them. Quantitative data is required to identify different quantitative indicators set in the policy, such as primary enrollment rates over the years (from 2000 to 2010), primary completion rates over the years, and the number of physical facilities in schools. Qualitative data helps to analyze what the policy actions are, how they have been implemented,

and what the views are about the implementation process of the policy as well as level of achievement of targets.

The sources of data include published reports, different data bases, policy documents, and research papers about school education in Pakistan. Hence, the nature of the research questions leads to drawing upon "an ideal combination [which] is to use both qualitative and quantitative methods" (Majchrzak, 1984, p.66).

The methods of study are mostly based on what Majchrzak, (1984) described as "Focused Synthesis", which "...is somewhat akin to traditional literature review by involving the selective review of written material and existing research findings relevant to the particular research question" (p. 59). However, focused analysis differs from a traditional literature review because it discusses information gathered beyond published sources, such as personal experiences of the researcher, discussions with experts, media sources, and so on. Another method of analysis of existing information also seems relevant to use along with focused synthesis. This method was termed by Majchrzak (1984) "secondary analysis" which "...refers to the analysis and reanalysis of exiting data bases" (p. 60). It is useful to answer some of the questions which require multiple analyses of the data bases related to the indicators about primary education in Pakistan. Such data bases include annual enrollment figures compiled by the Ministry of Education in Pakistan and UNESCO data bases about Pakistan.

I derived methods and criteria for the analysis of the EFA based policy in Pakistan (2000 to 2010) from the "analytic tasks in evaluation" described in Weiss (1998, p. 273) and the models described in Resnick et al. (2007). The analysis mostly focused on "describing" actors, activities, services, conditions of operation and on "comparing", achievement indicators and conditions before, during, and after 10 years of policy implementation. Three questions as mentioned in Weiss (1998; p. 273) guided the analysis strategies: (a) what went on in the program over time? (Describing), (b) how closely did the program follow its original plan? (Comparing), and (c) what combinations of actors, services, and conditions are associated with success and failure? (Profiling).

The nature of the policy analysis is evaluative-comparative; as Weiss (1998) argued, "comparison is the heart of the evaluation enterprise" (p. 286). Comparison of the situation, before, during, and after the policy has been implemented for ten years leads to a comprehensive analysis. Weiss (1998) argued that comparison leads to understanding "... if there were changes, then the analysis will concentrate on how much change there was, how the ... [policy] worked, who benefited the most, and which components of the ... [policy actions] were most effective" (p. 288). The comparison included the changes taking place over the period of ten years (from 2000 to 2010) in the three areas of the EFA goal of achieving "universal primary education" in Pakistan, as mentioned in the analytical framework below. Three key indicators used in the analysis presented in this chapter include primary enrollment, primary completion rate, and quality of primary education (in terms of students' achievement scores on the national assessment). The analytic framework was

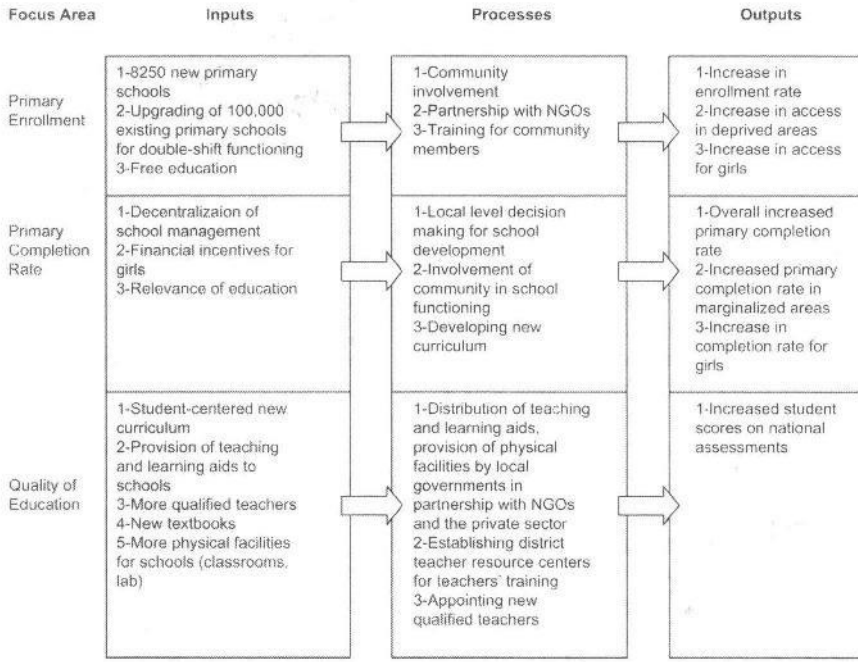

Figure 1. EFA Pakistan Analytic Framework.

developed (as described in the National Plan on EFA) for the analysis of EFA policy/plan to achieve "universal primary education" in Pakistan.

Results

As mentioned earlier, my analysis of EFA policies focused on the three areas under the overall goal to provide "Universal Primary Education" in Pakistan. The three areas include: primary enrollment (measured as Net Enrollment Rate), primary completion rate (measured as percentage completing primary education-grade V), and quality of primary education (measured in terms of students' achievement scores on national assessments).

In my analysis of this policy's outcomes I followed the analytic framework defined earlier while using an evaluative logic as described by Weiss (1998): "Outcomes define what program [policy] intends to achieve" (p.117). The policy/plan projected outcomes at the end of the three phases of the policy implementation, as described in National Plan of Action in Education for All 2000–2015 by the Ministry of Education of the Government of Pakistan (2002). The three phases included Phase I: 2000 to 2005, Phase II: 2005 to 2010, and Phase III: 2010 to 2015. Since the latest data available was for year 2007–08 in different reports, I averaged out the targeted outcomes for 2005 and 2010 to determine the targets for 2007–08 so that results could be compared to the targets for this year.

ENROLLMENT RATE

Results show a gradual increase in net enrollment rate (NER) at the primary level; however the achievement is much lower than the targeted level which indicates a high possibility of failing to achieve the target of hundred percent net primary enrollments by 2015. Data on the achievement of net primary enrollment is available up to the 2007–08 academic year (by the National Education Policy 2009, Educational Statistics by the Ministry of Education of the Government of Pakistan, 2009, and UNESCO Mid-Term Report 2008). The policy targeted achieving 100% NER for boys and 80% for girls by 2010, but the results show that Pakistan is still lagging behind the target. The comparative analysis of the targeted NER and achieved NER (see Table 1) shows that Pakistan was 11 percentage points behind the target by 2005 and 16 percentage points behind the target by 2007–08.

Table 1. Comparative Analysis of the NER Targets and Achievements.

Year	*2000*	*2005*	*2007–08*	*2010*	*1015*
Overall Targeted Net Primary Enrollment Rate (NER)	66%	79%	86%	93.5%	100%
Overall Achieved Net Primary Enrollment Rate (NER)	57%	68%	70%	N-A	N-A

Source: Ministry of Education Government of Pakistan (2002 and 2009).

DISPARITIES IN ENROLLMENT

The NER is not only below the targeted, as mentioned above, but demonstrates disparities on the basis of gender, region (provinces as well as rural and urban), and wealth distribution (see Figure 2). The figure shows that there is a wide gap between girls' enrollment and the boys' enrollment in four provinces, and almost half the rate of boys in the case of Khyber Pakhtunkhawa (formerly called NWFP) and Baluchistan. However, the most severe gender-based disparity is at the wealth level. There is almost no gender based disparity among the 20% richest segment of the population, but 20% of the poorest segment of the population shows girls' NER less than half the rate of boys. The disparity on the basis of wealth is alarming as the difference between the richest 20% of the population and poorest 20% is more than 50 percentage points (I address this further in the discussion section). Moreover, the comparison between the provinces also shows disparities as two provinces (Sind and Baluchistan) are below the national average and the other two are above the national average. Further disparity can be seen on the basis of the rural and urban divide, as the rural NER is much lower than the urban.

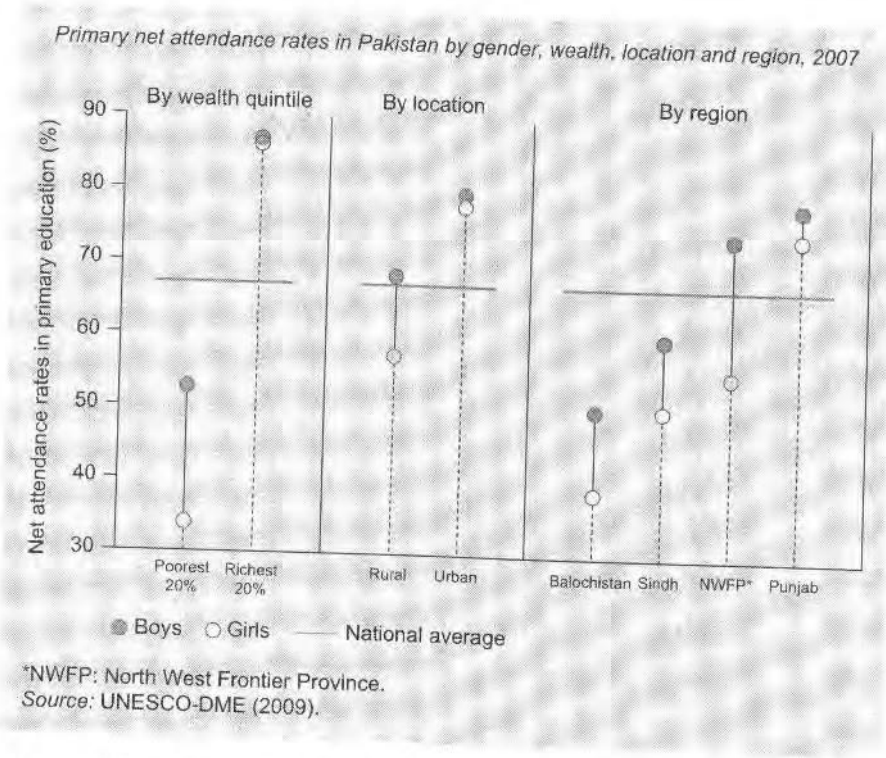

Figure 2. Disparities on the basis of regions, gender, and wealth level. Source: Adapted from UNESCO (2009) Educational Digest 2009.

PRIMARY COMPLETION RATE

The primary school completion rate is quite low, which puts the country in a pool of the high risk nations in terms of achieving the goal of universal primary education by 2015. The data is not available for the targeted years of the primary completion rate, except 2007–08. According to UNESCO (2009), in 2007 the survival rate to grade 5 (final grade for primary education) was 70% (68% for boys and 72% for girls), but only 55% of boys and 42% of girls could complete primary education against the targeted 72% for boys and 69% for girls (see Table 2 for comparative analysis). The achieved target (in 2007–08) was even lower than the target in 2000, which means the policy is almost seven years behind the targets. Thus, it seems that it will be very hard to achieve the target of 80% by 2010 and 100% by 2015.

QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Measures for quality of education are not well-defined in the EFA policy in Pakistan; however, student achievement scores on national assessments indicate an improvement but also lower achievement than the minimum target. The policy does

Table 2. Gender-wise comparison between targeted and achieved primary completion rates

Year		*2000*	*2005*	*2007–08*	*2010*	*2015*
Male	Targeted	54%	65%	72%	80%	100%
	Achieved	N-A	N-A	55%	N-A	
Female	Targeted	46%	59%	69%	80%	100%
	Achieved	N-A	N-A	42%	N-A	

Source: Ministry of Education Government of Pakistan (2000 & 2009) and UNESCO (2009).

not clearly indicate projections for improvement in quality. However, the policy describes the mechanism of monitoring quality through national assessment of students' achievement by the National Education Assessment System (NEAS). In addition, the policy calls for a yearly exam to be conducted by district government examination boards to measure the improvement at the district level. There is no data available on the district level exams of student achievements; however according to the national assessment 2006 report by the National Education Assessment System (2006), in all the major subjects at the primary level national assessment scores remained lower than 500 (50% of the total score); the minimum quality benchmark score for this year. In 2006, the national averages were 382 in Language (Urdu and Sindhi), 404 in Math, 496 in Social Studies, and 467 in General Science (see Figure 3). These scores show an improvement in comparison to the scores at the beginning of the policy, where the highest score was 33% for science and English. However, these scores are still lower than the targeted minimum quality benchmark of 50% for year 2006. In addition, non-availability of data on student achievement scores (by NEAS) for the succeeding years indicates poor implementation of the policy (I discuss this further in the discussion section).

The other studies conducted during this period of time also showed similar results in students' performance on test scores. In 2005–06, research by Shami and Hassan (2006), cited in Bano (2007), used a test based on the national curriculum standards to study a national sample of 1902 students of grade 5 in eight districts (two from each of the four provinces) of Pakistan. The study found that students' average test scores were a little above fifty percent only in Urdu (54%), whereas test scores in math and science were 44% and 46% respectively. Such studies found even a worse situation in rural areas. Das, Pandey, and Zajonic (2006) studied a sample of students in three rural districts of Punjab (the highest populated province). They took one district from each of its regions (north, central, and south) and found that learning was quite low in comparison to the curriculum standards. The tests results showed that a majority of the students in grade 3 could only perform equal to grade 1 standards of the mathematics curriculum, and only 31% could correctly form a sentence in Urdu using the word "school". These studies clearly document that the quality of education at the primary level is still a problem, especially in public schools.

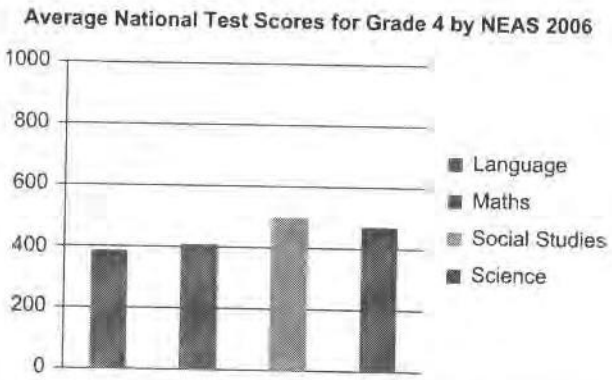

Figure 3. National average test scores of grade 4 students in 2006 (maximum score is 1000 and minimum quality benchmark for this year was 500). Source: NEAS (2006).

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The results show that there has been gradual increase in enrollment, completion rate, and quality of education at the primary level in Pakistan; however, the targets have not been achieved. This places Pakistan in the pool of high-risk nations (as mentioned in UNESCO reports) to achieve the goal of universal primary education by 2015. Hence, the question is, why has EFA policy in Pakistan failed to achieve its targets? In this section I discuss this while drawing upon different reports and other literature sources, however the literature, particularly empirical literature, is very limited because there have not been encouragement and policies to promote research in Pakistan.

One way of looking at the failure of the policy to achieve its targets is evaluating how effectively the policy has attended to the basic reasons for low achievement in primary education in Pakistan. Such reasons were identified in the national assessment report in 2000 (at the outset of the policy). It seems the policy failed to address the four basic reasons for historically low achievements in primary education in Pakistan. This policy has had no concrete plan to bring the children of poverty-ridden segments of the population to the schools; it also has had no plan to address opposing beliefs of the traditional segments of society about modern education, especially about girls' education; it has failed to eliminate the scarcity of schools or facilities in remote areas; and it has failed to allocate an appropriate budget as well as utilize the allocated budget efficiently because of bureaucratic management which is under heavy political influence.

POVERTY

According to different reports (UNESCO, 2009 and 2010, Ministry of Education Government of Pakistan, 2002 and 2009), about 20% to 23% of the population of Pakistan has been living in poverty in the last decade (2000–2010). This segment of the population has not gotten even the basic necessities for life, such as food, shelter, clothing etc., appropriately; therefore it is very hard for them to send

their children to school, which requires parents to provide school dress, books and other stationary, and transport in most cases. The mid-term report on EFA goals by UNESCO (2008) showed that the possibility of sending children to school and their completing primary schooling was more than double for the richer families compared to the poorer. As shown earlier in Figure 2, the lowest enrollment rate was in the rural areas, which are much poorer than the urban areas. However, among the wealthier families (whether in rural or urban areas), there was a high rate (around 90% NER), and there was no difference on the basis of gender. Pakistan's Integrated Household Survey (1998/99), cited in Khalid and Mukhtar (2002), found that 18% to 34% (22.5% on average) of parents reported dropping their children from school because it was too expensive for them and they could not bear the cost. This clearly indicates that poverty is one of the significant factors for not enrolling children. In addition, Sawada's (n.d) study of households in Pakistan found similar results. The households having a motorcycle or tractor (which is an indicator of prosperous income) in rural areas were three times more likely to send their children to school than the poor households.

The above discussion clearly indicates that policy needs to address the problem of poverty (as an obstacle to increasing enrollment) through providing a reasonable stipend for the children of poverty-ridden families, or providing for all necessities required for children to be in school. Because of very low income, these families prefer to engage their children in labor in order to add a little more to the earnings of the family rather than sending them to school. This means that providing only the necessities for school is not enough to ensure the children of these families will stay in school; rather there is a need of some financial incentives for families to send their children to school so they won't lose their income. But the EFA-based policies/plans by the government in Pakistan have not taken any such measures to bring these children to school.

TRADITIONAL BELIEFS

Another factor related to the above mentioned problem, is the traditional beliefs of some segments of society who do not want to have modern education for their children, especially for girls (Warwick 1995, and Zafar, 2007). Policy seems to attend to this very lightly and non-logically. Policy assumes that involving the communities in the management of school (which itself has been done very ineffectively- I take this on later) will motivate parents to send their children to school. Moreover, the curriculum reflects modern ideas of the educated middle-class or elite class, which are quite opposed to the beliefs of such communities. Hence, policy is needed to localize the curriculum and to value as well as incorporate the traditions of such communities so they will be motivated to send their children to school. Further, it might not have been enough to just value the traditions of such communities in school and the curriculum; a financial incentive for these families, combined with localizing the curriculum, would better motivate such parents to send their children to school.

SHORTAGE OF ADEQUATE SCHOOL FACILITIES

The third basic problem in Pakistan is shortage of schools and facilities in schools, particularly in the remote areas. This policy has targeted to open new schools and improve the existing ones for functioning in double shifts (morning and evening), but on the ground the situation still reflects the scenario as it was before the policy was implemented in 2000. According to the National Education Policy 2009 (Ministry of Education Government of Pakistan, 2009) and PILDAT (2010), many of the schools lack adequate classrooms since 70% of government schools are one-room or two-room schools, more than half of the schools do not have electricity, about 55% of schools either do not have toilet or they do not function, and about one-fourth do not have proper drinking water facilities. Similar conclusions were drawn by Bano (2007) while analyzing the data base of education provided by federal and provincial governments in Pakistan (see Table 3 below). Hence, many parents can not send their children to schools, because either there are no schools in their areas or schools don't have building and other physical facilities. Classrooms are usually crowded, which negatively affects the primary completion rate and quality of education.

Table 3. State of missing facilities in public schools by 2006.

Facilities within government primary schools Total No. of Primary Schools	105,526
No. of schools without Electricity	64,954 (61%)
No. of schools without Gas	102,884 (97%)
No. of schools without Drinking Water	36,125 (34%)
No. of schools without Telephone	100,778 (95%)
No. of schools without Blackboard	10,411 (1%)
No. of schools without Text Books	24,870 (23%)

Source: Bano (2007).

INEFFICIENT ALLOCATION AND UTILIZATION OF RESOURCES

Such a state of affairs emerges from the low allocation and low utilization of funds for education. According to UNESCO reports, Pakistan stands among the lowest countries of world in terms of spending a percentage of its GDP on education; this ranges from 1.7% to 2.28% in the last ten years. Comparison with other countries in the region clearly shows that the countries which spend more of their budget on education have achieved much higher literacy rates and are better than Pakistan in terms of human development (as per HDI scores). There is a positive correlation between GDP and HDI as demonstrated in table 4 (PILDAT, 2010). Table 4 shows that as the public expenditure of GDP go higher, the indicators of HDI and the literacy rate also go higher. For example, Sri Lanka, Iran, and the Maldives have high rates of literacy and better HDI than other South Asian countries because they spend more than 5% of their GDP on education.

Table 4. Comparative analysis of HDI, expenditure on education, and literacy rate.

Country	*Human Development Index Ranking*	*Public Expenditure on Education as % of GDP*	*Literacy Rate % (15+ years)*
India	134	3.3	66
Iran	88	5.6	82
Pakistan	141	2.8	54
Sri Lanka	102	5.4	91
Maldives	95	8.3	97
Nepal	144	3.8	57
Bangladesh	146	2.4	53

Source: PILDAT 2010.

OVERLY BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE

In addition to the problems discussed above, the highly bureaucratic structure of educational governance, affected by corruption and political influence, has resulted in failure to achieve the targets. Policy targeted decentralizing the management of schools, but as Shah's (2003) report reveals, it was not decentralized in a real sense. It just moved the power-center from provincial governments to district governments but the nature of management still remained very bureaucratic. Most of the officers were favored by local politicians, and the establishment of school management committees was highly influenced by politicians to bring their favored people to the committees. Since the politician-favored officers were not competent enough and lacked planning skills, resource mobilization skills, and commitment (Shah, 2003); they did not focus on improvement in the system through implementing policy actions. Hence, the result was very poor utilization of the allocated funds. As per the Ministry of Education of the Government of Pakistan mid-term report on EFA (2008), the budget consumption rate for education development programs remained low: around 56% of the allocated budget in Sindh, 67% in Punjab, and 78% in Khyber Phakhunkhawa (formerly NWFP).

The low expenditure on education and less utilization of the budget indicate the lack of commitment at the high political level which is one of the reasons (probably the most important) for poor educational achievements in Pakistan. Historically, only one five-year plan out of about eleven plans so far achieved its targets in Pakistan, but this indicates a very important phenomenon. This plan achieved 183% of its targets but utilized only 42% of the allocated budget because of high commitment of the top political leadership at that time, as Bengali (1999) concluded on the basis of analysis of fifty years of policy implementation in Pakistan. In this vein, lack of commitment is obvious from recent observations of government. The federal minister of education, while announcing the recent policy NEP 2009, repeated the government's rhetoric to increase the budget for education immediately to 4% of GDP and take it up to 7% of GDP in five years. On the contrary, in reality the government ended up reducing the education budget from 2.8 of GDP to 2.4 of GDP by the end of fiscal year 2009–10. It is common for political governments (whether military or civilian) to disguise themselves through

verbal promises, but they have hardly made a concrete effort to keep or fulfill them. As Bengali's (1999) analysis shows that historically every political government promised to eradicate illiteracy, through substantive increase in budget for education and through educational reforms towards improving governance, teaching practices, and curricula, but in reality it remained a political rhetoric.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The low achievements of targets and the evaluation of the failure of the policy to achieve the targets lead one to think about the implications for the future policy work. The implications need to drive us to address all the basic problems through a comprehensive and well-defined mechanism for reforms in the education sector. Below are alternative ways to consider revising the course of action for existing policies as well as for future policies:

- There is immediate need to increase the budget for education, to take it up to 5% of GDP and then gradually to increase it to 8% of GDP as it is required to overhaul the existing structure of education and put it on course for consistent improvement. The fact that spending more than 5% of GDP on education can bring better results is evident from the comparison of South Asian countries in Table 4.
- Primary education should be enforced through law which defines punishment for parents for not sending children to school and provides incentives for sending children to school. This was the feature of the only successful policy/plan in the history of Pakistan, which achieved 183% targets (mentioned earlier Bengali, 1999). However a proper stipend should be given to the children from poverty-stricken families, to provide them all the necessities and to give extra incentive (in terms of addition into their parents income) to be in school.
- Comprehensive reforms in the governance of the education department are essential to create a facilitative environment for the functioning of schools and their further improvement. Chapman (2008) argues that developing countries which reform their education management systems end up with high achievements because the functioning of the school system depends on quality, wisdom, and commitment of administrators who manage and guide actions taking place in the system. Drawing upon Shah's (2003) recommendation on the basis of his analysis of how decentralization of the education management initiative failed, and reasons described in the UNESCO monitoring report 2009, which focused on good governance to overcome inequality, the reforms in educational governance are suggested as follows:
  - To bring competent human resources in the management of education, there is need to enact a law which clearly defines merit and open competition-based appointments of officers through a public service commission: composed of representatives of public, private, and civil society organizations with educational background. Preference should be given to those having teaching or learning leadership experience at the relevant school level.
  - The work of government first and second tier officers (head teachers/principals and district officers) should be confined to create facilitative environments for

teaching and learning rather than disbursing and spending budgets. They should provide only monitoring support for curriculum implementation, teaching, learning, and assessment. This will filter those people who ask to get into the management office because it can give them opportunities to misappropriate the funds.

- All construction, physical facilities related work, provision of stipends, and provision of teaching and learning resources should be done through private organizations. On the one hand, this will help unburden government offices from such work so that they can use their time to provide support for teaching and learning; on other hand it will help to stop the misappropriations of funds.
- Parents should evaluate the general functioning of the schools on an annual basis, which should be done through private organizations or NGOs and the results should be published. Parents also should evaluate all the infrastructure development work done in schools (building new rooms and toilets, provision of furniture and electricity, etc). Since they are the direct beneficiaries of such developments, they can keep more honest and better check on the quality of work.
- An intensive two-month professional development (PD) program for all teachers (focusing on content knowledge, pedagogy, and community mobilization skills) should be initiated immediately along with establishing professional development centers at the school or cluster level for continuous professional development (CPD) of teachers and other staff. Teacher unions should be involved in coordination of PD programs and professional development centers, in order to create collaboration among teachers as well as self-evaluation and self-responsibility towards their own professional development.

- A national campaign should be launched to mobilize communities through print and electronic media and door-to-door communication, with the involvement of NGOs and other international organizations.
- The curriculum should be made flexible to accommodate values and traditions in the local culture as well as to engage children to develop skills to be successful in their further education.
- The educated mass in urban areas, particularly females, should be utilized for the education of girls and disadvantaged groups in rural areas, where there is a severe shortage of educated women.
- There is also a severe shortage of empirical evidence to guide policies, development, and reforms in education. A national level Institute for Research should be developed which can launch, sponsor, and coordinate research on education in Pakistan. The research should be aligned with policy and reform initiatives to make informed decisions while implementing policies, as well as for developing new policies.

A note of caution: since there is lack of empirical evidence in Pakistan, many recommendations made here are not based on empirical evidence. Hence, it is

necessary to establish empirical evidence to evaluate their effectiveness as well as make evidence-informed policy decisions in future.

CONCLUSION

The EFA policy in Pakistan has resulted in gradual increase in enrollment and completion rates at the primary level; however, there have been lower achievements than targeted by the policy. The literature evidence shows that the low achievement of the targets is because of not overcoming the basic problems historically prevalent in Pakistan. Policy cannot succeed until it is grounded in the context and addresses the basic problems of poverty, lack of infrastructure, lack of appropriate funds, poor governance, and cultural or social barriers to girls' education. Any effort deviating away from such problems will result in failures, causing waste of time and energy and a lack of development. However, political commitment is required in the first place to initiate the reforms recommended here to address the basic problems on the ground.

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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andrabi, T., Das, J., & Khwaja, A., I., (2008). A dime a Day: Possibilities and Limits of Private Schooling in Pakistan. Comparative Education Review. 52, (3), 329–255.

This study is focused to understand how private schools have rapidly increased in last two decades in Pakistan. The researchers used data collected through different government organizations as well as used survey to collect primary data. In this article, they present a comparative analysis of differences between private and public schools with regard to fee structure, teachers' qualifications and salaries, concentrations of two types of schools in different geographic locations, and achievement of students in core subject areas. They find significant differences between different aspects of two types of schools. Further they discuss about the possibilities of addressing the problems of high illiteracy and low quality of education through private schooling, as well as limitations for private sector in education system of Pakistan.

Bano, M (2007). Pakistan Country Case Study. Country profile prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2008 Education for All by 2015: will we make it? Retrieved from: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001555/155503e.pdf

This paper presents country profile of Pakistan which was used for the EFA global monitoring report 2008. The paper sketches up the progress in education for all (EFA) goals in Pakistan since the Dakar Declaration of 2000. Further it presents comparison of enrollment at primary level between private and public sector, comparison of expenditures between public sector and private sector, and state of school in the two sectors. The author argues that there has been a gradual growth in enrollment and literacy; however Pakistan is still at risk to achieve the millennium development targets by 2015. It claims that private sector have had a positive effect of enrollment whereas government has not improved the public school system to increase the enrollment and completion of basic education.

Bengali, K. (1999). History of educational policy making and planning in Paksitan. Islamabad: Sustainable Policy Development Institute (SDPI).

This is a brief working paper which summarizes the history of education policy making and achievement of targets specified within particular policies. In a chronological order, it covers policies from the birth of Pakistan (1947) through education policy 1998–2010. It simply presents main targets of the policies, allocated resources, and utilized resources. The author concludes that targets have been continuously revised in each policy because policies have failed to achieve the targets.

Booth, C. W., Colomb, G. G. and Williams, J. M. (2008). The Craft of Research. The University of Chicago Press, London.

The above mentioned book gives comprehensive information on research process: from thinking research topic to the publication of research report. Each of the five parts of the book discusses a major aspect of the research process. First part talks about how research and researcher, as well as researcher and readers can best be related or connected. Second part describes asking questions to plan a research project, and comprehensively discusses: how to move from broader topic to specific research questions, sources of data or evidence and how to engage sources for data generation. Third part focuses on "assembling research argument" to put the claims, reasons, evidence and warrants in a coherent and persuasive structure. Fourth part gives a comprehensive view of how to plan, draft, and revise a research report. Fifth part talks about the other considerations of research such as research ethics, references, and indexes. The book appears a very helpful resource for my policy analysis research as it comprehensively informs about different stages of my research process.

Das, J., Pandey, P. & Zajonc, T. (2006). Learning Levels and Gaps in Pakistan. The World Bank working paper 4067. Retrieved from: http://www.worldbank.org.pk/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/SOUTHASIAEXT/PAKISTANEXTN/0,,contentMDK:21608863~pagePK:141137~piPK:141127~theSitePK:293052,00.html

This is a policy research working paper sponsored by The World Bank. The paper focuses on understanding the learning level of grade three students with comparison to the set national curriculum standards in Pakistan. They report that most of the children from affluent families go to private schools whereas most of the children from poor families go to government schools. They found that the achievement gap between is twelve times higher in affluent families than children from poor families. Overall, student achievement is lower than international standards as grade three students show mastery of grade one level curriculum only.

Khalid, H. S. & Muktar E. M. (2002). The Future of Girls Education in Pakistan. Islambad: UNESCO Offfice

This study was conducted to assess the state of girls education in Pakistan as well as illuminate constraints in girls education. While reviewing the policies and programs to enhance girls education in 1990s, the study highlighted the barriers in increasing girls enrollment and retention in the primary schools. Next, it analyzed the education policy of 1998–2010 with regard to how it is addressing the existing problems. Finally, it made recommendation for future programs to address the existing problems in girl education.

Majchrzak, A. (1984). Methods for Policy Research. Sage Publications: London Cummings, W. K. and Williams, J. H. (2008). Policy-Making for Education Reforms in Developing Countries. Policy Options and Strategies. Rowman & Littlefield Education: USA

In addition, the above mentioned two books are also helpful in formulating the research process and analysis. Methods for Policy Research (Majchrzak, 1984) particularly provide a thorough account of how to carry "technical analysis of data" and how to develop recommendations. Two chapters in Cummings and Williams (2008) (Chapter 3: Policy Options for Access and Equity in Basic Education, and Chapter 7: Policy Tools to Improve Teaching) can be helpful reference for analysis of access for primary education and teacher quality issues related to EFA policies in Pakistan since these both chapters give examples from developing contexts including Pakistan.

POLICY DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS RESOURCES

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The above-mentioned documents are available at the Ministry of Education Government of Pakistan website (under the policy and plans heading) and are good primary resource about the EFA policies and plans in Pakistan. Two policies (National Education Policy 1998–2010, and National Education Policy 2009) provide evidence about policy targets and actions on EFA goals in Pakistan. Whereas, the National Plan of Action on Education for All (2001–2015) provides data on the programs and projects that are being implemented to achieve the EFA policy objectives. In addition, the Country Assessment document provides data on the educational indicators at the off-set of the policy/plans in Pakistan. In essence, these documents are a valuable resource for providing comprehensive description of the policies/plans, their implementation, and achievements in last ten years (2000–2010).

MULTIPLE DATA (EVIDENCE) SOURCES

UNESCO (2010). EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010. Reaching the Marginalized. Retrieved form http://www.unesco.org/en/efareport/reports/2010-marginalization/

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UNESCO (2007). EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005. The Quality Imperative. Retrieved from: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001373/137333e.pdf

The UNESCO monitoring reports provide plenty of data (evidence) on achievements and challenges to EFA goals in developing countries including Pakistan. The different reports focus different aspects of the EFA policy implementation which is helpful in accumulating evidence about the policy implementation in Pakistan. The UNESCO monitoring report 2010 compares the education indicators around the world, which is helpful in analyzing the achievements and challenges to Pakistan related to first two EFA goals (focus of this research) in comparison to other countries especially with developing countries. The monitoring report 2009 focuses on inequalities in achieving the goals and factors involved, and the monitoring report 2005 focuses on quality issues with a comprehensive provision of data on Pakistan. Thus, these all reports are a very important and fundamental resource for collecting evidence for the evaluation of the effectiveness of the EFA policies in Pakistan.

MORE DATA SOURCES (PARTICULARLY IN QUALITY ISSUES)

PLDAT (2010). Financing Quality Basic Education for All in Pakistan. Retrieved from: http://www.pildat.org/Publications/publication/EFA/Financing%20Quality%20Basic%20Education%20for%20All%20in%20Pakistan%20-%20Briefing%20Paper.pdf

The above paper is a recent analysis of financing basic education for all in Pakistan. It looks at the activities done so far to achieve "education for all" and compares with other developing nation in the region. It mainly focuses on evaluating financial expenditures on education for all as well as required finances to achieve the goals in Pakistan from the perspective of socio-economic situation in Pakistan. It concludes with projects for future based on the current trends. This paper provides the data for the analysis of socio-economic aspect of my policy analysis especially with regard to universal primary education and quality of primary education in Pakistan.

Zafar, F. (2007). Achieving Education for All: Pakistan. Promising Practices in Universal Primary Education. Commonwealth Secretariat: Marlborough House.

The above-mentioned publication is a commonwealth publication which describes the promising practices related to achieve universal primary education in Pakistan. Generally, Pakistan lacking at successful practices to achieve the target of universal primary education; however the publication highlights some of the successful practice to accelerate quality primary education in some parts of Pakistan. Hence, the publication provides important evidence as well as a reference framework of successful practices to use for evaluating the EFA policy practices in Pakistan.

Annual Status of Education Report
اثر ASER PAKISTAN 2013
Facilitated by SAFED

Annual Status of Education Report
ASER-Pakistan 2013

National

Provisional
January 16, 2014

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This is the provisional ASER Pakistan 2013 report based on data received from districts collected by SAFED partners by November 30, 2013.
The final ASER Pakistan 2013 report will be available at our website www.aserpakistan.org on March 01, 2014

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Content

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Message from the Minister for Planning and Development

We, at the Ministry of Planning and Development, are cognizant of the importance of information/ evidence driven planning for sustainable development of any country. Keeping in mind the challenges of the 21st century, short term, medium term and long term plans are being carved out in order to bring the economy out of the current crises. In order to transition from a low value added agriculture economy to a knowledge economy, the three major players that need to come together are educational institutes /universities, the industry and the government. Since educational institutes/universities have a major role to play as far as preparing individuals for each sector of the economy is concerned, there is a need to align the education provisions, and training and development infrastructure of the education sector with the pace of the global economy. This is something that the Government of Pakistan is working on in the Vision 2025 Plan.

ASER Pakistan 2013 provides us with data on educational indicators from 138 rural districts and 10 urban districts. This unique large scale household assessment will no doubt help us identify gaps that need to be bridged in order to move forward towards fulfilling the obligations under 25-A. Since ASER 2012 provided the baseline markers for the entire country, ASER 2013 will help in exploring the differences, if any, in educational outcomes over the past one year. Thus, it will also serve as an indirect evaluation mechanism for programs that have been implemented by the Government within the last year. Surely ASER Pakistan (2010-15) will be a promising tool for all of us, complementing our work in collecting systematic evidence on learning outcomes for informing our policies, budgets and performance.

I congratulate to the Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aagahi /South Asia Forum for Education Development (SAFED) along with its national partners, Idara-e-Taleem-o-Agahi, the National Commission for Human Development (NCHD), Sindh Education Foundation (SEF), Democratic Commission for Human Development (DCHD) and the Departments of Education in Balochistan, FATA, Gilgit-Baltistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab and Sindh. Above all, I heartily congratulate the 10,000 ASER volunteers, our committed citizens who reached out to 4,382 villages/blocks, 87044 households, and 263,990 children of Pakistan!

Ahsan Iqbal

Message from ASER Partners

Under article 25-A, every child aged 5-16 is entitled to free and compulsory education and this responsibility is not something that should be left only to the Government of Pakistan; every citizen should strive for access and quality of education. ASER Pakistan is a bold example of organized nationwide action.

ASER Pakistan (2009-2013) is a unique rights based journey by the citizens of Pakistan. It collects evidence at the grass roots level from each child one on one, and has the capability of bringing evidence back to the doorsteps of parents to help them understand what learning and access means within their own homes and neighborhoods. ASER is a movement of citizens that brings together 10,000 volunteers for an exceptional capacity building and accountability opportunity to reach over 250,000 children in 138 districts and agencies across Pakistan. It is run by citizens for the citizens. ASER is a platform that seeks to empower citizens through robust evidence. It helps them become more aware and responsible for the educational challenges in their own neighourhood and country. It is these fundamental dimensions of ASER that make us proud to be a part of this dynamic movement.

The ASER Pakistan network is inclusive. It comprises of organizations that range from those with nationwide presence i.e. Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aagahi (ITA), National Commission for Human Development NCHD), National Rural Support Program (NRSP), HANDS, DCHD, HDF to local institutions such as CRDO, RCDO, SAAD, EHED, Insan Dost Association, NGO's Development Society, SEDF, Change through Empowerment, MEHER, Al-Watan Forum and Hamza Development Foundation)to community based organizations and individuals and to semi autonomous bodies i.e. Sindh Education Foundation - SEF. What unites all of the organizations in our network is the firm belief that the education challenge in Pakistan needs to be addressed firmly backed by evidence by all citizens and the Government. Each year, we encourage the Government of Pakistan's representatives to participate in all phases, from tools finalization to district report card dissemination of ASER. It is extremely important that the Government, Judiciary, teacher unions/associations, political parties, media and CSOs alike should all make use of the ASER survey findings in policy debates, judgments, manifestoes, reportage, and strategies for policy and actions. ASER provides the perfect opportunity for citizen's engagement in public policy making. The rich data is the first step to deeper probing in critical areas which citizens can contribute to as partners with the Government for the attainment of the goal of Quality Education for 3-16 year olds in Pakistan.

Message from ASER Development Partners

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS

UKaid from the British people

Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) Pakistan went bigger this year, collecting data from 138 out of a total of 145 rural districts/agencies across Pakistan. ASER Pakistan 2013 will be the largest data set available to researchers and planners in Pakistan regarding learning levels of children aged 5-16 years in government and non-state schools, disaggregated by gender, sector and geography. It is commendable that ASER is continuously expanding its scope as a country wide data set. As ASER grows and reaches out to more households and children each year, a greater number of citizens are engaged in a process whereby they get instant feedback on what children are learning at schools or otherwise.

As development partners, we acknowledge the robust efforts of Pakistani citizens, particularly the youth, engaged in education advocacy and monitoring of learning levels at the grass roots level. Besides providing systematic information on important education indicators for the last four years, this citizen led accountability involvement is also generating a strong network of civil society partnerships dynamically transforming into a social movement to demand the implementation of Article 25-A.

The trends highlighted by ASER 2013 are provocative and reinforce the urgency to address the education emergency in Pakistan. Twenty-one percent of all school aged children, predominantly girls in rural areas, are still out of school. Around fifty percent children enrolled in 3rd grade will move to the next grade without being able to perform two-digit subtraction. These education gaps are distressing because they translate into bigger problems on the macro level, inversely affecting quality of life, economic growth, and choices open to citizens to improve well-being. We view ASER as a powerful vehicle for remedying this situation by holding the education system to account for its performance.

There are multiple stakeholders regionally and internationally tracking Pakistan's record on quality, reading and numeracy, access, equity, and the millennium development goals (MDGs). As conversations and actions become intense nationally on Right to Education Article 25A, globally on the 2015 milestones of EFA and MDGs as well as the post 2015 development agenda, the ASER data is a rich evidence based resource.

We remain committed to Pakistan's roadmap to education improvement and transformation and hope that ASER will continue to support the system wide reform process underway in each province. Nationwide data is benchmarked for each successive year to creatively seek solutions for improving nationwide reading and numeracy capabilities of children helping them transit from pre –primary to primary to post primary levels as promised under 25A for 5-16 year olds.

We look forward to the ASER 2013 raw data being available nationwide and worldwide for researchers to generate nuanced evidence on what makes 'learning' happen and improve it across households, language and school level variables.

دبي العطاء
Dubai Cares

IDARA-E-TALEEM-O-AAGAHI

Notes on ASER 2013

Judicial Activism for Right to Education - Article 25-A; Excerpts from November 22, 2013, Supreme Court of Pakistan's Order

Court Order/Judgement on RTE and Miserable Condition of The schools – issues on November 22, 2013

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF PAKISTAN
(Original Jurisdiction)

PRESENT:

MR. JUSTICE IFTIKHAR MUHAMMAD CHAUDHRY, C.J
MR. JUSTICE IJAZ AHMED CHAUDHRY
MR. JUSTICE GULZAR AHMED

CONSTITUTION PETITION NO. 37 OF 2012
(Petition Regarding Miserable Condition of the Schools)

Date of hearing: 12.06.2013
For the Applicants
Mr. Nazir Ahmed Bhutta, ASC *(in CMA 1386/ 13)*
Nemo *(in CMA 300/13)*
Mr. Saleem Tariq Lone *(in CMA 11/13)*
Mr. Zulfiqar Hussain Noon *(in CMA 14/13)*

ORDER
IFTIKHAR MUHAMMAD CHAUDHRY

174. Now after devolution of the subject of education to the Provinces, it is obligatory on the Provincial Governments to ensure that the children of respective areas receive education as a Fundamental Right at all tiers of the education system; and it will only be possible if all the Provincial Governments as well as the Federal Government to assign top most priority to the subject of education because by imparting good education to our children we can make progress and ensure prosperity of the country; but unfortunately, as so far it has been noticed during hearing and after getting conducted survey through judicial officers, there is no occasion to express satisfaction on the education system in all the Provinces as well as ICT. One understand that at certain levels, measures have been or are being taken to improve educational system by ensuring regular functioning of the schools.

However, in our view, to achieve the goal of compulsory and free education for the children of the age of 5 to 16 years in view of Article 25A of the Constitution, following measures are required to be taken: -

(a) **Accreditation Boards in all Provinces and ICT be established under law with an authority, *inter alia*, to improve current miserable conditions of the institutions and also to ensure removal of ghost schools immediately** with penal action against responsible persons who had been receiving salaries and other perks without performing their duties;

(b) The Accreditation Boards shall be responsible to continue to strive for achieving the objects and purposes for which they have been established. The recommendations of the Board shall be liable to be implemented forthwith by the competent authority so that the improvement in the conditions of the schools is made visible;

© The Accreditation Boards may also consider to approach the respective Governments with the plea that the teachers be allowed to perform their task of imparting education, which is their basic assignment and respective institutions may make alternate arrangement of manpower from other departments to achieve the objects for which the teachers are always engaged and involved because on account of their authorized absenteeism the task of teaching the students has been suffering badly, which is an issue of national importance adversely affecting the future prosperity of Pakistan

(d) The Provincial Governments shall be bound to enforce Fundamental Rights enshrined in Articles 9 and 25A of the Constitution as in some of the Provinces legislation has already been made to enforce Article 25A, therefore, same may be acted upon strictly;

(e) The Provincial Governments and ICT must enhance budgetary allocations for improvement of the education system and also provide mechanism to ensure presence of students at the primary, middle and high schools levels;

(f) The Provincial Governments through the concerned authorities must ensure recovery of the possession of the schools buildings, which have been illegally occupied by influential persons and if there is any litigation pending, the Registrars of the respective High Courts shall ensure the decision of the cases expeditiously; and

(g) Similarly, cases pending before the High Courts and Supreme Court concerning the schools properties shall also be disposed of expeditiously.

CHIEF JUSTICE- JUDGE JUDGE
ANNOUNCED IN OPEN COURT ON 22.11.2013 AT ISLAMABAD
CHIEF JUSTICE APPROVED FOR REPORTING

Pg No: 1, 98-100.
Available at: http://rtepakistan.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/const.p.37_2012_final.pdf

Pg No: 1, 98-100. Available at: http://rtepakistan.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/const.p.37_2012_final.pdf

ASER and Right to Education - Tracking Provisions for Fundamental Rights and Social Justice

Baela Raza Jamil
Institute for Professional Learning (IPL)
South Asian Forum for Education Development (SAFED)
Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aagahi (ITA)

ASER 2013 is a citizens' compendium for tracking our journey towards the Right to Education (RTE) as contained in Article 25 A and its provincial and area enactments. The acts are in place for the Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT) and Sindh; the draft rules are being developed for ICT whilst in Sindh these are yet to be discussed. Balochistan Compulsory and Free Education Ordinance 2013 was notified on March 15th, 2013, with the Governor's assent but without the Assembly in session. Its validity is yet to be established; the provinces of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab have yet to enact the legislation. The progress on implementation of 25 A is slow since it was added to the Constitution in April 2010 under the 18th Amendment. To remind ourselves the Article 25-A states "The State shall provide free and compulsory education to All children of the age of five to sixteen years in such a manner as may be determined by law".

This is a tall order; it means that the age defined includes pre- primary to grade 11 or higher secondary education. For a country that is still struggling with GER Early Childhood Education (91%), NER Primary (6-10) at 68%, NER Middle(11-13) at (38%) and NER Secondary(14-15) at 25% (PSLMs 2011-12) and with a GDP allocation hovering around 2%, RTE is still an elusive goal. The SindhRight to Education Free and Compulsory Education Act 2013 provides for education beyond 16 years of age in order to ensure, "that a child so admitted to secondary education shall be entitled to free education till the completion of secondary education even after sixteen years". The constitutional provision of Article 25 A is our best hedge to ensure that this takes place and for citizens to claim that right with evidence drawn from reports such as ASER: (www.asperpakistan.org) that is well aligned to the age group focused on learning and also from the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (PBS) household survey viz., Pakistan Social Living Standards Measurement (PLSM) survey (www.pbs.gov.pk) undertaken annually.

Legislation	Characteristics	Status
THE SINDH RIGHT OF CHILDREN TO FREE AND COMPLUSORY EDUCATION ACT, 2013 Enacted March 6th, 2013	30 Articles divided in 8 chapters	Not implemented Education Advisory Council not notified
RIGHT TO FREE AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION ACT, 2012 EXTENDED TO ISLAMABAD CAPITAL TERRITORY Enacted on December 19th, 2012	29 Articles	Partial Implementation in Govt. Schools and Rules being finalized Education Advisory Council not notified

The ASER 2013 findings track several dimensions of the RTE Acts for ICT and Sindh. Both legislations have many common features as the former was enacted prior to Sindh. Some of the findings are presented below aligned to RTE provisions.

Chapter III Articles 7.4 in the Sindh Act and Article 3.3 in ICT Act both have the following all embracing provisions

<u>It is obligation of the Government to</u>

a) Provide free education to every child;
b) Ensure compulsory admission and attendance to complete school education;
c) Ensure that the disadvantaged child is not discriminated against and prevented from, on any grounds whatsoever for pursuing and completing education;
d) Provide infrastructure including standard school building, playgrounds, and laboratories, teaching learning material and teaching staff;
e) Monitor functioning of schools within its jurisdiction;
f) Decide the academic calendar;
g) Provide all training facilities for teachers and students;
h) Ensure good quality education confirming to the prescribed standard and norms;
i) Ensure timely prescribing of curriculum and courses of studies for education;
j) Ensure enabling learning environment for better teaching learning in schools.

(www.rtepakistan.org)

RTE ICT 2012 & Sindh 2013	RTE Tracked under ASER 2013
Number of Surveyed Locations and Schools	
RTE extends to ALL children of Pakistan 5-16 years of age	ASER Rural : Villages surveyed = 4112 Govt. Schools found = 3959 Private schools = 1694 In Balochistan 839 villages surveyed but only 724 with govt. schools (115 villages without govt. schools)
OOSC (Out of school children)5-16 years of Age	
Article: 3. Right of Child to free education Every child of the age of five to sixteen years regardless of sex and race shall have a fundamental right to free and compulsory education in neighborhood school till completion of secondary education; "Child in both acts means a child including a child with special education needs, male or female of the age five to sixteen year of age" Article: 4.S pecial Provision for education where a child has not been admitted in any school or though admitted could not complete his education, then he shall be admitted in an appropriate class in a formal or non-formal school.	21% children 6-16 out of school, a 2% improvement from 2012 when it was recorded as 23% children 6-16 out of school. For 5 year old children the comparable data is 33% out of school and 67% enrolled, an improvement of 5% from previous year 2012 when 38% 5 year olds were not in any school. ASER 2013 reveals enrollment by grade, whilst 16% of the total enrolled are in grade 1, 15% by grade 2 and only 4% of the total enrolled are in grade 10- an unstable declining trend from primary to post primary levels ASER 2013 has not tracked disability
Pre Schooling	
Article: 9. Appropriate government to provide pre-schooling education. The appropriate government may make necessary arrangements for providing free pre-school education and early childhood care for the children above the age of three years until they join the school for education.	59% children not attending any school in early years schooling (Pre-Schooling) Overall 3-5 year old enrolment (41%) has improved by 3% as compare to 2012 For 5 years old age enrolment (67%) has improved by 5% as compared to 2012
Quality – Learning	
Under Articles 6 and 4 in respectively there are many provisions on quality as an obligation of the Government and similarly under - Article: 18. Duties of Teachers (1). A teacher shall perform the following duties , namely:- (c) assess the learning abilities of every child and supplement additional instructions, if any is required; (d) all round development of child (e) Building up child's knowledge. potentiality and talent; (f) adopt learning through activities , discovery and exploration in a child friendly and child – centered manner;	ASER's core task is tracking children's learning for Urdu/Mother tongue; English and Arithmetic up tograde 2 level competencies for 5-16 year olds. In fact it tracks minimum learning levels. **ASER 2013 National results** Urdu/Sindhi Pashto : Overall 51% children in class 5 will graduate without class 2 level competencies in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto, English : 57% of class 5 children could not read sentences (class 2 level) Arithmetic. 57% class 5 children cannot do two-digit division. Learning levels remain poor and have deteriorated as compared to 2012.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Qualified Teacher</th></tr>
<tr><td>Article: 17. Terms and conditions of service of teachers. (1) No person shall be appointed as a teacher unless he possesses the prescribed qualifications.</td><td>Qualifications in ASER 2013 have been recorded for a) General Qualifications and b) Professional Qualifications for public and private schools
For B.A/B.SC and post graduate M.A/M.S.C levels in public and private school the ASER 2013 findings are:
General: B.A/B.SC M.A/MSC
Public 34 % 37%
Private 39% 25%.
For B.Ed and M.Ed the ASER 2013 findings are:
Professional: B.Ed M.Ed
Public 40% 17%
Private 46% 11%
Some positive trends can be seen for public sector teachers: 17 % of Government teachers possess M.Ed as compared to 11% private schools.
But to what extentresume effects have an impact on learning outcomes?</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2">Attendance Teachers & Students</th></tr>
<tr><td>Article 18 (1) Sindh and ICT: A teacher shall perform the following duties, namely:-
(a) maintain regularity and punctuality in attending the school;</td><td>Government Private
Teachers 87% 93%
Students 85% 89%</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2">Facilities in Schools</th></tr>
<tr><td>Article: 3.3 (g) ICT
Article 7.4 (d) Sindh
Provide infrastructure including school building playgrounds laboratories, teaching learning materials and teaching staff
(h/e) monitor functioning of schools within their jurisdiction.</td><td>Government Primary Schools Did not Have:
Working Toilets: 53% Drinking Water: 36%
Boundary Walls: 43% Playground: 72%
Computer Labs: 100% Libraries: 92%
From 2012 there is an overall decline in missing facilities.
Private Primary Schools.
Working Toilets: 24% Drinking Water: 17%
Boundary Walls: 28% Playground: 66%
Computer Labs: 100% Libraries: 81%
Although government schools are receiving better financial grants than private.</td></tr>
</table>

The tracking above shows the capability of the ASER tool to track RTE provisions with simplicity on core dimensions. This tracking must be accessible for ALL citizens, politicians and government alike to follow and take action if the citizens seek to assert their rights and claims through evidence. The constitution provides for key articles 9 (Security of Person-no person shall be deprived of life or liberty) 19 A (right to information) and 25 A (right to education) as the bare minimum for each citizen to claim their status and rights.

In 2014 ASER Pakistan will take bolder steps to track other areas of RTE legislation putting pressure, on the one hand, on governments to be accountable for ensuring compliance to the constitution and rights of citizens, and, on the other hand building an evidence based platform for citizens groups to demand quality education for ALL children aged 5-16.

The annual exercise as its name suggests in Urdu “Impact” must inform through innovative data literacy sessions for the judiciary, departments of education, planning and finance, teachers and citizens groups. It is also hoped that taking inspiration from the 100 page report of the former Chief Justice of Pakistan on the miserable state of public sector schools and Ghost Schools (Supreme Court 2013), ASER Pakistan will help generate substantive evidence to be used for proactive judgments, thus supporting the claims and rights of citizens for social justice at all levels of the judicial system; the civil, high and supreme courts of Pakistan.

The Big Divide? The Rural-Urban Story

ASER Team

While rural areas still house a large majority (about two-thirds) of the total population in Pakistan, the share of urban population has been progressively increasing over the past few decades. This is largely due to a structural transformation of the economy. Arguably, Pakistan today is increasingly an urban country. According to the latest Economic Survey, Pakistan was almost 38% urban in 2013, with projections of this proportion increasing to as much as 50% by 2030. Out of the total population of 184 million individuals, a significant proportion i.e. 70 million reside in urban areas and play a key role in the country's economic development.

Given the nature of this change, it is important to examine the status of infrastructure and services such as education and health facilities in both rural and urban areas in a bid to determine the extent to which they meet the needs of a growing and changing population. Amongst all services, education has always been considered central for swift and substantial progress. The future of a state rests upon the type of education provided to its citizens on the grounds of its holding a direct correlation with economic progress and social evolution.

ASER, the largest citizen-led household based survey has been providing reliable estimates on key indicators of education since 2010. ASER district/provincial level results are a good source for all provinces/districts to overview weak areas where serious and comprehensive efforts are required. The data has been endorsed by the Planning Commission of Pakistan (posted on its website) and has also been incorporated in the Economic Survey of Pakistan (2010-2011 & 2011-12).

Till date, four rounds of ASER have been completed. A unique feature of this exercise has been an attempt to include in the sample not only the rural districts of Pakistan but also a few urban centres. This has been done with the view to take into account the significant proportion of individuals that reside in urban regions as well as in view of the trend of increased urbanisation in the country. ASER has successively expanded from 84 districts in 2011 with initial sampling of 3 urban centres to 136 rural districts and 6 urban centers in 2012. This year, the survey was conducted across Pakistan (138 rural and 13 urban centers), the highest number of urban and rural areas surveyed representing a nationwide baseline. Detailed information was collected on 263,990[1] children (3-5 years old) from both urban and rural areas, out of which 14,158 were from urban centers[2]. Some interesting contrasts can be drawn from these data. A few major differences/similarities across the rural-urban regions are highlighted below. These findings must be taken with a pinch of salt and we recognise that the differences are only comparisons across limited urban regions and are not representative of all urban locales in the country. However, the fact that urban-level data to this extent are available for the first time allows us to paint a unique picture of the rural-urban divide, if only across a limited sample.

Not as many children in urban areas are out of school as compared to rural areas.

The results indicated the problem of out of school children to be more prevalent in rural areas as compared to urban districts. Amongst the children in our sample, larger proportion in rural areas (21%) was found to be out of school whereas only 8% out of school children were found in urban areas.

The Government school system continues to be the dominant source of education provision in rural districts as compared to urban areas.

Seventy-four percent of children in rural districts were enrolled in government schools as compared to only 41% in urban samples. In urban districts, the proportion of children enrolled in private and non-state institutions was significantly higher (59%) than the percentage of children enrolled in government school. The private sector appears to be emerging as a key player in urban areas.

There is a significant difference in the English learning levels of children residing in rural and urban areas of Pakistan.

Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto reading and numeracy skills of children throughout rural and urban Pakistan are low and not significantly different across the regions. This finding appears to hint at a very poor quality of education being imparted across the board in Pakistan. However, a significant difference can be seen in the learning competencies of children in rural and urban areas when it comes to English. A higher percentage (28%) of children in urban areas can read class 2 level sentences as compared to children in rural areas (15%). ASER gives direction to the

[1] 230,370 children of age group 5-16 were tested for language and arithmetic competencies overall (both rural and urban) i.e. 217,862 from rural and 12,508 from urban cities.

[2] ASER 2013 survey was conducted in 13 urban districts of Pakistan i.e. Karachi South, Karachi East, Karachi Central, Karachi Malir, Karachi West, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Lahore, Multan, Rahim Yar Khan, Faisalabad, Quetta and Peshawar. This covered 5,372 households in 270 blocks overall.

education departments of both the regions to take action accordingly.

Children enrolled in private schools are performing reasonably better than children enrolled in government schools throughout Pakistan.

Children enrolled in government schools across rural and urban areas of Pakistan are lagging behind in literacy and numeracy skills in comparison to children enrolled in private schools. However, as the private school advantage is being calculated relative to an incredibly low achievement level (government schools), in reality, this advantage does not necessarily amount to much.

Learning levels of out-of-school children in urban areas of Pakistan are far better than out-of-school children in rural areas.

ASER 2013 results have shown that never enrolled and dropped out children residing in urban areas are performing somewhat better when compared to the out-of-school children of rural areas. While less than 10% children are at the highest learning levels in rural areas, more than 20% of urban out-of-school children are achieving highest level competencies in language and arithmetic. One potential explanation for this finding is that the day-to-day interactions of urban out-of-school children are different from those of rural children. Potentials for learning through externalities (perhaps by engaging in employment activities such as street trade) are higher among urban children as compared to their rural counterparts.

Education levels of the mothers of the children surveyed in urban areas are twice as high as the education level of the mothers of the children surveyed in rural areas of Pakistan.

Sixty percent mothers of the sampled urban children have completed at least primary education whereas only 24% of the mothers of the sampled rural children have completed primary level education. This could be indicative of a selection effect: more educated individuals (hence mothers) choose to reside in urban localities (or choose to migrate to these regions) as compared to less educated ones.

Paid private tuition is an urbanized concept recently engulfing the rural population as well. However, it remains more dominant in urban areas.

Seventy-one percent of children in urban areas are taking paid private tuition in comparison to 30% in rural areas. The trend of private tuition, recently highlighted as shadow education, is on the rise throughout Pakistan (as proven by ASER results over the years). The incidence of private tuition remains higher in children enrolled in private schools as compared to children enrolled in government schools (rural and urban).

Multi-grade teaching is a dominant phenomenon in rural government schools as compared to urban government schools.

Rural and urban comparison of ASER reveals the astonishing reality that 48% of the rural government schools in our sample have class 2 sitting with other classes whereas only 22% urban government schools had class 2 children sitting with other classes. This highlights the need for availability of trained teachers in far flung rural areas of Pakistan.

The Provision of facilities (such as working toilet, water, boundary walls, playgrounds etc) in government schools is somewhat better in urban than rural areas

For example, only 31% of the surveyed government primary schools in urban districts did not have functional toilets as compared to 53% of the surveyed government primary schools in rural districts. Also, 45% of the surveyed government primary schools in urban districts had playgrounds as compared to 28% of the surveyed government primary school in rural districts.

The current comparison using ASER 2013 data has clearly illustrated some key differences across rural and urban samples. Some of these differences are quite stark - more children continue to be out of school in rural areas and the incidence of taking private tuition is strikingly higher in urban as compared to rural regions. However, some thought provoking (and arguably unexpected) similarities are also observed among the two sampled regions. The learning levels across a range of competencies are found to be similar across rural and urban areas, a finding that hints at the across-the-board poor level of schooling that is being imparted in the country. Improving indicators of education in urban and rural areas requires a holistic approach, covering the entire socioeconomic spectrum, which involves not only the local governments but also the provincial and federal governments A challenge, therefore, is to enhance the institutional interfaces, coordination and cooperation for integrated development activities, particularly in metropolitan areas and megacities, where there is extensive involvement of federal and provincial government agencies.

Analyzing Inter-Provincial Differences in Schooling Quality

Dr. Faisal Bari, Bisma Khan and Neelum Maqsood
Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives (IDEAS)

There is an on-going debate about the low learning levels in Pakistan's public schools. National level surveys and statistics paint a dreary picture of the educational outcomes of government–run schools in the country. The ASER 2013 report indicates that in rural areas of Pakistan, only 29% of class 1 children can recognize numbers (10-99) and only 22% of them can read small letters (English). Such national statistics, however, mask underlying differences across provinces. For instance, the ASER 2013 report shows that in the Punjab around 25% of class 1 children can read small letters (English) whereas in Sindh, a mere 8% of the children in the same class can read small letters (English). These stark differences across provinces in learning outcomes are a cause for concern. It is especially disconcerting given, in the aftermath of the 18th Amendment, the devolution of education related policy making to the provinces. It implies flawed policies in some provinces and a need for reform and learning from example across provinces. Why is Punjab taking the leading terms of educational outcomes? Is it due to a greater investment in the education sector, better quality teachers or some other factor? The provincial level data on educational resources available from the ASER survey can help us explore these issues.

One of the foremost reasons cited in the literature for weak learning outcomes is the lack of quality teachers. The broad consensus suggests that teacher competencies, pedagogical content knowledge and qualifications have a significant impact on student learning outcomes (Aslam and Kingdon 2011). In the literature 'teacher quality' is defined in terms of measurable characteristics such as academic qualifications, experience and training. Table1 below gives the ASER (2013) figures on teacher educational qualifications across the provinces in government schools. As the table shows, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) has the highest proportion of Master degree holders and Balochistan has the lowest proportion of such teachers. Punjab and Sindh have a fairly similar distribution of teachers across qualifications. These statistics indicate that teacher qualifications do not have a strong bearing on student performance as despite KPK and Sindh being not that far behind Punjab in terms of teacher qualifications the learning outcomes in these province s lag behind those of Punjab. Teacher professional qualifications, however, tell a different story. There seems to be a positive relation between professional qualification and educational outcomes –Punjab, the province with the highest learning levels, has the greatest proportion of both B-Ed and M-Ed teachers. One caveat here is that these figures do not show the quality of the institutes attended by the teachers. It could be that a teacher with a Master's degree in Punjab has better content knowledge than a Master's degree holder from Balochistan. The same applies for professional qualifications. Thus these figures alone cannot be used to make any definite conjecture about the differing quality of teachers across provinces.

Table 1: Teacher Qualifications
(% teachers: Government Schools)

Qualification				Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
Matriculation	13.4	4.0	18.3	6.8
FA	11.7	13.5	29.5	13.3
BA	30.7	44.0	33.6	27.4
MA or Above	43.8	36.4	17.6	50.1
Other	0.4	2.2	1.0	2.4

Table 2: Teacher Professional Qualifications
(% teachers: Government Schools)

Qualification	Punjab	Sindh	Balochistan	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
PTC	21.4	33.1	42.2	19.2
CT	11.1	3.5	16.9	19.9
B.Ed	42.4	37.8	27.4	35.1
M.Ed or Above	22.1	22.1	11.0	17.2
Other	3.1	3.5	2.5	8.6

Apart from teacher quality, school level factors such as class-size and school infrastructure, also have a bearing on academic performance. Large class-sizes and high student-to-teacher ratios (STRs) may result in poor learning outcomes as the students fail to receive adequate attention from their teachers. Multi-grade teaching, which involves multiple grades being taught together in the same classroom, may also result from high STRs. Multi-grade teaching in its self may not have adverse effects on student learning if it is planned and the curriculum is designed accordingly. However, in Pakistan most multi-grade teaching is unplanned and teachers are ill-prepared to handle such circumstances. The high rate of multi-grade teaching may result from low access to schools and high STRs. In Balochistan particularly the schools are very sparsely distributed and, as mentioned above, lack quality teachers. Students from different

grades are bundled together in single classrooms. This phenomenon is less prevalent in Punjab, where primary schools are more densely spread with every village having at least one primary school. A look at the data shows that multi-grade teaching is most prevalent in primary schools in the rural areas of Sindh (70%) and Balochistan (62%). These two regions also witness the worst student performance.

Schooling facilities also influence learning – if the environment is not conducive to learning then this will be reflected in student performance. The most important factor in this regard is schools having basic infrastructure such as boundary walls, access to clean drinking water and sanitation. The Punjab is far ahead of the rest of the country in this regard with 80% of rural government primary schools in Punjab having a boundary wall, 86% having a toilet and 95% having access to clean water. The other province do far worse - for instance, in Balochistan only 29% of all rural government primary schools have access to clean drinking water and a mere 17% have proper toilet facilities. This reflects a lack of investment in school infrastructure in these areas and failure to fully equip schools with much needed facilities.

We have seen that Punjab out performs other regions in teacher and school level characteristics. However, household characteristics such as parental education are also important determinants of students' educational outcomes. Punjab does better in this regard as well with 37% of mothers and 61% of fathers having attained education at-least up till the primary level. KPK comes second to Punjab having 22% of mothers and 54% of fathers with at least primary education. Sindh and Balochistan are the worst off with 14% and 11% of mothers and 43% and 23% of fathers having at least primary level of education respectively. Although a causal link cannot be established using these descriptive statistics, it is evident that there is as strong positive correlation between student learning levels and parental education.

We have seen that in almost all aspects the Punjab has an advantage over the other provinces. Under the 18th amendment, the responsibility to design policies for education has been devolved to the provincial government. Each province follows a broader national vision on education but works out the details on its own. However, such an arrangement is limiting for a province such as Balochistan that is constrained by its lower economic growth that hinders effective resource mobilization. For example, in 2011-12 a financial sum of Rs. 20 billion was set aside by the provincial government of Balochistan but that was considered insufficient to achieve the goal of article 25 A that makes education compulsory for ages 5-16. Punjab, on the other hand, has higher economic growth and it is not surprising that the learning levels in the Punjab are much higher than in the rest of Pakistan. This advantage in schooling infrastructure, resources and teacher quality results from both the financial advantage and the educational policy adopted in the Punjab. Punjab follows the principles of the National Education Policy 2009 that was designed with all provinces on board. One of the tenets of NEP is that the provision for girls' school be expanded. However, the provinces that are already constrained by finances have been unable to devise a workable formula to reduce discrepancies in education provision for the two genders. Punjab Government has taken initiative to reduce the gender gap in the provision of education and introduced the Women Empowerment Package in 2012, as part of which 60% of the funds out of Punjab Education Sector Reforms Program (PESRP) have been earmarked for improving facilities in girls' schools. Such aggressive policy changes have not been introduced in other provinces which have resulted in the persisting gender gap. The remaining provinces also lag behind in following other main mandates of the NEP: NEP gives provision for the less developed regions to accept diploma in education as the required qualification in place of B.Ed. for recruiting teachers. Balochistan has not yet followed the policy of raising the qualification level of teachers to graduation plus B.Ed. as it was envisaged in National Education Policy 2009. Poor quality of PTC and CT is blamed for the poor teaching quality in Balochistan. Some inter-provincial differences also arise from the geographic terrain and the distribution of schools in the province. In Balochistan for example the large distances between the residential places of teachers and the schools which account for the high absenteeism of teachers and students alike.

The disparity in educational indicators across the four provinces hints at the presence of key differences in the policy set and the financial resources available. A more rigorous analysis is needed to establish the causal link between provincial policies, resources and other characteristics and learning outcomes. National level statistics often mask provincial level disparities – for instance, high learning outcomes in the Punjab may lead to high national averages despite the low outcomes evidenced in provinces like Balochistan. Focus, hence, needs to be shifted from the national to the provincial level and inter-provincial learning gaps need to be reduced in order to achieve the MDG 2015 and EFA goals at the national level.

ASER 2013: Calling our teachers to account!

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A teacher is a critical, some would argue the most focal, input in a child's educational experience. A motivating teacher can inspire, encourage and stimulate a child by transforming even the most insipid and lifeless subjects into magical texts. History is full of examples where individuals who have gone on to achieve great things and changed the course of history itself attribute their success to a motivational teacher. It should logically follow, therefore, that a dull and uninspiring teacher has the potential to also dangerously alter the course of a child's life.

Academics, researchers and policy-makers alike also recognise the importance of teachers in meeting more policy-oriented goals. Teachers are deemed crucial in meeting the demands of universal education for all children and, increasingly, it is acknowledged that improving teacher effectiveness is one of the most crucial elements in ensuring that this education is of a sufficiently high quality. Research evidence to date also confirms that teachers are the most important institutional factor in determining student outcomes. The improvement of teacher quality is not only necessary to ensure better student outcomes but is also important in acquiring consequent gains in student learning that have the potential to translate into massive economic gains that will benefit the country as a whole. Consider the following example: in a recent research paper, a prominent Education Economist from the US, Eric A. Hanushek, places a significant monetary value to the improvement of teaching quality in the US (Hanushek, 2011). In his estimate, the author argues that a teacher who is one standard deviation above the mean in effectiveness would generate annual marginal gains of $400,000 in terms of present value of future student earnings and potentially more when other conditions change. In this research he also suggests that if the bottom 5- 8 percent of teachers in the US were replaced with 'average' teachers, this could potentially improve US ranking in maths and science achievement to near the top in terms of international achievement rankings. The present value of this move is estimated to be worth around $100 trillion. Whilst these figures are representative of the US and not the developing world, they are indicative in providing a view of the significant potential benefits of teacher quality improvements in a country like Pakistan because the levels of teaching quality are potentially far lower to start off with as compared to the US.

What we do know about teacher quality in Pakistan paints a grim picture. Whilst Pakistan has made positive strides in relation to quantity of education achieved over the last few decades, education indicators in Pakistan regarding both quantity but particularly the quality of education have highlighted some key remaining concerns. Participation rates (particularly at higher education level), resourcing (particularly the lack of trained teachers) and academic results are comparatively low in relation to other countries within the region as well as internationally. These concerns with the quality of education in Pakistan have been attributed to the low quality of teaching within the country. Some authors perceive teaching at primary level as the last choice of government service in Pakistan and put forward the argument that therefore average and below average candidates tend to seek to join the teaching profession. In addition to this, it is also well known that recruitment and transfer/deployment is driven more by political economy than real merit. Low levels of teacher subject matter knowledge are also widely reported and this has been coupled with indications of dwindling levels of motivation linked to the low social status of the profession, lack of a structured promotions mechanism and poor working conditions.

Research in rural schools in Pakistan by Behrman et al. that looked at which schooling inputs are important for student outcomes found that increasing exposure to teachers and improving teacher quality are both likely to have higher returns than those investments that improve physical infrastructure and equipment. In addition to this if teachers are differentially effective then the teachers to whom a child is exposed can really matter to a child's educational attainment and can end up countering or reinforcing social and family influences and, in some cases, further increase inequity in educational opportunity for many children.

However, measuring teacher quality is a complex task because of the wide array of competencies and skills that teachers require. It depends on many observable as well as unobservable characteristics as well as intangible factors such as classroom interactions and motivation. Teacher quality in the very narrow sense has been defined by Eide et al. as the ability of a teacher to produce growth in their students' achievement. However, it is universally recognised that teacher quality is far wider than this and

must include an evaluation of their ability to improve a much wider array of student outcomes of an intellectual, social, physical and emotional nature and not just simply test scores. Teacher quality encompasses a range of competencies and skills. As already indicated, policy makers have tended to focus on improving the most measurable indicators of what is believed to encompass teacher quality. These include academic qualifications, years of training and experience. This is despite the fact that formal qualifications and measureable resumé characteristics of teachers (experience, degrees held, certification etc.) seldom predict effectiveness in raising student achievement. This is not to say that observable 'resume' characteristics are not important from an educational policy-making perspective. Academic qualifications for instance are thought to proxy for teacher ability. Trained teachers are believed to behave differently in classroom settings than untrained teachers. Thus, while these resume characteristics alone do not make an effective teacher, it is also evident that someone possessing six years or less of schooling or not having any formal training may not be prepared to teach primary school students. Highly acclaimed education systems of the world such as South Korea have been credited with attracting the best graduates into the profession and, whilst high academic records are not necessarily indicative of effective teaching, there is evidence that persistent entry of less intellectually capable people into the teaching force is likely to compromise the quality of teaching, with resultant negative implications for student outcomes. Setting minimum national qualifications and training requirements is therefore one way of differentiating between those who are certified to teach and those who are not. However, these measures are also almost entirely the only ones widely used by Ministries of Education and other bodies to recruit teachers and for their career progression.

ASER 2013 data provides a unique opportunity to identify the extent to which the 'observable' characteristics of teachers across rural and parts of urban Pakistan are meeting the 'minimum' qualification levels needed to make an effective teacher. Whilst it is impossible to draw any causal inferences from these simple descriptives, a quick glance at the data indicates that a significant majority of teachers are 'qualified' both in terms of their education levels as well as in terms of their professional training. Why then, do we not see a translation onto better student learning? As mentioned previously, teacher 'quality' encompasses a wide range of factors. One of those is clearly teacher 'effort'. This, in turn, depends crucially on the accountability and incentive structures faced by teachers. Teacher effort exerted while in school in many developing countries is at a pitiably low level, as measured by very high teacher absence rates. The problem therefore is not even one of low quality teaching but one of no teaching at all, for a significant part of the time (World Bank, 2004). Teacher absence has been linked with low student outcomes in a diverse group of countries. In some instances, it has been argued that improved accountability sanctions for punishment in the non-state sector create a more viable environment for higher teacher effort. This is said to be reflected in lower teacher absence rates in the private as opposed to the government sector. The ASER 2013 data measures teacher absence across the government and private sector and shows the same pattern. However, another major problem is that even when teachers are present in school, they are often not found engaged in teaching. Unfortunately, there is no statistical evidence of this in the ASER data. However, recent research from Pakistan indicates that teacher effectiveness may be related to more nuanced factors such as teaching processes and teacher attitudes (see Aslam and Kingdon 2010).

What then do we make of the picture so far? While there are obvious differences (by region, by province etc.), in 'teacher quality' as measured by qualifications and training levels, it seems that teachers in the country are reasonably well 'equipped' in terms of their educational and professional qualifications. And while they are absent, the absence levels are not so high so as to raise alarm bells. Why then do we see such poor learning levels among children in the country? Firstly, the fact that we have these descriptive pieces of evidence in no way establishes a causal relationship. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, numerous other factors come into play in determining the relationship between teacher quality and student learning. In particular, the ASER 2013 data (as well as data from previous years) quite clearly indicates substantial incidence of multi-grade teaching in rural schools across the country. Multi-grade teaching has become a common strategy to deal with issues of teacher shortages and absences particularly in remote rural areas in several developing countries. Many agree that when it is a pedagogical choice that is accompanied with teacher training and learning materials that support this style of teaching, multi-grade teaching can be as if not more effective as mono-grade teaching. However in many developing countries multi-grade teaching has arisen due to necessity and not choice and therefore is rarely accompanied by the teacher training and resources to make this an effective teaching methodology. It is clear from the ASER data that multi-grade teaching is a widely occurring practice in various parts of the country. At the national level, for instance, 48% (15%) of children studying in class 2 (class 8) in rural government schools were studying in a multi-grade setting. In private schools, on the other hand, while the incidence of multi-grade teaching was lower in class 2 (30%), it was significantly higher in class 8 (37%). The high incidence of multi-grade teaching in rural Pakistani schools provides one potential indication of why children's learning outcomes are so poor despite apparently qualified and trained teachers. The fact of the matter is that the practice of multi-grade settings is based on teacher absences and shortages (i.e. out of necessity) rather than based on the choice of how best to address children's learning needs. As a consequence, teachers are ill-equipped in terms of their training preparation for how to teach children of different ages and grades into one class.

Improving 'teacher quality' in Pakistan needs to be a multi-pronged approach. One thing, however, is clear. Given that improving teacher effectiveness is a policy amenable strategy, improving weak teaching may be the most effective means of raising school quality across the developing world (Glewwe and Kremer, 2006) and Pakistan is no exception.

Measuring Gender & Educational Inequality-Addressing the Marginalized

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Education in itself is a fundamental human right, a bedrock of development that contributes to all social, economic and environmental dimensions, leading to gains for generations to come. The dividends that result from investments in education are immeasurable. However, for these benefits to accrue, all girls and boys must have education opportunities both in and outside of school and should be acquiring meaningful learning that leads to mastery of skills.

Since 2000, the efforts to achieve the MDGs have yielded unprecedented progress in both the developed and the underdeveloped countries. While growth is noticeable, the sad reality is that the achievements have been uneven; constrained by trends in demography, urbanization, health, economic and shifting global realities. Gender inequalities and socioeconomic disparities persist especially amongst nomadic populations, geographically remote groups, and the socially and economically disadvantaged (EFA Agenda for South Asia, 2013). More than 57 million children continue to be denied their right to primary education due to the failure to reach the marginalized (EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2012). Failure to address the structural disparities linked to wealth, gender, ethnicity, language, disability and other markers of disadvantage is holding back progress towards Education for All and fuelling wider processes of social exclusion. Children and adolescents from the poorest households are at least three times more likely to be out of school than children from the richest households (MDG Report, 2013).

According to the analysis of household survey data carried out by The Global Initiative on Out-of-School Children, 23.8 million primary and 15.6 million secondary-age children are out of school in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka (UIS and UNICEF, 2010). The total number of out-of-school children in these countries is 39.4 million, out of which 53% are girls (UNESCO, 2010). Even in sub-Saharan Africa, over half of all out-of-school children, girls are more likely to be out of school than boys. Poor rural girls in particular face multiple disadvantages through gender discrimination and poverty which bar them from enrolling and lead to dropouts at greater rates than boys (The Global Compact on Learning: Policy Guide).

Where economic and gender disparities are preventing millions of girls and boys from even attending school, those who are attending often leave both primary and secondary levels without acquiring the basic knowledge, skills, and competencies. According to estimates in the 2012 EFA Global Monitoring Report: At least 250 million primary-school-age children around the world are not able to read, write or count well enough to meet minimum learning standards, including girls and boys who have spent at least four years in school. In Pakistan, large disparities in learning achievement exist and are heavily influenced by the type of school students attend and their family backgrounds. ASER (The Annual Status of Education Report) data reflects such inequalities very clearly. Shocking results from ASER Pakistan (2012,2013) have shown that the vast majority of pupils between 5-16 years old have not even achieved what is expected of a grade 2 student in language and mathematics. This is coupled with widespread social and gender disparities in educational outcomes reflected by creating an ASER wealth index with the help of household indicators tapped during the survey. Learning levels of children juxtaposed against the wealth status of households will provide a snapshot of the current status of learning inequalities and demonstrate how these have narrowed/widened in comparison to last year.

ASER WEALTH INDEX: FINDINGS

In order to determine differences in learning levels arising from inequalities, an ASER composite wealth index has been constructed by integrating the significant household indicators[1] mentioned in the survey form. These

[1] Household indicators used: Type of house (Type of house is a categorical variable with kutcha given the value 1, semi-pucca equals 2, and pucca equals 3), house owned (Dummy equaling 1 if the house is owned, 0 otherwise), electricity connection (Dummy equaling 1 if the house had electricity, visible wires and fittings, 0 otherwise), mobile (Dummy equaling 1 if anyone in the house has a mobile, 0 otherwise) and television (Dummy equaling 1 if the household has a television, 0 otherwise)

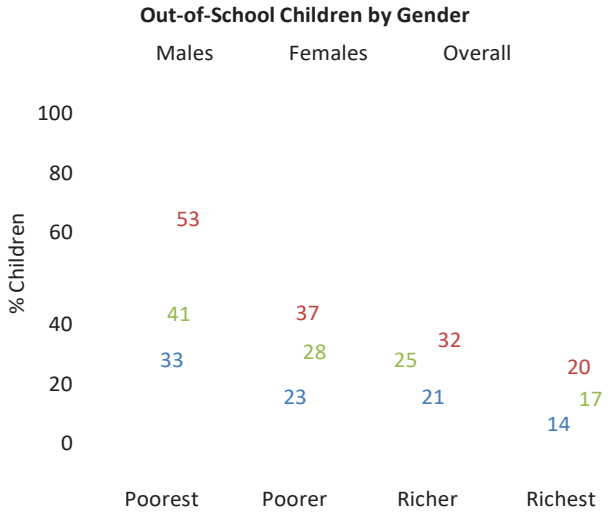
[2] It factorizes variables by creating a weighted combination of the input variables in the following manner e.g.

$F_1 = a_{11}X_1 + a_{12}X_2 + ...$

In order to select factors, eigen values from a principal component analysis are used and the factor coefficient scores are created. Further, the indicator values are multiplied by the coefficient scores and added to come up with the wealth index. The index is then divided into groups/quartiles to categorize the population according to their wealth status.

indicators measure the economic potential and achieved levels of income and wealth of a household. ASER wealth index has been developed by using principle component factor analysis procedure in the STATA software[2]. Using this methodology, ASER 2013 national data (**138 rural districts of Pakistan**) has been divided into 4 categories/quartiles (i.e. poorest, poorer, richer, and

richest) thereby representing the entire population of Pakistan in a socio-economic context.



percentage of out of school males are in the poorest quartile (33%) and the lowest percentage of out of school males are in the richest quartile (14%).

Given the disparities in enrollment and out-of-school children, ASER 2013 results further strengthens the stance that socio-economic factors are adversely affecting

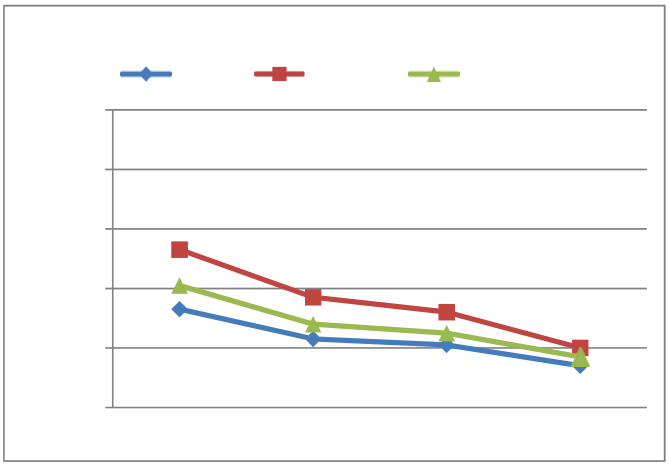
% Children

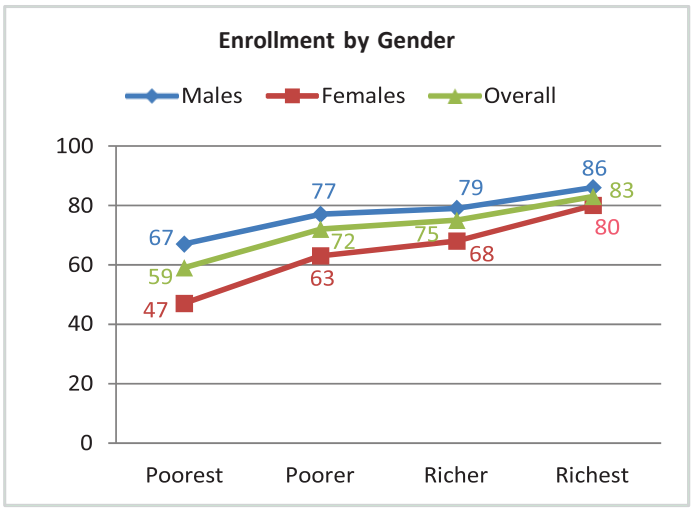
The results depicted by ASER Wealth Index (2012 and 2013) are no different. The results reveal that the richest quartile has the highest percentage of children enrolled (83%) whereas the poorest quartile has the lowest enrollment rate (59%). A strong correlation between wealth and enrollment is established as we move along the wealth index. Moreover, socio-economic background is also found to be influencing gender inequity. The males and females belonging to the poorest quartile are particularly disadvantaged as depicted by the lowest enrollment rates. The highest enrollment of males and females is again in the richest quartile (86% and 80% respectively). The most alarming trend is that of female's enrollment which not only decreases across all quartiles but also is lower than the enrollment rate of male population.

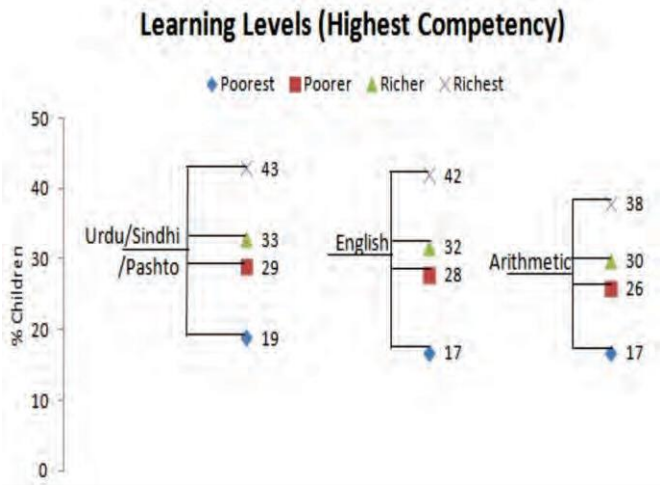
The findings also illustrate that children, particularly girls, from poor households face a much greater risk of being out of school. The percentage of out of school females is higher than the overall national rural results and is highest in the poorest quartile. Fifty-three percent females are out of school in the poorest quartile as compared to 20% females in the richest quartile. A lower percentage of males are out of school when compared to females but they also follow the same pattern i.e. the highest

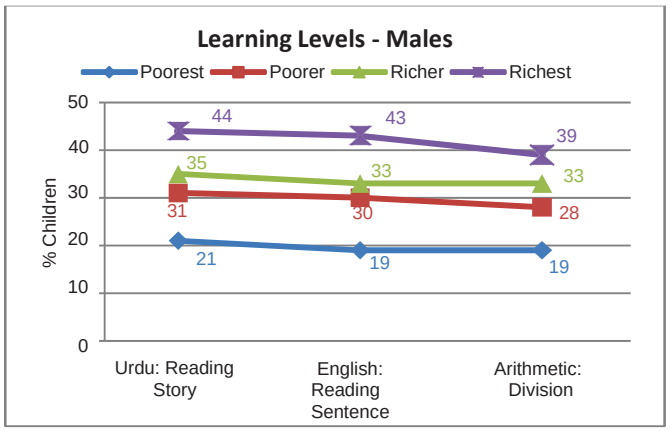
the learning levels of children in Pakistan. The graph clearly indicates that the learning levels of children are directly related to their wealth status. Children falling in the 'richest' quartile have the highest learning levels in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto, English, and Arithmetic whereas the children in the poorest quartile have the lowest learning levels. It can also be seen that the gap between the 'richest' and the 'poorest' quartile appears to be increasing whereas the gap between the 'poorer' and the 'richer' quartile is decreasing (when compared to the last year's results); thereby, leading to be divide between the rich and the poor.

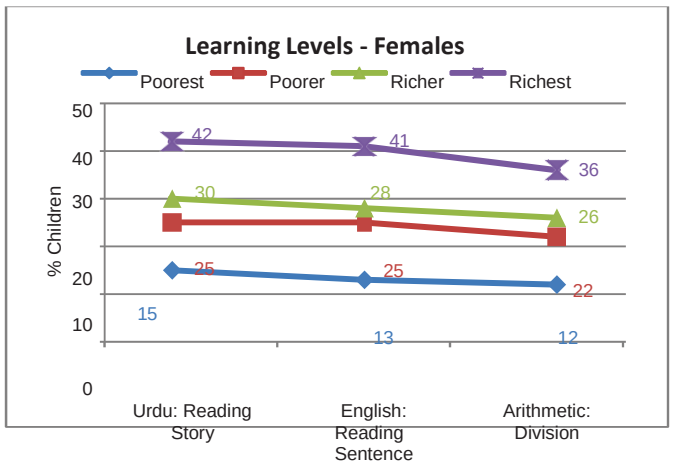
Following the overall national trends, a gender-wise analysis was also conducted in order to determine the differences in learning levels of males and females. Males




Enrollment by Gender
Males
Females
Overall
100
80
60
40
20
0
67
77
79
86
59
72
75
83
47
63
68
80
Poorest
Poorer
Richer
Richest


Learning Levels (Highest Competency)
Poorest
Poorer
Richer
Richest
% Children
50
40
30
20
10
0
Urdu/Sindhi /Pashto
43
33
29
19
English
42
32
28
17
Arithmetic
38
30
26
17



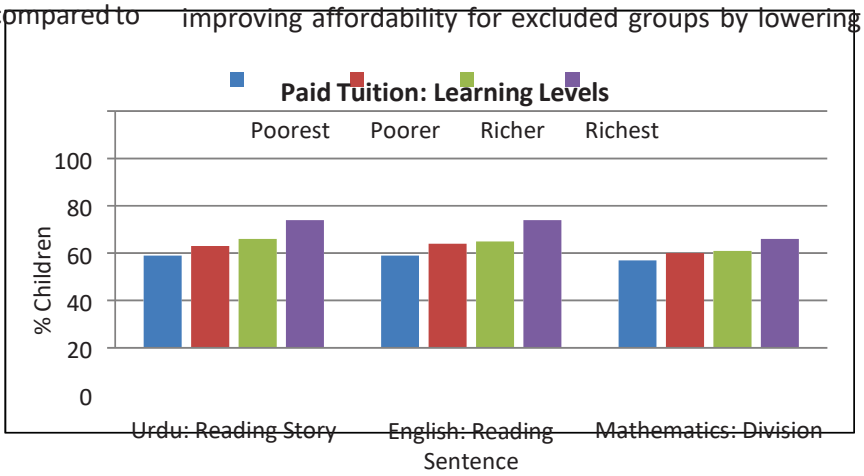


and females falling in the richest income group are better able to perform the language and numeracy tasks than children falling in low income groups. However, the learning levels of the females are lower when compared to the learning levels of males across all quartiles in both language and arithmetic competencies. Fifteen percent of the poorest females can read a story in Urdu/Sindhi/ Pashto as compared to 21% poorest males. Similarly, 12% poorest females can do two-digit division sums and 13% can read sentences in English whereas 19% of the poorest males can read sentences in English and do two-digit division sums.

Similarly, 42% of the richest females can read a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto, 41% can read sentences in English and 36% can do two-digit division sums whereas 44% richest males can read a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto, 43% can read sentences in English and 39% can do two-digit division sums.

Incidence of paid tuition was another factor that was investigated to assess whether it is strongly associated with learning achievement and also positively affected by wealth status. The findings show that a higher percentage of children (94%) belonging to the richer income group are taking tuition as compare to the children belonging to the poorest income group (43%). The households with better wealth status are able to spend significantly more on their children's education, improving their opportunities for better quality schooling as reflected by the variations in learning levels. The learning level of richest children taking paid tuition are far better (54%) when compared to 39% of the poorest children taking tuition (can read a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto). Similar trends can be seen in the English and Arithmetic skills of children across all quartiles establishing that the children of the lowest quartiles are particularly disadvantaged as only a limited set of educational opportunities is available to them.

The current education status of Pakistan as demonstrated by ASER 2013 clearly sheds light on how disparities created by differences in wealth status are jeopardizing the future of millions of children. Education is at risk, requiring targeted action and a focus on access to equitable quality education and learning for all. If Pakistan has to achieve the goal of universal primary education by 2015, then the government must redouble its efforts for reaching the marginalized and improving the learning outcomes. In shaping education for the future, efforts to expand enrollment at all levels must be accompanied by policies emphasizing on inclusive approaches and overcoming inequality. Reforms such as an increasing access and improving affordability for excluded groups by lowering cost barriers, changing attitudes to girls' and women's place in society, offering financial incentives for school participation, bringing schools closer to marginalized communities, targeting financial and learning support to disadvantaged schools, and providing intercultural and bilingual education etc. have the potential to not only remove the flaws present in our education system but may also turn Pakistan into a true democratic and liberal society in the coming years.



Educating Our Mothers: Exploring the Link between Maternal Education and Child Outcomes

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Maternal education levels are consistently found to be strongly correlated with child's educational achievement.Children's learning outcomes as well as time allocated to educational activities outside school, both have shown a positive linkage with the number of years of mother's schooling. Given this association, maternal education figures revealed by ASER 2013 are quite worrying. Seventy two percent of all the mothers surveyed in rural Pakistan have never been to school and the average number of years of schooling for those who have been to school is 2.8 years. These statistics have important implications for the future of children growing up in Pakistan.

Many studies show a considerable impact of an additional year of maternal schooling on child's learning outcomes. Children's performance on a standardized math test improved notably when mother's education increased by 1 year, the effect being largest for girls aged 7 -8[2].
Children's test scores in English and Urdu and time spent on educational activities inside home also showed a strong correlation with mother's schooling[3]. Findings of Magnuson & Shager (2008)[4], which are disaggregated along socio-economic lines, suggest that children of advantaged mothers with lower levels of education appear to have improved reading skills when their mothers' education improve.s Moreover, mother's education is also found to have a positive correlation with children's readiness to attend school. Behrman and Rosenweig (2002) found that 1 year of maternal schooling increased children's years of education by 13%[5]. Another study suggeststhat mothers' participation in adult basic education improved children's school readiness even when mothers' earnings did not increase[6].

This intergenerational transmission of education works through various mechanisms. An educated mother will have high expectations for her children's educationalsuccess and will encourage them to develop high expectations of their own[7]. She will spend more direct time with the children on their school work and facilitate learning for them by employing other members of the household in reading to them or helping them with their school work[8]. An educated mother is also more likely to have health knowledge and adopt better healthcare practices.[9] This will ensure that the children are healthy and attend school regularly. Another pathway which is much talked about by the researchers is the household income- an educated mother is more likely to participatein the labor market which will in turn increase the household income and make the home environment favorable for learning.

These aforementioned studies[10] have typically focused on countries with high levels of female education and have mostly sought to study the impact of mother's additional secondary schooling or college education. Such studies are sparse in the third world countries where average level of maternal schooling does not exceed primary level, hence restricting the marginal impact that can be studied. With this year's ASER data, we set out to find whether this association holds in the context of Pakistan where female education levels are abysmally low. Looking at data from 138 rural districts/agencies, we study whether the impact of maternal education on child's achievement is significant at very low maternal education levels, whereby the average number of years of maternal schooling is 2.8 years.

This note undertakes a regression analysis to estimate the impact of an additional year of mother's schooling on the learning outcomes of children in English, Language[11], and Arithmetic, disaggregated by gender. Controlling for the father's years of education, probability of the child taking tuition, child's age and wealth[12] of the household, the

[1] See Moore and Schmidt, 2004, Furstenberg, Brooks-Gunn and Morgan, 1987, Behrman and Rosenweig 2002, Carnerio, Meghir and Parey, 2011, Andrabi, Das and Khwaja, 2009, Chevalier, Harmon, O'Sullivan, and Walker, 2005

[2] Carneiro, P., Meghir, C., & Parey, M. P. (2011). Maternal Education, Home Environments and the Development of Children and Adolescents. *Journal of the European Economic Association, Volume 11* , 123-160.

[3] Andrabi,T., Das, J., & Khwaja, A. (2009). What Did You Do All Day? Maternal Education and Child Outcomes. *Policy Research Working Paper 5143, The World Bank, Development Research Group*.

[4] Magnuson, K., & Shager, H. (2008). The Effects of Increased Maternal Education on Children's Academic Outcomes: Evidence from ECLS-K. *University of Wisconsin-Madison* .

[5] Behrman, J., & Rosenweig,M. (2002). Does Increasing Women's Schooling Raise the Schooling of the Next Generation? *American Economic Review, Volume 92, Number 1* , 323-334.

[6] Magnuson, K. (2003). The effect of increases in welfare mothers' education on their young children's academic and behavioral outcomes. *University of*

[7] Davis-Kean, P. E. (2005). The influence of parent education and family income on child achievement: the indirect role of parental expectations and the home environment. *Journal of Family Psychology*

[8] Andrabi, Das, & Khwaja, 2009

[9] Aslam, M., & Kingdon, G. (2012). Parental Education and Child Health - Understanding the Pathways of Impact in Pakistan.*World Development.*

[10] With the exception of Andrabi, Das and Khwaja, 2009

[11] Language means Urdu/Pushto/Sindhi

[12] Wealth of the household has been estimated by constructing a composite wealth index by incorporating indicators such as the type of house (semi *pucca*

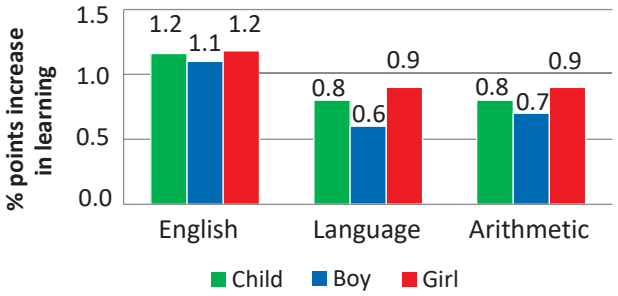
note uses a probit regression model to study the effect mother's schooling has on the learning outcomes of children. Table 1 shows the dependent variables used in the analysis of each subject. This note does not take into account the effect of assortative mating which can be one channel through which maternal education affects child's education. Moreover, mother's access and ability have not been controlled for because of the lack of data on these indicators. This remains a potential area for further research.

Table 1 : Dependent Variables

English Level	This variable is a dummy variable equaling 1 for children whose competency level in English, according to ASER assessment, is at least 'Word' and at most 'Sentence' level. Children whose competency level is Beginner, Small Letters or Capital Letters are assigned a value of 0
Language	This variable is a dummy variable equaling 1 for children whose competency level in Language, according to ASER assessment, is at least 'Sentence' and at most 'Story' level. Children whose competency level is Beginner, Letters and Words are assigned a value of 0
Arithmetic	This variable is a dummy variable equaling 1 for children whose competency level in Arithmetic, according to ASER assessment, is at least 'Subtraction' level and at most 'Division' level. Children whose competency level is Beginner and Number Recognition (0-9, and 10-99) are assigned a value of 0

Preliminary analysis on the ASER 2013 data shows that an additional year of mother's schooling[13] increases the probability of a child attaining advanced learning outcomes in English, Arithmetic and Language. As can be seen in Figure 1 which presents findings disaggregatedby gender, an additional year of mother's schooling increases the probability of being able to read English words and sentences by 1.18 percentage points for girls and 1.12 percentage points for boys. This difference between the effects on both genders is significant[14]. For language, a one year increase in mother's education increases the probability of child being able to read a sentence or story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto by 0.9 percentage points for girls and 0.6 percentage points for boys, though this differenceis not very significant[15]. The impact of mother's additional schooling year on the probability of child being able to perform subtraction or division is 0.7 percentage points for boys and 0.9 percentage points for girls but as was the case with language, this difference is not very significant. These results show that for each additional year of schooling of the mother, the probability of performing better is higher for girls.

Figure 1: Impact of a One Year Increase in Mother's Schooling Years on the Learning Levels of Children



Interestingly, the highest marginal impact on the probability of child achievementis yielded by the primary level years of maternal schooling[16]. Sadly, only around 7.7% of the mothers in our sample had completed primary schooling. Figure 2, which presents findings disaggregated by gender, shows that the impact of an additional year of schooling for mothers whohave attained at least primary level on the probability of a child attaining advanced learning outcomes is 6.3 percentage points for English, 3.9 percentage points for Arithmetic, and 7.1 percentage points for Language[17]. For English, this probability of attaining advanced leaning outcomes is higher for girls, at 8.8 percentage points compared to only 4.8 percentage points for boys, a difference which is significant. For Language, the effect is 8.2 percentage points for girls and 6.2 percentage points for boys but since the difference between these two is insignificant [18], the effects are not very different from each other. In Arithmetic, an additional year of mother's schooling yields a 2.8 percentage point increase in the advanced arithmetic capabilities of a boy, but this effect is not significant. A

[13] The independent variable here for mother's schooling is a continuous one with values ranging from 0 years of education to 20 years of education
[14] Wald test yielded significant results
[15] Wald test yielded insignificant results
[16] The independent variables used for mother's schooling here represent different levels of education e.g. primary level
[17] All these are significant, even at 1% confidence level.
[18] According to a Wald test

highly significant impact exists for girls at 7.2 percentage points. It is important to note here that maternal education up till primary level has a greater impact on the probability of girls' achievement in school than the boys'.

Figure 2: Impact of a One Year Increase in Mother's Schooling Years, upto Primary Level, on the Learning Levels of Children

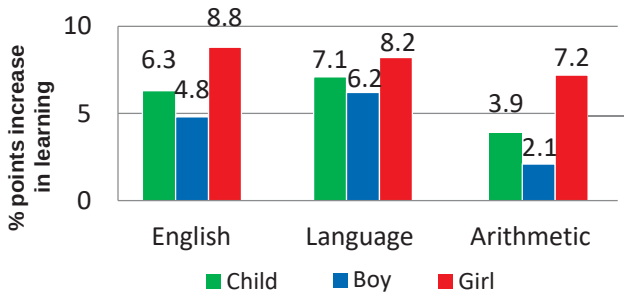


Table 2 shows the impact of a one year increase in mother's schooling on the probability of children attaining improved learning outcomes when maternal education is divided into primary and post-primary levels. What is interesting about these findings is that for Arithmetic and Language, those mothers who have completed primary learning and those who have attained more than primary education have similar impacts on the probability of girls attaining advanced learning scores. For example, the probability of a girl whose mother has attained primary schooling clearing the "Sentence" or "Story" level is 8.2percentage points which is not significantly different than a girl whose mother has attained a level greater than primary. For English, the probability of a girl attaining outcomes is higher for mothers who have acquired more than 5 years of schooling. However, it is important to add here that even in English the probability of a girl performing better is higher than the probability of a boy, at both primary and greater than primary levels of education of the mother.

Table 2: The Impact of a 1 Year Increase in Mother's Schooling on the Probability of Children Attaining Advanced Learning Outcomes

	Educational Level of Mothers	English (Percentage Points)		Language (Percentage Points)		Arithmetic (Percentage Points)	
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
1.	Primary Level	8.78	4.68	8.19	6.16	7.22	5.59*
2.	Post Primary Level	11.78	10.44	8.91	5.49	7.78	16.19

*Insignificant

The above mentioned statistics show that according to ASER 2013 estimates, concrete evidence exists for the view that mother's education has a strong bearing on children's academic achievement, especially on the educational attainment of girls. Moreover, the impact on children's learning outcomes is huge when mothers have completed at least primary schooling.The most important finding of this note is that even low levels of maternal education have a considerable impact on the learning levels of children, especially female children.

These findings have important policy implications for rural Pakistan. Investment could be made in some form of adult basic education improvement drive which targets to-be mothers and brings them at par with primary schoolinglevel. The average years of schooling of a mother, and consequently, the learning outcomes of her children,could also be improved if some form of strings attached intervention could be put into place which makes it mandatory for women to attend school to avail the benefits of a particular social security/welfare program. For example, if the women beneficiaries of the Benazir Income Support Program are asked to take basic education courses in order for them to be eligible for the program, the average years of schooling for mothers could improve to a great extent.

It is important that while assessing what the children are learning at school and striving to improve it, we also lookat the drivers of learning at home. And in this regard the importance of mother's attitude towards children's achievement at school cannot be overlooked. Even a few years of schooling can help the mother to realize that in order to succeed at school, her child needs to put in acertain level of effort. She will be clearer on the steps needed for academic achievement. It i s time that we realize how important this association between maternal education and probability of child's achievement is and consider introducing basic literacy programs for women which capitalize on this relationship.

What do we know about the use of ASER and how can we improve it?

Irfan Muzaffar
Education and Social Research Collective-United Kingdom

Surveys, such as ASER, feel the pulse of our education system in much the same way as the medical diagnostic tests assess the state of our body. We go for diagnostic tests either when asked by a physician or for voluntary periodic checks of the state of our health. If these assessments indicate presence of a disease in our body, we seek treatments to free us of the disease. If the treatment is successful the diagnostic tests following it should indicate absence of disease. Most individuals take the results of their diagnostic assessments seriously as they know that doing otherwise can jeopardize their health and well being. But do we also take the results of a diagnostic assessment of the health of our society as seriously?

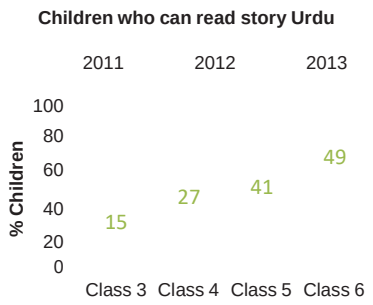
One doesn't have enough evidence to make any solid claims about how various stakeholders in education are responding to the yearly ASERs. In fact, if it is not already doing it, I suggest that ASER team should find ways of documenting its impact in terms of use of its results in other publications and its influence on education policy at the provincial and district level.

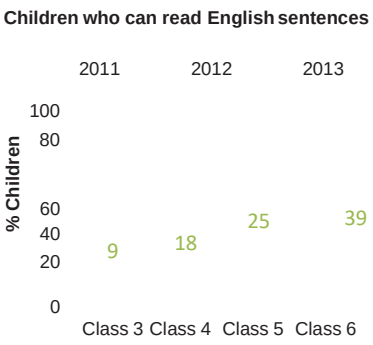
The need for such a study notwithstanding, the preliminary experience suggests that we are perhaps not making the optimal use of these assessments and the invaluable longitudinal and comparative data that they are making available. Here I am not referring to the usual series of policy dialogues conducted after the publication of each ASER, but to its regular use by the educational leaders at various levels as to take notice of the state of education in schools under their watch and take measures to improve the learning outcomes. I am also raising a question about the use of ASER by the academic and policy research community.

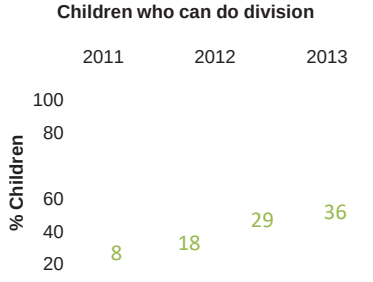
ASER is essentially a comparative report of the state of education. The provincial leaders, politicians and government servants, can potentially use it to develop a horizontal as well as a vertical sense of the educational health within their respective jurisdictions. The horizontal comparisons would involve comparing the results for their province with other provinces and the vertical assessment would imply looking at changes in the state of education of their province over time.

Imagine how useful this report could appear to leaders who cared about the state of education in the under their watch. Wouldn't they be deeply alarmed at discovering that 15% of girls and 14% of boys were found out of school? Wouldn't they have sleepless nights after finding that 40% of class 3 children in the government schools of their province could not read a sentence in Urdu and that this has been the case for the last three years? Imagine the civil society campaigners waving these results in the face of the public representatives and civil servants and demanding improvements. The governments, under such pressure, would seek advice from the concerned educators, members of the public, and civil society organizations on the steps they should take to make the next assessment look better. How could things not improve if so many well meaning, smart, and dedicated citizens had joined hands to change the state of education of their society.

Yet, if you look at the ASER data year after year, hardly anything has changed at the level of aggregates. For brevity, consider the charts below which show year wise comparison of percentage of children who could read a story in Urdu, read English sentences, and do division from the province of Sindh. As shown below, the data points showing the provincial aggregates for class 3-6 for the last three years are almost coincident. Its as if these data points were frozen in time.



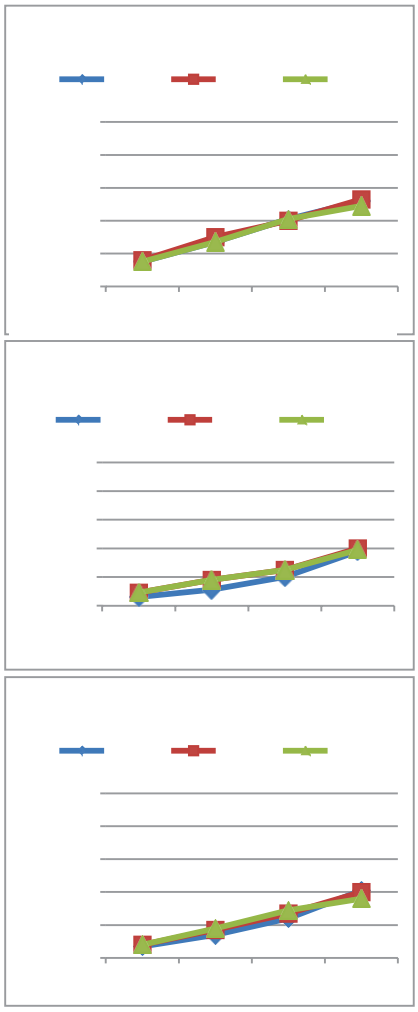




To cut to the chase, while the policy dialogues organized by the ASER team play their role in making the provincial leaders aware of the state of education in their

schools

province, they can only go thus far. ASER is only



a diagnostic service. Those who provide diagnostic services are not usually the ones who also prescribe the medicine and certainly not the ones who must take the treatments as prescribed in order to improve the state of their health. By reading the educational pulse of the nation every year, ASER is providing a free feedback service for the institutions and individuals who are responsible for the delivery of education. They are the ones who must be held accountable for improving the educational outcomes of the schools under their watch. They should take the report cards produced by ASER much more seriously than they currently do. They should be used more frequently and more widely as reference points for improvement by the provincial departments of education and a basis for campaigning and advocacy by other civil society organizations.

At the district level the ASER report cards could be even more useful. In the form of a report card for his/her district, the EDOs have access to an independent assessment of the performance of schools within their jurisdiction on some key indicators of learning. As in the case of the provinces, the EDOs also have comparative information about the performance of their districts over time and in relation to other districts. If they notice that children's ability to solve simple division problems have declined over the past two years, they could request the teacher training resources within the province for a focused training of teachers on teaching division of whole numbers. They could also compare the percentage of the out of school children in their district with other similar districts in Punjab. EDO from, say, Chiniot could query EDO of Hafizabad about the strategies used in the latter's district to increase enrolment and retention. Thus, ASER can be used in the districts to raise questions, address problems, and create opportunities for sharing experiences between the districts, etc. ASER team should ask themselves as to what can be done to catalyse the use of ASER for improvement in the educational outcomes at the district level.

ASER team should also raise questions about how ASER is being put to use by education researchers at universities and non-governmental research organisations. Data can be collected about the use of the yearly reports to get a better sense of the impact of ASER on the work of policy researchers. On the basis of limited and anecdotal evidence, it seems that ASER is not used as much as much for raising questions and conducting in depth investigations at the district level. The longitudinal data now available with the ASER team can be used to discern various inter-provincial and inter-district comparative patterns. These should be documented and in-depth investigations can be designed to develop useful and policy relevant insights about ASER findings.

A glance at the citations of ASER India shows that its results are being referenced in a variety of publications on varied topics related to education. In Pakistan, the results of ASER are so far largely mobilized in the comparative studies of public and private schools. The comparative studies of public and private schools, as I have also argued in an earlier article[1], are have had the unfortunate effect of making the performance of public schools a reference point for the performance of private schools. When interpreted in this manner, such comparisons have created a dynamic in which both types of schools are framed by a futile debate that does not support improvement in either type of school. Data produced by ASER could also be used to generate debate about the performance of public schools independently of the private schools. Districts and schools that work could be compared with those that were not performing well. Further data could be collected from households, where children are sent to the schools operating under Public Private Partnership (PPP) agreements. Opinions about such schools suggest promise of improving public schools without through PPPs. In a nutshell, there are various ways arrangements under which the public schools have also been shown to work and it is important to gain more knowledge about the PPP arrangements. Insights developed through such studies can be used to inform the efforts to improve the public schools.

Finally, let me take this opportunity to once again congratulate the team of dedicated professionals who organize the publication of ASER. Conducting a high quality nationwide household survey is a daunting task, especially under the current security conditions in Pakistan. Yet, for this team no challenge has been big enough to become an excuse for a delay in the development of this publication. Congratulations to them on successful completion of the ASER 2013!

[1] Muzaffar, I. (2013). Public Private Comparisons: Can they help us improve the quality of both public and private schools Annual Status of Education Report 2012 (pp. 16-17): ASER.

Voices from the field

Muhammad Hassan and Saddam,
Noshki, Balochistan

While conducting ASER survey in district Noshki in Balochistan, we met a shepherd- a young boy named Shah Mureed- who was very eager to know what was inside the bags we were carrying. Noticing his curiosity, we told him about ASER and what it aims to do. Upon getting to know that the assessment measures basic learning levels, he insisted on being assessed. His learning levels were as follows: Urdu: Words, Arithmetic: Subtraction, English: Beginner.

Mureed never attended school and yet his learning levels were good for his age. Puzzled, we asked him how he had managed to learn so much. Mureed told us that there was a school master in the locality who gave evening classes to kids in the evening. On his way back home every day, he would stand near the place where the class was being taught and carefully listen to everything. He has been doing so for the past 3 years.

'I enjoy doing math on the muddy ground with a broken tree branch or piece of coal while my sheep are grazing in the field. I pick up the newspapers or notebooks lying around, thrown away by people, and try and read whatever I can,' Mureed told us who were impressed with his determination to learn.

Mureed's story is one of the many stories in Balochistan where young boys are the sole breadwinners for their family and therefore cannot attend school. The question is- how will 25A be implemented for such children for whom the provision of free books and free enrolment is not enough? Do we have a plan for poverty alleviation in the far flung barren areas of Balochistan?

Afzal Shah,
Jamrud, FATA

This time around ASER surveyed four agencies and five FRs in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). Jamrud is a town located in Khyber Agency and is a doorway to the Khyber Pass located in Hindu Kush range. The town has road and rail linkages with Peshawar, and a pass connects it with Landi Kotal, located near the borders of Afghanistan. Jamrud, lying in proximity to the Khyber Pass, has remained a location on the trade route between Central Asia and South Asia and is a strategic military location as well. Conducting ASER survey in Jamrud was a saddening experience. Thousands of children in Jamrud do not attend school because of poverty and security situation in the region. In the war against terrorism, 63 educational institutions in the agency were destroyed. Consequently, the literacy rate which is already only 39%- 63% male literacy and 16% female literacy- has plummeted further during the armed conflict.

Surveying the town was not an easy task. Most of the people of the community were non-cooperative because of the insecurity prevalent in the region. During the data collection process at village Wazir Dand, households were not ready to share any kind of information with us. We dealt with this situation by requesting a meeting with the village elders, termed as *jirga* in the local context, to explain the purpose of ASER. It was only after the *jirga* and the assurance of cooperation given by the village elders that we, the ASER volunteers could visit households and collect data.

Zara Khan,
Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

"Summayyah used to like going to school but she had to discontinue schooling because her elder brother, Asim, would not allow it" Mirtaja Bibi answered when I asked if her 14 year old daughter was enrolled at any school.

It was a hot September afternoon and I was carrying out the ASER provincial training pilot survey at Mathra, a village around 40km from the main city of Peshawar, when I entered Summayah's house to collect household data. Summayyah was the only girl in her family who had studied at a school but had been forced to drop out from Grade 5 because her 16 year old brother, who himself was a drop out from Grade 2 because he failed thrice, would not allow it.

Mirtaja Bibi's answer to my question came as a shock to me and I inquired more about why he would stop his own sister from attending school. Apparently, going to school after a certain age was 'dishonor' in Asim's eyes. Puzzled, yet trying not to argue on the issue further, I asked Summayyah to sit and read out the ASER tools to me. "But why ask me these when I dropped out 3 years ago?" She questioned, her eyes running over the colorful assessment tools. Consequently, I started explaining to her how ASER seeks to measure the learning levels of not only the currently enrolled children, but also the drop outs and the children who have never been enrolled.

She started with her favorite subject, Maths, and to my surprise, aced the highest level: Division. Next, she read the Urdu story fluently and answered the comprehension questions correctly. She was on the highest level in English and General Knowledge too and every time, I used to say in an amazed manner '*Beta, ta kho dera takra e (*You are a genius*),'* her eyes would shine happily and her mother and grandmother would proudly pat her on the back. Since ASER covers all children in the 5-16 year old bracket, Asim was to be assessed next. Quite predictably, he was at the beginner level in Urdu, Math, and English.

I was saddened by what I had just seen but chose to keep silent. Packing my assessment and survey tools, I was just about to leave when the most unexpected thing happened. Mirtaja Bibi came running to me and thanked me for visiting their home. "Thank you for showing me how capable my daughter is! Even after three years, she remembers so much. How intelligent is she!," she uttered excitedly "I promise you Madam, I will do everything in my power to educate her, as much as I can. I do not want my *nalaiq* (good for nothing) son to ruin the future of my brightest child!," she said, drawing Summayyah close to her.

I smiled at Summayyah and she smiled back, happily. The purpose of ASER had been served.

Maryam Saba,
Multan, Punjab

We set out for Buua Pur around 10 in the morning on a hot September day. It is a half hour drive from urban Multan- a big and crowded city in South Punjab- and has all the characteristics of a small Punjabi town. One can tell where the city ends and the suburbs start as the road gives way to a dusty trail and bull carts replace cars as the means of transportation. Lush green fields line the narrow trail which is wide enough only for one car at a time. Where the fields end the housing starts, *kacha* and semi-*pucca* houses randomly erected over vast dusty grounds, lacking any order or plan.

We were in Buua Pur to conduct a pilot survey as part of ASER provincial training. Volunteers from all over South Punjab were gathered in Multan to attend a three day workshop on ASER methodology and this mock survey would acquaint them with the process of collecting data in a village. Our first stop was a government primary school- a decent building with two classrooms, a veranda, play ground, and

washroom. The veranda had kids of class 3 and 4 sitting together whereas kids of class 1 and 2 were sitting together in a classroom. Class 5 had one classroom to itself.

'The teacher who worked here before me left because this is a remote town. He wanted to work in the city. It's been a few months since I started teaching here but I think I won't want to leave this place,' told one of the two appointed teachers at the school. 'Why won't you be able to leave it?' I asked. 'Because of these kids. They are so bright. And they really want to learn. I won't be at peace with myself if I left them here with no one to teach them.'

This was coming from a teacher who was teaching three grades at a time with no one to share his responsibilities because the female teacher was on a maternity leave since a few months. We were touched by his sincerity and devotion.

When we assessed the students, we got to see what he meant when he said these children were really bright. Learning levels of children were up to the mark and surprisingly they were really good at mathematics and English- a trend scarcely found in the learning levels of public school children. We left the school knowing that these children were not only scoring good on the markers of literacy but when the time comes they would also score good on the markers of qualities like honesty and integrity that they would learn from their teacher.

Mumtaz Pirzada,
Nawab Shah, Sindh

It was a hot summer afternoon and I was in Nawabshah (Currently Shaheed Benazirabad)- one of the few districts of Sindh doing relatively well in terms of education- to carry out some fieldwork. I was exhausted by the time we got done with the day's work and decided to rest my back against a wall. As I stood there and looked around, I found out that the wall against which I was leaning belonged to a government school. It was a weekday and the school was empty. Feeling curious, I inquired the community people about it and came to know that the school had been empty for many months. It had no SEMIS code. Teachers were appointed and salaries were withdrawn regularly but the school was dysfunctional! I have come across similar situations in many villages in Sindh and it always saddens me that our education sector faces challenges from its keepers.

As I walked around the village inquiring about the school, I came across another sight- lot of children sitting in the shadow of an old *neem* tree and a middle-aged man teaching them. The scorching heat had not stopped that man from teaching and those children from attending the *neem* tree school. I was amazed at the contrast between this man and those government school teachers who withdrew salaries every month without coming to school.

I communicated this situation to my team and we decided to act on it. After a few days, we held a detailed discussion with the community and came to know that there was a political rift involved. Nevertheless, we decided to move that *neem* tree school to the empty government school building and the community was willing to deal with any hurdle that would come in the way of doing so. The *neem* tree school was immediately shifted inside the building, raising hope and morale for everyone in the village.

In the subsequent months I made some follow-ups on the progress of the new school and was glad to know that it is functioning and growing. It is amazing what can be done when citizens get together and decide to act.

ASER Pakistan 2013 Report: Dimension of Information

	ASER Pakistan 2011	ASER Pakistan 2012	ASER Pakistan 2013
Fields of Information	Age group 3 – 16: • Educational status • Current schooling status Age group 5-16 also did: • Reading tasks (Urdu/Sindhi/ Pashto & English) • Arithmetic tasks Other indicators include: • Mother's education • Mother's assessment • Household indicators such as type of house, availability of electricity and toilets, and number of mobile phones and vehicles. • School visits	Age group 3 – 16: • Educational status • Current schooling status Age group 5-16 also did: • Reading tasks (Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto & English) • Arithmetic tasks Other indicators include: • Paternal education • Household indicators such as type of house, house owned, availability of electricity and toilets, mobile phones, TV, computer knowledge and distance from school. • Language information (language spoken at home and preferred medium of instruction) • School visits	Age group 3 – 16: • Educational status • Current schooling status Age group 5-16 also did: • Reading tasks (Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto & English) • Arithmetic tasks • General knowledge tasks Other indicators include: • Paternal education • Household indicators such as type of house, house owned, availability of electricity, mobile phones and TV. Distance from school, number of vehicles, dairy/livestock, and cultivable area was also asked. • School visits
Sampling	Randomly Selected 10 villages from ASER 2010 20 Villages from ASER 2011	Randomly Selected 10 villages from ASER 2010 10 Villages from ASER 2011 10 Villages from ASER 2012	Randomly Selected 10 villages from ASER 2011 10 Villages from ASER 2012 10 Villages from ASER 2013
Coverage	84 rural districts & 3 urban centers	136 rural districts & 6 urban centers	138 rural districts & 13 urban centers

6.2. Community Participation in Education: *What do we know?*

1999

Prepared by Mitsue Uemura for
Effective Schools and Teachers
and the Knowledge Management System
HDNED, The World Bank

Table of Contents

Introduction

Policymakers, educators, and others involved in education are seeking ways to utilize limited resources efficiently and effectively in order to identify and solve problems in the education sector and to provide quality education for children. Their efforts have contributed to realizing the significance and benefits of community participation in education, and have recognized community participation as one of the strategies to improve educational access and quality.

This is not to say that community participation is something new in the education delivery, however. It did not suddenly appear as panacea to solve complex problems related to education. In fact, not all communities have played a passive role in children's education. For instance, Williams (1994) stresses that until the middle of the last century, responsibility for educating children rested with the community. Although there still are places where communities organize themselves to operate schools for their children today, community participation in education hasn't been fully recognized nor extended systematically to a wider practice.

Increasing amounts of research on this topic have been conducted since the late 1980s, and there are more and more resources becoming available. In preparing and implementing any efforts to promote community involvement in education, it is important to understand the whole picture of community participation: how it works; what forms are used; what benefits it can yield; and what we should expect in the process of carrying out the efforts. A deeper understanding of this issue is important since the link between community involvement and educational access and quality is not simple and involves various forms. This paper attempts to summarize these issues, by turning to existing literature. It also aims to examine the World Bank's practices on community participation in its education projects by scrutinizing 23 educational projects which were identified by utilizing ImageBank and studying Staff Appraisal Reports [1]. This study is designed to serve as a resource for Bank staff and clients who seek deeper understanding of community participation in education in order to enhance their work in this field.

Part One: Literature Research on Community Participation in Education

Before turning to literature research on community participation in education, it is important to look at and clarify some terminology.

What is *community*?

Communities can be defined by characteristics that the members share, such as culture, language, tradition, law, geography, class, and race. As Shaeffer (1992) argues, some communities are homogeneous while others are heterogeneous; and some united while others conflictive. Some communities are governed and managed by leaders chosen democratically who act relatively autonomously from other levels of government, and some are governed by leaders imposed from above and represent central authorities.

Zenter (1964) points out three aspects of communities. First, community is a *group structure*, whether formally or informally organized, in which members play roles which are integrated around goals

[1] It is not intended to exclude other Bank education projects that focus on community participation in education. In fact, readers encouraged to keep in mind that there are some besides the ones examined in this study.

associated with the problems from collective occupation and utilization of habitational space. Second, members of the community have some degree of *collective identification* with the occupied space. Lastly, the community has a degree of *local autonomy and responsibility*.

Bray (1996) presents three different types of communities, applied in his study on community financing of education. The first one is *geographic community* , which is defined according to its members' place of residence, such as a village or district. The second type is *ethnic, racial, and religious communities*, in which membership is based on ethnic, racial, or religious identification, and commonly cuts across membership based on geographic location. The third one is *communities based on shared family or educational concerns*, which include parents associations and similar bodies that are based on families' shared concern for the welfare of students.

What is *participation*?

The term "participation" can be interpreted in various ways, depending on the context. Shaeffer (1994) clarifies different degrees or levels of participation, and provides seven possible definitions of the term, including:

- *involvement* through the mere use of a service (such as enrolling children in school or using a primary health care facility);
- *involvement* through the contribution (or extraction) of money, materials, and labor;
- *involvement* through 'attendance' (e.g. at parents' meetings at school), implying passive acceptance of decisions made by others;
- *involvement* through consultation on a particular issue;
- *participation* in the delivery of a service, often as a partner with other actors;
- *participation* as implementors of delegated powers; and
- *participation* "in real decision making at every stage," including identification of problems, the study of feasibility, planning, implementation, and evaluation.

Shaeffer stresses that the first four definitions use the word *involvement* and connote largely *passive collaboration*, whereas the last three items use the word *participation* instead, implying a much more *active role*.

Shaeffer further provides some specific activities that involve a high degree of participation in a wider development context, which can also be applied in the education sector, including:

- collecting and analyzing information;
- defining priorities and setting goals;
- assessing available resources;
- deciding on and planning programs;
- designing strategies to implement these programs and dividing responsibilities among participants;
- managing programs;
- monitoring progress of the programs; and
- evaluating results and impacts.

What is *community participation in education*?

Education takes place not only in schools but also within families, communities, and society. Despite the various degree of responsibilities taken by each group, none can be the sole agent to take 100 % responsibility for educating children. Parents and families cannot be the only group of people for children's education as long as their children interact with and learn from the world outside their families. Communities and society must support parents and families in the upbringing, socializing, and educating of their children. Schools are institutions that can prepare children to contribute to the

betterment of the society in which they operate, by equipping them with skills important in society. Schools cannot and should not operate as separate entities within society.

Since each group plays a different role in contributing to children's education, there must be efforts to make a bridge between them in order to maximize the contributions. Education takes place most efficiently and effectively when these different groups of people collaborate. Accordingly, it is important to establish and continuously attempt to develop partnerships between schools, parents, and communities.

Many research studies have identified various ways of community participation in education, providing specific channels through which communities can be involved in children's education.

Colletta and Perkins (1995) illustrate various forms of community participation: (a) research and data collection; (b) dialogue with policymakers; (c) school management; (d) curriculum design; (e) development of learning materials; and (f) school construction.

Heneveld and Craig (1996) recognized parent and community support as one of the key factors to determine school effectiveness in Sub-Saharan Africa. They identify five categories of parent and community support that are relevant to the region: (1) children come to school prepared to learn; (2) the community provides financial and material support to the school; (3) communication between the school, parents, and community is frequent; (4) the community has a meaningful role in school governance; and (5) community members and parents assist with instruction.

Williams (1994) argues that there are three models of Education and Community. The first one is *traditional community-based education*, in which communities provide new generations of young people with the education necessary for transmitting local norms and economic skills. In this model, education is deeply embedded in local social relations, and school and community are closely linked. The government, being of little use in meeting the specialized training needs of industrialized economies, plays a minor role, providing little basis for political integration at the national level. The second model is *government -provided education*, in which governments have assumed responsibility for providing and regulating education. The content of education has been largely standardized within and across countries, and governments have diminished the role of the community. However, a lack of resources and management incapability have proven that governments cannot provide the community with adequate the educational delivery, fully-equipped school buildings, and a full range of grades, teachers and instructional materials. This triggers the emergence of the *collaborative model*, in which community plays a supportive role in government provision of education. Williams further presents a model that shows the relations between the role of community and local demand.

Table 1. Local Demand and the Role of the Community

	High Local Demand	**Low Local Demand**
Initial Community Attitude Toward Education	**Positive**	**Indifferent/Resistant**
Role of Community	Potential support to supplement & reinforce government action; Can support schools in ways government cannot	Can block/underline educational efforts
Key Variables Determining Community Role	Community lacks ways to provide support	Match between content/delivery of schooling & local values, needs, economic constrains
Goal of Government Intervention	Provide useful ways community can support schools	Adapt content/delivery of schooling to local context; Provide education useful to community

Source: Williams, James H. (1994) "The Role of the Community in Education.

Epstein (1995, 1997) seeks ways to help children succeed in school and later life, and focuses on partnerships of schools, families, and communities that attempt to: (a) improve school programs and school climate; (b) provide family services and support; (c) increase parents' skills and leadership; (d) connect families with others in the school and in the community; and (e) help teachers with their work. She summarizes various types of involvement to explain how schools, families, and communities can work productively together:

(1) *parenting* – to help all families to establish home environments that support children's learning at schools;
(2) *communicating* – to design effective forms of school-to-home and home-to-school communication that enable parents to learn about school programs and their children's progress in schools as well as teachers to learn about how children do at home;
(3) *volunteering* – to recruit and organize parent help and support;
(4) *learning at home* – to provide information and ideas to families about how to help students at home with home-work and other curriculum-related activities, decisions, and planning;
(5) *decision making* – to include families in school decisions, to have parent leaders and representatives in school meetings; and
(6) *collaborating with the community* – to identify and integrate resources as well as services from the community in order to strengthen school programs, family practices, and student learning.

What can community participation in education do?

The goal of any kind of activity that attempts to involve community and families/parents in education is to improve the educational delivery so that more children learn better and are well prepared for the changing world. There are various reasons to support the idea that community participation contributes to achieving this goal. Extensive literature research has resulted in identifying the following rationales that explain the importance of community participation in education.

- *Maximizing Limited Resources*

Most governments all over the world have been committed to delivering education for their children. Particularly after the World Conference on Education for All, assembled in Jomiten, Thailand in 1990, an increasing number of countries have attempted to reach the goal of providing education for all. However, governments have found themselves incompetent to do so because of lack of resources and capacities. Learning materials as well as human resources are limited everywhere, particularly in developing countries. The focus has shifted to finding efficient and effective ways to utilize *existing limited resources*.

Although some communities have historically been involved in their children's education, it hasn't been fully recognized that communities themselves have resources to contribute to education, and they can be resources by providing local knowledge for their children. Involving parents, families, and communities in the process of research and data collection can reveal to them factors that contribute to lower enrollment and attendance, and poor academic performance in their schools. Furthermore, parents are usually concerned about their children's education, and often are willing to provide assistance that can improve the educational delivery. In places where teacher absenteeism and poor performance are critical issues, parents can be part of the system of monitoring and supervising teachers, ensuring that teachers arrive at classrooms on time and perform effectively in the classrooms. Parents and communities are powerful resources to be utilized not only in contributing to the improvement of educational delivery but also in becoming the core agent of the education delivery .

In Madagascar, where Government investments at the primary level have been extremely low, parents and communities contribute money, labor and materials (World Bank 1995b). The absence of

government support leaves the school infrastructure, equipment, and pupil supplies to the parents and the community. As a result, community and parents are in the center "in keeping the schools going (p.30)."

- *Developing Relevant Curriculum and Learning Materials*

Communities' and parents' involvement helps achieve curriculums and learning materials that reflect children's everyday lives in society. When children use textbooks and other materials that illustrate their *own* lives in their community, they can easily associate what they are learning with what they have already known.

In Papua New Guinea, community schools set the goal to link the culture of the pupils' home community with the culture of the school. Accordingly, the schools consider the community as the center of learning as well as the focus of education. As a result, the community schools have become central to the national curriculum development which enables community life, such as festivals, customs, musical instruments, and local business activities, to be reflected in the curriculum (Goldring, 1994).

Another example is found in Colombia's *Escuela Nueva* program for multigrade schools that incorporates a number of innovative components, including community participation in school curriculum (Colleta and Perkins, 1995). In each learning task, self instructional textbooks guide students to identify examples and cultural elements from their own experience and allows local materials to be accumulated in the learning centers. The oral tradition is transcribed and classified. Local crafts, jobs and economic activities, health problems, geography, landscapes, transport, sports, dances, food, animals, vegetation, and minerals are also described and classified for use in learning experiences. Children in *Escuela Nueva* are using curriculum relevant to their way of life and that of their communities, which helps develop a series of basic learning needs, skills, attitudes, values, and knowledge that enable the children to continue learning and applying what they learn in their communities (de Arboleda, 1991).

- *Identifying and Addressing Problems*

Communities can help identify and address factors that contribute to educational problems, such as low participation and poor academic performance. This is well illustrated in the case of the Gambia, in which the techniques of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) were adapted to education. The work was carried out in order to understand why girls do not attend schools, to mobilize communities around these problems, and to assist them in organizing their own solutions (World Bank 1995a).

Thirteen local researchers were trained in PRA which allowed the participation of all groups in a community, including illiterate and literate, young and old, females and males. A sample of seven rural villages was selected, in which a team of researchers worked with residents focusing on group discussions, mapping of the village, calendars of income and expenditure, and matrices of community and education problems. The research revealed that key disincentives to educating girls were related to: (a) inadequate supply of schools, particularly middle schools; (b) high costs of schooling; (c) higher risk of early pregnancy; (d) loss of respect for traditional values, particularly obedience and humility towards husbands; and (e) perceptions, particularly among men, that girls will be less successful in life generally. A further step was taken in two of the seven communities where residents were invited to select six important problems from a longer list that they had developed previously which they could begin to address in a practical way, utilizing mainly their own resources. Various options for solving problems were devised and those seeming to have the highest chance of success were integrated into a Community Action Plan

- *Promoting Girls' Education*

Community participation can contribute to promoting girls' education (UNICEF, 1992). Through participating in school activities and frequently communicating with teachers, parents and communities can learn that girls' education contributes to the improvement of various aspects of their lives, such as increased economic productivity, improved family health and nutrition, reduced fertility rates, and reduced child mortality rates. Involving parents and communities in discussions as part of school activities also helps to identify factors that prevent girls from schooling. Parents are encouraged to express their concern, and reasons why they are not sending their daughters to school. For instance, many parents in rural areas are reluctant to send their daughters to schools located in distance, concerned about the security of their daughters on the way to and from the school. In addition, since girls are important labors in the household, helping their mothers to do the chores and take care of their young siblings. The time that requires going to and from school seems too much to waste for the parents. These issues are serious obstacles and have to be addressed and overcome in order to promote girls' education.

Involving parents and communities in school activities also helps to identify possible teachers in the community, especially local female teachers which greatly help girls' education. Furthermore, in places where communities are indifferent in girls' education, elderly people or religious leaders who are respected by community members can convince them to send their girls to schools, if the dialogue with these respected people takes place successfully.

- *Creating and Nourishing Community-School Partnerships*

There are various ways to bring parents and community members closer to schools which they serve, including: (a) minimizing discontinuities between schools and communities, and between schools and families; (b) minimizing conflicts between schools and communities, schools and families, teachers and parents, and what is taught in school and what is taught at home; (c) making easy transition of pupils going from home to school; (d) preparing pupils to engage in learning experiences; and (e) minimizing cultural shock of new entrants to schooling (Cariño and Valismo, 1994).

Communities can contribute to schools by sending respected community members, such as religious leaders or tribe heads, to the classrooms and talk about community history, traditions, customs, and culture, which have been historically celebrated in the community. Schools themselves can contribute to community efforts by developing sustainable solutions to local problems. One example is found in the *Social Forestry, Education and Participation pilot project* (SFEP) in Thailand, documented by McDonough and Wheeler (1998).

The purpose of the project is to change teaching, learning, and school-community relations by involving fifth and six grade students in studies of local village problems related to forest management. The students visited communities and asked questions about village history and the origins and causes of various forest-related problems. Community members helped them understand concepts taught in schools, and students used any resource available within the communities to enhance their understanding. In addition to gathering data from villagers, students went to nearby forests to study plants and animals as part of their regular science lessons. Some local villagers came along as "experts" to help them understand various species indigenous to that village. McDonough and Wheeler examined the project and found that communities have much to contribute to the education of their youth. If given the chance to become more involved in the education of their youth, communities come to see that their knowledge about village history, social relations, and economic structure is relevant to what students could learn in school. In addition, the curriculum can be linked to daily life and teachers are able to use a much wider array of resources to improve student learning

- *Realizing Democracy*

Where schools are perceived as authoritarian institutions, parents and community members do not feel welcomed to participate in their children's education. They are not capable of taking any responsibility in school issues and tend to feel that education is something that should be taken care of by educational professionals at schools Many people, especially minority groups in many developing countries, develop this kind of negative attitudes towards schools because they are not treated by teachers with respect. For instance, those who do not speak the country's official language and embrace other than mainstream traditions and culture feel discouraged in classrooms where teachers don't show respect to their linguistic and cultural diversity. In the history, there were times when children were prohibited from speaking their first language in schools and they got severe punishment when they broke the rule imposed by the school or the government. This educational environment is unfavorable to parents and children and, therefore, contributes to these students' low participation, poor academic performance, and high repeat and dropout rates. Involving communities in schools is a way of reaching democracy through identifying and addressing inequities embedded in institutions and society as a whole. In addition, it is a strategy to create an environment in which parents feel comfortable participating in schools.

Reimers (1997) considers the case of *Fe y Alegría* (Faith and Joy), a non -governmental organization which provides formal and nonformal education at different levels in 12 countries in Latin America, as a good illustration of this approach. *Fe y Alegría* schools attempt to achieve the curriculum that recognizes and builds on the community where the students live. The schools also aim to use teacher training to promote appreciation of the diversity of student backgrounds and students' use of non-standard forms of language in school. This innovation attempts to place the schools where they belong in the community, and promote mechanisms for community involvement in running the school. Reimers argues, "this is very important for the support of democracy as it promotes local participation to solve local problems-education (p.41)."

Moreover, parental involvement in education is seen as a right, or as an outright democratic value in some countries. According to OECD study (1997), "in Denmark, England, and Wales, parents have a right to be represented on the governing bodies of schools; in France, they have a right to representation on a whole range of policy-making bodies; the Parent's Charter gives English and Welsh parents a number of rights, including the right to certain information from the school; in Spain, the Constitution recognizes the right of teachers, parents and students to participate in defining the scope and nature of the education service; and forthcoming legislation in Ireland will place parents at the center of the education process, and give them a wide range of statutory rights in relation to education (p.26)."

- *Increasing Accountability*

Parental involvement in education, particularly in school governance, is seen as a means of making schools more accountable to the society which funds them. This has been witnessed in some places such as England and Wales, Canada and the United States. The notion of parental involvement for accountability derives from a more market-oriented concept in which school-family partnerships are viewed rather like business partnership, through which the two parties receive mutual and complementary benefits which enable them to operate more effectively (OECD, 1997).

The extensive examination of six case studies on the Philippines, Kenya, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Colombia and Bolivia lead Rugh and Bossert (1998) to the conclusion that teachers and other school staff feel they should be accountable to community clients only when the community holds some power over them: when they either come from the same village and have social ties; if their continued employment or salaries depend on community satisfaction; or sometimes when community education

committees exist to manage the schools and members are empowered to exert their influence (p.157). They also argue that accountability is developed through routine parents' meetings and reporting systems on student progress. When parents contribute their time, labor, materials, land, and funds, they tend to be more involved in school activities, including participating in meetings with teachers and monitoring teachers' performance. Teachers and school staff, in turn, feel more obliged to deliver better education for the students in order to respond to the needs of parents and communities. Participation can greatly help develop accountability, which contributes to improving the education delivery.

A Community Support Program (CSP) process in Balochistan, Pakistan, was developed to ensure village commitment to girls' education. It defines the responsibilities of the community and the Directorate of Primary Education. The greater the participation of the community, both financially and in-kind, means they are more likely to demand accountability from staff. Parents are also more involved in the day-to-day management of the school where they see what is happening and what needs to be corrected. The CSP has formed Village Education Committee (VEC) that consists of five to seven men whose daughters will attend the school. VECs are formed to serve as the school's official representative to the government. The forming of VECs has contributed to the CSP's establishment of an organizational structure that encourages teachers' and local administrators' accountability to parents. Once the school is opened, VEC members are empowered to report teacher attendance or behavior problems to the government and to recommend teachers for training.

- *Ensuring Sustainability*

One of the major factors to ensure sustainability of programs is the availability of funds, whether from governments, private institutions, or donor organizations. In this regard, community participation in education cannot ensure the sustainability of schools by itself since communities oftentimes have to rely on external funding to keep the program sustained. However, involving community is a way to ensure that the benefits brought by a development program will be maintained after the external interventions are stopped. Thus, sustainability is dependent on the degree of self-reliance developed in target communities and on the social and political commitment in the wider society to development programs that support the continuation of newly self-reliance communities (Lovell, 1992) . Community members are expected to be actively involved in the process of interventions through planning, implementation, and evaluation. Furthermore, they are expected to acquire skills and knowledge that will later enable them to take over the project or program.

- *Improving Home Environment*

Community participation can contribute to preparing and improving home environment, by encouraging parents to understand about the benefits of their children's schooling. A World Bank study (1997) which analyzed primary education in India, discovered that families aware of the importance of education can contribute much to their children's learning achievement, even in disadvantaged districts. It also shows that students from families that encouraged children's schooling, by allocating time at home for study, encouraging reading, and supporting their children's educational aspirations, scored significantly higher on tests of learning achievement.

Furthermore, families who are involved in schools not only have a better understanding about education but also become more willing to cooperate with schools in attempts to improve children's learning. In addition, parents can help their children with homework, and make sure that children are physically ready to learn at schools. From their extensive literature research, Heneveld and Craig (1996) argue that the parent and the community are one of the key factors to determine school effectiveness because they can prepare children's readiness to come to school and their cognitive development, by ensuring children's well-balanced nutrition and health.

How can community participation improve education?

Community participation can contribute to education delivery through various channels. The following is a list of ways through which communities can contribute to the education delivery

- advocating enrollment and education benefits;
- boosting morale of school staff;
- raising money for schools;
- ensuring students' regular attendance and completion;
- constructing, repairing, and improving school facilities;
- contributing in labor, materials, land, and funds;
- recruiting and supporting teachers;
- making decisions about school locations and schedules;
- monitoring and following up on teacher attendance and performance;
- forming village education committees to manage schools;
- actively attending school meetings to learn about children's learning progress and classroom behavior;
- providing skill instruction and local culture information;
- helping children with studying;
- garnering more resources from and solving problems through the education bureaucracy;
- advocating and promoting girls' education;
- providing security for teachers by preparing adequate housing for them;
- scheduling school calendars;
- handling the budget to operate schools;
- identifying factors contributing to educational problems (low enrollment, and high repetition and dropout); and
- preparing children's readiness for schooling by providing them with adequate nutrition and stimuli for their cognitive development.

How can community participation support teachers?

Among various forms of community contributions, some are specifically aimed to support teachers. For instance, communities can provide, or construct, housing for teachers who are from outside of the community. In rural areas, lack of qualified teachers is critical, and preparing a safe environment and housing is necessary to attract teachers, particularly female teachers, who otherwise tend to stay in or go to urban areas.

Teachers can benefit from communities' active participation in their children's schools. For example, community members themselves can be a rich resource to support teachers' practice in classrooms by facilitating children's learning. In the *Social Forestry, Education and Participation pilot project* (SFEP) in Thailand (McDonough and Wheeler, 1998), local villagers came to schools and helped students understand various species indigenous to that village. Community members can help students understand concepts which teachers teach in classrooms by having the students coming into community, interacting with community members who are knowledgeable about village history and the certain issues faced by the community. Respected community members can become knowledgeable lectures who can come to the classrooms, and teach students issues faced by the community.

Also, community members can support teachers by contributing their skill to speak the local language when the majority of students don't understand the teacher's language of instruction. They can attend

classrooms as interpreters who not only translate languages but also help teachers as well as students by bridging the gap that exists between cultural values of teachers and those of students. Furthermore, parents and community members can contribute to teachers' teaching materials by providing them with knowledge and materials that are locally sensitive and more familiar to children.

Community participation in education can also be a powerful incentive for teachers. Teachers' absenteeism, and lack of punctuality to show up in classrooms on time are serious problems in many places. Among many other reasons, lack of monitoring system is one of the critical factors contributing to these problems. When teachers are monitored and supervised for their attendance and performance by communities, they tend to be more aware of what they do. Feedback from parents and the community about their teaching performance can be a strong tool to motivate teachers, if schools are also collaborative.

What are challenges?

Involving communities in the education delivery requires facing and tackling a number of challenges. In general, as Crewe and Harrison (1998) articulate, participatory approaches tend to overlook complexities and questions of power and conflict within communities. They are designed based on the false assumption that the community, group, or household is homogeneous, or has mutually compatible interests. Differences occur with respect to age, gender, wealth, ethnicity, language, culture, race and so on. Even though marginalized or minority groups (such as female, landless, or lower-caste people) may be physically present during discussion, they are not necessarily given a chance to express their views to the same degree as others.

In attempts to understand factors that prevent communities from being involved in formal education, Shaeffer (1992) found that the degree of community participation is particularly low in socially and economically marginal regions. This is because such regions tend to have the following elements: (a) a lack of appreciation of the overall objectives of education; (b) a mismatch between what parents expect of education and what the school is seen as providing; (c) the belief that education is essentially the task of the State; (d) the length of time required to realize the benefits of better schooling; and (e) ignorance of the structure, functions, and constraints of the school.

Challenges vary from one stakeholder to another because each group has its own vision to achieve the common goal of increasing educational access and improving its quality. The section below attempts to turn to specific challenges and problems that have been witnessed among teachers, and parents and communities.

Teachers

Resistance among teachers – Not all teachers welcome parents' and communities' participation in education. They tend to feel that they are losing authority within schools, as power is taken by community and parents. At the same time, they are encouraged to involve community members who sometimes are not willing to get involved in any school activities.

Gaynor (1998) analyzes the complex relationship between teachers and parents in her study on teacher management with a focus on the decentralization of education. She argues that many parents in many countries would like to be more involved in selecting and monitoring teachers. However, analyzing impacts of the El Salvador's EDUCO project in which parents are responsible for school management and monitor teachers, Gaynor stressed that the teachers feel threatened by parental involvement, believing that it will diminish public regard for their professional status.

Parents and Communitie

Not all parents and community members are willing to get involved in school activities. Some have had negative schooling experiences themselves, some are illiterate and don't feel comfortable talking to teachers, and getting involved in any kind of school activities. They feel they don't have control over the school. Some parents and families are not willing to collaborate with schools because they cannot afford to lose their economical labor by sending their children. Even though they see the benefits to send children to schools, opportunity costs are oftentimes too high to pay.

A World Bank study of social assessment on EDUCO, community managed- schools, in El Salvador (Pena, 1995) reveals that even though the parents valued education and had a positive attitude regarding the teachers, they were suspicious about the government. This wariness, combined with lack of communication, fostered the fear that education would be privatized and parents would have to pay for education services. Parents are optimistic about the economic value of education, but their optimism decreases when they are asked to think about the role of education in their own lives. Furthermore, because of parents' relative lack of education and the way the traditional school systems are structured, parents and teachers perceive their roles as separate from one another, without substantial parental interaction with teachers or involvement in the schools themselves.

What needs to be done in order to improve the practice?

Although community participation can be a strong tool to tackle some educational problems, it is not panacea that can solve all the problems encountered in the education sector. Any strategies to achieve a high degree of community participation require careful examination of communities because each community is unique, and complicated in its nature. This section illustrates some issues that need to be solved in order to improve the practices of involving communities in the education delivery.

- *To Understand the Nature of Community*

As discussed previously, no community, group, or household is homogenous. Thus, it is crucial to examine and understand community contexts, including characteristics and power balance. It is important to examine the degree of community participation in some activities in society, since some communities are traditionally involved in community activities, while others are not used to working together with schools or even other community members. Careful examination of communities is necessary to successfully carry out activities promoting community participation. Narayan summarizes elements that contribute to forming well-functioning groups as seen in the box 1.

Box 1. Five Characteristics of Well-Functioning Groups

- the groups address felt needs and common interests;
- the benefits to the groups of working together outweigh the costs;
- the groups are embedded in the existing social organization;
- the group has the capacity, leadership, knowledge and skills to manage the tasks; and
- the group owns and enforces its rules and regulations.

Source: Narayan (1995)

Within the education sector, it is important to understand the current formal structure and the function of school/parent/community organizations. As Shaeffer (1994) articulates, various kinds of organizations exist in many countries in order to bring parents together. Some organizations include teachers and other school staff. Membership, mandate, and level of activity vary from one organization to another. For instance, in the Philippines some schools have PTAs based on classrooms, grade levels, and the school itself; in Indonesia only organizations of parents are allowed to exist; and in Papua New Guinea boards of governors and of management also include representatives from other parts of the community. In many countries, these organizations exist within

some formal framework of laws and regulations which govern their structure and functions. Such regulations may be quite specific in their definition of what the organization can or cannot do, or they may be very general in nature, allowing for considerable flexibility in their application.

Some specific questions to understand existing organizations include (taken from Shaeffer, 1994):

- what kind of school/parent/community structure(s) or organization(s) are found?
- who can be members of these organizations?
- what are the criteria for membership?
- how are members chosen?
- what are the functions, responsibilities, and rights of these organizations?
- what, if anything, are they prohibited from doing? and
- what is the nature of the laws and/or regulations which govern these organizations?

Furthermore, the following questions are useful in understanding the actual nature and performance of the organizations in the community, beyond the mandated functions.

- how do existing school/parent/community organizations participate in school affairs?
- what level of participation is actually achieved by such organizations?
- does level of participation differ widely by region (rural-urban), by the social and economic class of pupils and their families, and between public and private schools?
- does the Ministry simply assume these organization exist, or does it actively seek to learn if they exist and what they do?
- is there any attempt made in the Ministry's data gathering exercises to learn about the existence and activities of such organizations?

• *To Assess Capabilities of Communities and Responsible Agencies, and Provide Assistance*

It is necessary to assess community contexts, and the agencies responsible for promoting community participation efforts, in order to create specific plans or components of the projects.

When the agencies are not willing to collaborate with communities in achieving the objectives, it is important to help them understand why community participation is important. If they disagree, but implement the plans because they are told to, the results will be unfavorable. Communities, as well, need to have a good understanding of why they need to collaborate with schools, what benefits can be yielded.

However, understanding and willingness are not enough. It is important to assess capabilities to carry out plans to promote community participation, including institutional capability, technical capability, financial capability, and political capability (dos Santos, 1999). Community participation in education requires communities to have: financial knowledge to handle funding transferred from outside; technical knowledge and skills to run schools; and political will to collaborate with agencies responsible for implementing efforts. It also requires teachers and other school staff to have political will not only to work with parents and communities but also to attempt to involve them in school operation. Implementing agencies are required to have the technical capability to carry out active community participation, encouraging and involving communities in a great range of school management. They also need to have financial knowledge to oversee the funding and to operate the school.

School/parent/community organizations also need to have certain knowledge, skills and attitudes to realize successful community participation in education. These include: (a) an understanding of the rationale for greater participation of its potential advantages, and of its constrains and risks; (b) attitudes which encourage an open, transparent, collegial environment in the school and open channels of communication between the school and the community; (c) knowledge of local conditions which influence educational demand and achievement; (d) simple research and planning skills; (e) school

management skills (abilities to help define the goals, policies, programmes, and expectations of the school and the responsibilities and functions of each partner; to encourage shared, more participatory decision making with both teachers and school/community organizations; to plan, organize, conduct, and report on meetings; and to manage and account for government and community resources provided to the school); (f) the ability to gain the trust of parents, NGOs, and other partners in the community, to communicate, collaborate, and build a consensus with them, and to animate them and encourage their involvement in the school; and (g) the ability to mobilize resources from the various interest groups and power centers in the community. (Shaeffer, 1994)

If any of the capabilities mentioned above is lacking or insufficient, it is necessary to provide adequate training. For instance, teachers in *Escuela Nueva* in Colombia receive special training in how to involve the community and other institutions of the locality, and how to use the new educational materials, student guides, and the basic library (Arboleda). Such training can be part of educational programs or projects planned and implemented by donors.

Preparing the environment that can facilitate active community participation is also important. Campfens (1997) summarizes main factors for effective participation (Box 2).

Box 2. Key Factors for Effective Participation

- An open and democratic environment;
- a decentralized policy with greater emphasis on local initiatives;
- reform in public administration;
- democratization of professional experts and officials;
- formation of self-managing organizations of the poor and excluded;
- training for community activism and leadership;
- involvement of NGOs; and
- creation of collective decision-making structures at various levels that extend from the micro to the meso and macro levels and link participatory activities with policy frameworks.

Source: Campfens (1997)

- *To Establish Communication Channels*

In order to exercise any kind of community participation, there needs to be understanding among all stakeholders, all people who are targeted. Reasons and benefits of community participation have to be clearly addressed and understood by people. In addition, a continuing dialogue between schools and community is essential because it usually takes a long period of time to yield any benefit. Also all the stakeholders need to share the understanding that responsibility to educate children cannot be taken by single group of people.

One of the strategies to contribute to successful community participation in education is to conduct a *social marketing campaign*, and an *awareness campaign*, in order to promote community involvement in children's education. Such campaigns designed to target parents and community members can help them increase their understanding on the benefits of their collaboration with teachers and schools. It is also helpful if community members themselves can get involved in the campaigns, so that they feel more responsible and attempt to recruit more people from communities.

- *To Conduct Continuous Assessment*

It is important to conduct assessment of any practices of community participation continuously, once the implementation gets started. The communities are always evolving and so are their needs and demands; therefore, the strategies need to be modified and tailored accordingly. Original plans need to

be carefully designed and examined, but also need to be flexible enough to leave room for making changes in the efforts of the implementation.

Specifically, the assessment should look at the degree of the effects of the practices. Also important is to make sure that the different stakeholders' voices be reflected in the implementation practice.

More resources

Some useful guidelines that facilitate the realization of good practice of community participation offer clear framework of what needs to be looked at and what need to be done. For instance, Shaeffer presents "Factors and Conditions which Facilitate Collaboration," as in Box 3. His model provides consolidated information that can facilitate collaboration among different stakeholders.

Box 3. Factors and Conditions which Facilitate Collaboration: *how can it be implemented?*

A. Organizational norms

‰ Institutional openness to the outside world, to new ideas and new ways of doing things, and to change.

‰ A system-wide level commitment to collaboration, participation, and partnerships, across and among various actors in schools and communities and within the central government.

‰ Greater professional autonomy and empowerment both down to lower levels of the system, especially at the school level, and out to other actors, at the community level.

B. Mechanisms: collaborative structures and organizations

‰ At the central level, strong, clearly defined administrative structures, including vertical linkages between various levels of the bureaucracy

‰ Horizontal structures and networks of public, private, and non-governmental organizations

C. Policies, procedures, and guidelines

‰ At the macro-level, specific legislation, policies, procedures, and guidelines relating to the functions and responsibilities of organizations

‰ At the micro-level, the policies and guidelines governing the responsibilities and functions of parent-teacher associations, school management committees, village education committees, and the community as a whole in various aspects of education

D. Knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviors

‰ The ability to work collaboratively with people to listen to their needs and desires and find common grounds for co-operation

‰ The ability to focus on process as well as final products

‰ Openness to links across units of the Ministry and across the social sectors

‰ The knowledge, attitudes, and skills to ensure more collaboration inside and outside the school

Source: Shaeffer, Sheldon (1994)

Another useful guideline is Narayan's "Ten steps for Designing Large-Scale Community-based Projects" which helps those involved in the preparation process of large-scale community- based projects (Box 4).

Box 4. Ten steps for Designing Large-Scale Community-based Projects

(1) Clarify, simplify, and prioritize objectives; link them to outputs;
(2) Identify the key social actors, capacity, and interests at community and agency levels;
(3) Assess demand;
(4) Craft a self selection process for subprojects, groups, or communities;
(5) Structure subsidies that do not violate demand;
(6) Restructure fund release to support demand;
(7) Plan for leaning and plurality of models;
(8) Invest in outreach mechanisms and social organization;
(9) Institute participatory monitoring and evaluation and feedback loops; and
(10) Redefine procurement rules to support community level procurement where possible.

Source: Narayan (1995)

Part Two: World Bank Practices of Community Participation in Education

The World Bank has been increasing its focus on participation in a wide range of sectors. In the education sector, the Bank started making extensive efforts to learn about how participation could contribute to improving Bank's education projects. This started in late 1980s, around the time when participation started receiving attention in development field. The Bank has since been aiming to involve different stakeholders and is continuously working with various actors that play important roles in the education sector.

As the increasing number of research studies show the close relationship between community participation and the improvement of the education delivery, the Bank has been exploring ways to integrate parents and communities in education projects. The degree or level of participation varies from project to project, given the different contexts in which projects are planned and implemented, and the different ways to achieve the project goals. The paper now turns to reviewing selected Bank education projects.

Methodology

Twenty-three education projects that had community participation components were identified through ImageBank [2], and Staff Appraisal Reports (SAR) and Project Appraisal Documents (PAD) were obtained, and thoroughly reviewed. Eight out of twenty-three projects were selected for further examination because their attempts to involve communities into project components were more clearly addressed than other projects. In addition to reviewing SARs or PADs, other documents, if available, were studied, and interview with Task Managers were conducted when possible. The limitation of this study is that the study had to rely heavily on existing writing materials.

The paper now turns to examining eight Bank education projects, followed by a brief profile of 15 other projects.

Examination of Eight Bank education projects

Chad: Basic Education Project (Education V)

People in Chad value education highly and, therefore, local contributions to the cost of education have been a long standing tradition in the country. This explains the fact that local communities came to play a greater role in financing and operating schools when the education system deteriorated due to the war (1979-82) and suffered from the slow recovery of the period of disturbances.

The government had been aware of the reality that the communities play an important role in school operation and, thus, requested that the World Bank to prepare a project, the Basic Education Project, to involve local people and respond to their real needs and concerns. In order to ensure various stakeholders' participation, the project preparation was carried out involving various groups of people. First, the government organized four regional conferences, inviting members of local school associations, representatives of NGOs, women's groups as well as high ministry officials, schools inspectors, school directors and teachers. At the meetings, participants discussed local primary education problems and strategies to overcome the problems. The discussions helped reveal that Chadians at the local level are seriously committed to and closely involved in educating their children.

[2] ImageBank is a web based text search and retrieval system which contains a collection of Bank reports.

Based on these findings, the project was designed to promote community participation by involving communities in the process of developing and implementing local pedagogic-improvement projects, underlining the Government's proposal to decentralize education management and promote local decision-making in order to improve school quality.

This component includes experimentation with three types of school-based programs in three different regions covering 36 % of total primary enrollment. They include: (1) 90 pedagogic improvement projects developed by and involving the community; (2) comprehensive student testing in 100 schools; and (3)support to 100 Parents' Associations to organize themselves, to administer their funds, and to mobilize the communities in support of primary education. To improve school quality, the project supports local pedagogic-improvement projects designed at the school level by teachers, parents, and NGOs. They include activities such as: (a) improving reading, writing, mathematics, and social science skills; (b) implementing new pedagogical models and teaching approaches; (c) increasing community participation in school activities (e.g., teaching of local history, functional skills needed in the community); (d) developing supplementary instructional materials for independent study; and (e) implementing pedagogical and supervision workshops for teachers in a set of neighboring schools.

Sources:

World Bank. (1993). Staff Appraisal Report, "Republic of Chad Basic Education Project(Education V)."
World Bank. (1996). *World Bank Participation Sourcebook*

Ghana: Community Secondary Schools Construction Project

Even though the Ghanaian Government attempted to focus on social sector development and promote the development of human capital, the country was not successful in improving access to education for many children in rural areas, particularly to senior secondary schools. The existing schools were either boarding schools with fees that many rural families could not afford, or were situated in the major towns, out of reach of most rural children. Under this circumstance, the Government requested Bank assistance to support about 140 local communities in their efforts in constructing new senior secondary schools in educationally undersexed rural areas. The project was approved in 1991.

The Government first developed a system of providing matching grants for communities who were ready to undertake various development projects to improve their communities such as schools, health centers, public latrines and markets. It then estimated the cost of a particular type of project and on the basis of this, determined a level of support to be provided to communities undertaking the project anywhere in Ghana. The Government provided a two-thirds matching grant in two installments to the communities that first completed the building's foundation from their own resources, and be committed to provide one-third of an agreed fixed cost of a particular type of building in cash, building materials or labor. The project also intended to help ensure that these new schools not to become academic islands, but instead become real community schools serving the communities' interests, and local communities have access to the library books and share the facilities to which they will have contributed.

The Implementation Completion Report concludes that the procurement for civil works handled directly by the district assemblies, (providing support to local communities in their construction activities, with each phase of work certified by independent technical auditors), proved to be effective. However, the Report also reveals that community contribution was below the 30 percent estimated at appraisal, even though all communities contributed their labor toward construction. Implementation experience showed that the key factor in the mobilization of community participation was *local level leadership* , but during the initial field survey no attempt was made to ascertain whether such leadership existed or not.

The Report discussed that when community participation is to be relied upon it is very important that enthusiasm, once created, is maintained. It is important to launch a community construction project *only when all systems are fully in place* so there will be no delays. Lessons learned from the project include:

- the need to spend a great deal of time and effort in preparing community participation activities;
- the necessity to properly time project launch in order to ensure maximum community participation and the necessity to continuously maintain this motivation;
- the need to pay communities and local contractors directly and not to pass through an intermediary such as a local government authority; and
- the need to overcome the difficulty that the Ministry of Education has in effectively communicating and controlling activities at the district and community levels.

Sources:

World Bank (1991). Staff Appraisal Report, "Republic of Ghana Community Secondary Schools Construction Project."

World Bank (1995). Implementation Completion Report, "Republic of Ghana Community Secondary Schools Construction Project."

Malawi: Primary Education Project

In June, 1994, the Government of Malawi announced that all primary school fees would be abolished as of the beginning of the new school year in October, 1994. This created a flood of over million additional students into the primary system, and necessitated the hiring of about 20,000 new teachers. Classrooms were overcrowded, and thousands of children had to take their lessons in temporary facilities such as churches and mosques. Thousands more assembled in the open air, under trees or were crammed into rooms, and it was common to see classes of two or three hundred children in a small shed. The Government estimated a need of about 38,000 new classrooms to attain a ratio of about 60 pupils per classroom. It became clear that the quality of education was deteriorated because of the lack of facilities and human resources to deliver education.

Under this crucial circumstance, the Primary Education Project was developed, focusing on the following urgently needed activities: (i) construction of about 1,600 primary classrooms and associated infrastructure; (ii) pedagogical support and in -service teacher training particularly focused on the recently recruited teachers; and (iii) the provision of teaching and learning materials. Community participation was incorporated in attempts to realize the first objective of school construction.

The notion of integrating community participation into the project was considered from the preparation stage of the project. The importance of community participation in education was clearly recognized and all the stakeholders, including the Bank, the Government, and communities, agreed that the project would greatly focus on community participation. However, the fact that it takes time to exercise any kind of participation at any level imposed challenges to the stakeholders who were seeking for immediate solutions to serve additional 1.3 million children. The question of balancing demand and supply has been a big dilemma through the project implementation.

The Government undertook a school location exercise to determine the communities in which the new schools would be located as well as those in which schools would be expanded. Once identified, the communities were required to select the sites for the new schools and to prepare them for construction.

The community was mobilized for completing the classroom shells. Two to three day - orientation sessions were held for key officials from each district in order to increase enthusiasm and commitment to complete and maintain the shells. At the village level, community leaders were invited to take part in orientation workshops, to instill a sense of school ownership in the communities. Three leaders from each community, including a traditional chief with recognized local authority, took part in the workshops.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are quite active in Malawi and have a comparative advantage in the social sectors, given their proximity to grass- root levels, and their capacity to deal with community-based assignments. NGOs were expected to play a significant role in carrying out community mobilization, sensitization, capacity building, training for leadership and transformation, selection of high caliber people, and putting into place monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.

The project financed activities related to community mobilization and development. These included the participation of NGOs as resource persons for training and capacity building efforts at the community level and for providing technical assistance for community mobilization. NGO involvement in this project helped to expedite the uptake and to facilitate greater awareness of the communities as to how the project has been structured.

Although the Project has generally been considered successful, there were some incidents that indicate difficulty and complexity of community participation in the project. First, some communities became quite enthusiastic and prepared too many bricks without knowing how long they had to wait to receive the shell. Second, some communities were less enthusiastic about contributing their labor to the school construction, which slowed down the original plan. (However, once they were explained fully the importance of the schools and their contributions to their children's education, they changed their attitudes and started working more positively.) These two incidents resulted largely from lack of communication between the project implementers and the community members. This illustrates that it is important to ensure that both parties grasp the same understanding about the project.

Mr. Ngomba, project Task Manager, warned that community participation is becoming a fad and it has been a common idea that community needs to be involved in various kinds of activities in a wide rage of sectors. This can be dangerous if people do not fully examine or even think about community's capacity to carry out the activities, which will result in overloading community members with work which they are incapable to do. In addition, some communities are willing to get involved in various activities of the project, without knowing how to make contributions to the success of the project. There has to be 'a clear structure' that can help community members to understand their expected roles, and can make sure that the coordination among different groups takes places successfully.

Sources:

Interview with Peter Ngomba, TM, on Monday, July 12, 1999
World Bank (1995). Staff Appraisal Report, "Malawi Primary Education Project."

Tanzania: Human Resources Development Pilot Project

"The Bank's job is to facilitate the process." This is the main message that Donald Hamilton, Task Manager of the Human Resources Development Project, kept mentioning during an interview, held in July, 1999. He argues that Bank staff oftentimes are not well received by client countries they work with, because they come with "blue -prints," and they believe "their way" works best. Mr. Hamilton contends that the people who know what needs to be done are the people who live in the countries, and it is better to let them decide what they want to do and how they want to do it. Accordingly, the Bank's role is to be a key facilitator to make the process flow smoothly, providing necessary training

and other forms of assistance. This notion is reflected in the project, Human Resources Development Pilot Project.

The project is to invest in human capital in order to raise incomes, reduce inequality, and improve non-market outcomes. Its objectives are: (1) to raise enrollment and quality/learning outcomes of primary education; (2) to expand educational opportunities and improve quality at the secondary level, particularly for girls in poor areas; (3) to build capacity at the district and community levels; and (4) to improve policy development, planning, and research in the education sector.

The first objective, to raise enrollment and quality/learning outcomes, could be achieved through increased parental participation and financing, school-based planning and management of resources, school-based quality enhancement initiatives, and improved support for schools at the district level. More specifically, the project establishes a Community Education Fund (CEF) pilot, which is a matching grant program intended to empower communities to improve their primary schools. It is designed to overcome under-funding of the schools and the lack of accountability at the primary school level.

CEF takes a participatory form from the initial stage. First, the residents of each village gather in a community meeting to decide by majority vote whether to participate in the CEF program. If they decide to participate in the program, school funding priorities are established, and the amount is set for parents to contribute to CEF during the first year. Second, the school committee prepares a detailed School Plan, including the Plan's objectives, a three-year budget, and implementation and procurement plans for the first year. Third, the School Plan is cleared by the village council, which then calls another community meeting to review the School Plan with parents, who then vote on whether to accept the Plan. Lastly, half of the contributions are collected from parents and deposited in the primary school's CEF bank account. After verifying that the community's contribution is in the community's CEF bank account, the government deposits a matching grant into the same account. Once the implementation begins, there are fixed periodic reviews by the village council and the government.

In order to be qualified eligible for CEF, schools must: be registered to operate as primary schools in Tanzania; have a school committee elected by the parents; develop a Three Year School Plan; and enter into a Memorandum of Understanding with parents and the government.

Under the matching grant portion of the program, the government matches the money that all participating school communities raise on a 1-to- 1 basis, and provisions have been made for matching on a 1.5-to-1 basis targeted for schools in poorer districts. In addition to the matching grants, the project finances development costs for school-level governance, management, and accountability, such as costs for materials and training, plus incremental administrative costs at the district level. In addition, for schools that have successfully participated in the CEF program, following the first year, the project will solicit academic improvement plans and school nutrition/health plans from the schools, to be funded on a competitive basis with the limited funds available for this purpose. Furthermore, CEF schools are eligible to compete for additional grants to implement school health and performance improvement programs.
Community members are participating in this activity by contributing funds and by forming school committees to monitor school performance. Community members are willing to make cash contributions because, as Mr. Hamilton, TM, stresses, "community members really care about their children and they want to provide good education for their children." It is also important to note that Tanzania is well known for local initiatives and efforts of community development, which suggests that the level of awareness and eagerness about collaborative work among community members is quite high.

Lessons Learned

Before the project started in 1998, a pre-test was conducted from 1995 to 1997. It was started in 1995 with Ministry of Education and Culture's local advertisement for consultants to prepare the design of the Community Education Fund and the Girls' Secondary Education Support components. Pre-tests were first carried out in four schools in 1995 and expanded to 30 schools in 1996 and to additional 135 schools in 1997. The pre-test revealed some positive factors (Ferreire):

- construction works tend to be much less expensive and faster than under previous IDA-financed projects;
- there is a history of theft of donated desks and equipment from primary schools in the country. One CEF community reported that there is no fear of having new desks stolen any longer because parents are partial owners;
- in one village, the school committee hired a carpenter to build desks. Members of the committee monitored him by requiring him to build the school desks on the school premises and kept the materials under lock and key. Each desk cost Tsh. 12,000, compared to a market price of Tsh. 30-40,000;
- schools are keeping careful records of transactions;
- an independent evaluation could not find a single parent in 4 pre-test villages who did not know about and understand the program;
- parental contributions have been 10-20 times more than had previously been committed to the schools;
- parents were well aware of the program, and willing to help finance school activities if they knew how the money would be spent and were confident that there would be adequate places to allow them to enroll their children in school on time;
- villages have successfully handled subsidies for parents who cannot pay, through loans or payment in labor, but no one has been exempted from making some contribution;
- teachers have a key role to play in preparing the school plan and managing implementation. For most, this is the first time they have a real sign in school policies and money to implement changes.

Furthermore, reviewing the pre-test resulted in revealing that, " the willingness of parents to contribute might be due not to the existence of a matching grant, but rather to the *transparent process* that had been set up. Parents knew there was a plan for using the money, *they could observe how it was going to be spent*, and they would receive an accounting of expenditures before they were asked to pay again" (emphasis added) ("Annex C: Review of Pre-Tests" from SAR).

The review also revealed some key issues: there was concern about increased work for parents and teachers; the government's capacity to implement the activity country-wide was uncertain; it was uncertain whether to rely on the voluntary nature of the CEF contribution by parents; the district government was incapable to supervise schools due to a lack of transport; there was a need for better guidelines for classroom and desk designs for CEF schools; management training for head teachers was lacking; school-level statistics was insufficient; the existence of multiple donors implementing different programs in several districts could make the project complicated; and there was need for commitment at each level – school, village, district, center – for the program to work.

Based on these findings, the project design was modified. As a constant check mechanism, every CEF is required to complete, or update a Three Year Plan, using provided forms to secure a matching grant from the government. The Village Council or Ward Development Committee is responsible for monitoring activities carried out by the CEF program.

Sources:

Ferreire, Luisa. "Community Education Fund (CEF): Brief Overview of the Program." Paper available at: http://afr.worldbank.org/aft2/educ/tanzcef.htm
Interview with Donald Hamilton, Task Manager, held on July 29, 1999
Ministry of Education and Culture, The United Republic of Tanzania. "Community Education Fund: Draft Program Implementation Document." Electronic copy of the document available at: http://afr.worldbank.org/aft2/educ/tanzcef.htm
World Bank. (1997). Staff Appraisal Report, "Tanzania Human Resources Development Pilot Project."

Bolivia: Education Reform Project

Parents and communities in Bolivia have traditionally made cash and in-kind contributions to their children's school. However, they have historically had no voice in decisions directly affecting their children's education. Parents and communities have not been involved in selecting teachers, determining the school calendar, the language of instruction and content of materials, and evaluating teachers' attendance or behavior. Even when communities protest regarding teacher absenteeism, abuse of children, or other misbehavior, they only encounter administrative authorities that are habitually unresponsive. This poor educational system largely has resulted from strongly centralized decision making, cronyism, and corruption.

In order to change this situation, the Bank supports the Education Reform Project that aims to foster decentralization of administration to the regional and local levels. It also attempts to establish mechanisms for community participation and strengthen the capacity of entities at the departmental level and below, including local communities, to effectively oversee delivery of education services and participate in the process of decision making.

The project is designed to support the government's educational reform strategy that introduces mechanisms to achieve the effective participation of parents and communities. The School Board, comprised parents and community members, works with District Education boards and Local Education Boards to review and approve key decisions a the corresponding level, such as selection of key personnel, budgets, yearly operating plans, school calendars, and selection of materials. The School Board will also approve all appointments of principals and teachers as well as the yearly budget, and will report on resource use. The School Board will be asked to evaluate aspects of teacher performance, in particular, their class attendance and treatment of children, and to participate in the identification of students' learning needs and in the overall definition of the new curriculum.

Designed to support the government's strategy of education reform, the project attempts to involve parents and local communities in decisionmaking and the evaluation of the performance of service providers, in order to make the education system truly accountable to the people. In addition, the project regards school as a community resource, the center for community training programs and other extracurricular activities, thus allowing the community to assume its new responsibilities, and parents to better understand and carry out their role of supporting, and reinforcing the education of their children.

To set this process in motion from the outset of the education reform, school and local councils are created. These councils actively participate with local National Secretariat Education representatives in activities, including selecting teachers, allocating the budget, determining the language of instruction, and setting the school calendar. Furthermore, the councils provide continuing oversight of the education system at a community level. Because they are more directly accountable to the communities in which they work, teachers and administrators are more responsive to beneficiaries' needs, which is an important step to achieve decentralization of the education system.

Community participation in the decisionmaking process is essential to making any governmental or private system, accountable to its beneficiaries. The success of the education reform program in Bolivia will be assessed by the degree to which school councils can be empowered and enabled to assume these responsibilities.

Factors associated with effective mechanisms of community participation include:

- a clearly defined legal framework that allows representative school councils to function with real decision-making authority;
- establishment of non-politicized school and local councils, truly representative of the common interests prevalent within the community;
- election of representatives to higher-level educational boards by local school councils, rather than by political appointment;
- training for council members and community authorities in how to carry out their duties responsibly, including the objective assessment of financial responsibilities and operational performance;
- timely and reliable reporting by school administrators to school councils on financial expenditures, facilities management, teacher and student performance, and other pertinent administrative information;
- timely provision of information by the central and departmental authorities on innovative activities in other schools, and on the performance of the system in general, as indicators to stimulate local initiatives and against which to measure progress; and
- participation of the school council in the school budget process, including allocation of central government transfers as well as contributions in cash and in kind form the community.

Source: World Bank. (1994). Staff Appraisal Report, "Bolivia Education Reform Project."

Dominican Republic: Primary Education Development Project

The fact that 4,000 out of the 5,000 public primary schools had already organized parent-teacher associations (PTAs) in 1991 suggests a high degree of community involvement in schools in the Dominican Republic. Although operated with limited or no monetary resources, the PTAs have been highly committed to improving educational effectiveness. Where established, PTAs have been responsible for collecting the rental fees for the textbooks distributed in the mid-1980s. Additional funds collected by better-off associations have been used for modest inputs to school upkeep and for materials. PTAs also have managed the school feeding.

Given the fact that PTAs existed in a large number of the primary schools, the Primary Education Development Project focuses on expanding and developing capabilities of Parent-Teacher Associations in order to achieve effective and sustained community involvement in primary education. This improvement was based on strengthening the functions and capabilities of the Secretariat (Ministry) of the State for Education, Arts and Culture (SEEBAC) Department for Community Participation, including its regional representatives, and focus on providing regular support for the associations.

Specifically, the Department was responsible for arranging training to enhance participation techniques, procedures and practices for the associations; monitoring the relevant practices and activities; and promoting establishment of approximately 1,000 additional parent-teacher associations so that all 5,000 public primary schools were represented. Technical support of the associations in particular areas was the responsibility of the appropriate SEEBAC Department.

The support for developing the capacity of PTAs to increase involvement in school-based activities was directed towards the school maintenance and nutrition programs and the distribution of student textbooks and materials. Parent-teacher associations were responsible for the actual distribution of textbooks at the school level, while the National Book Bank was responsible for organizing the distribution and storage of the materials and maintaining control of inventory. The Department of Community Participation received technical assistance (six staff-month) in program planning and management, community participation training methodologies, and supervisory and monitoring skills. Financing was provided for office equipment, for one- to two-day orientations on community participation techniques for representatives of each parent-teacher association, for study tours for staff of the Department of Community Participation to visit similar agencies in nearby countries, and for monitoring of community participation.

As a summary, PTAs were expected to: (a) participate in the administration of the national examinations; (b) supervise the distribution of school lunches (and in some communities cook them); (c) raise funds for school activities; and (d) repair schools.

The principle behind involving the community in these activities was not primarily financial savings but the raising of consciousness and the awareness that buildings must be kept in good order and that parents must know and be involved in the functioning of the school.

According to the Implementation Completion Report, parents' associations were established for each primary school, as planned. It was also found that some communities were better prepared to do the tasks as planed in the project than others. Maintenance was the most successful parent task. About 560 schools were repaired with parent participation, exceeding the initial target of 375. PTAs also participated in the project programs for nutrition and helped distribute textbooks and materials. On an experimental basis, the PTAs also began to monitor teacher and student attendance. While limited in scope, the component yielded positive results, confirming the potential for increased participation and management inputs at the school level.

Sources:

World Bank (1991). Staff Appraisal Report, "Dominican Republic Primary Education Development Project."

World Bank (1998). Implementation Completion Report, "Dominican Republic Primary Education Development Project"

World Bank (1999). Performance Audit Report, "Dominican Republic Primary Education Development Project."

EDUCO: Basic Education Modernization Project in El Salvador

The twelve year civil war that ended in 1992 left El Salvador in despair. The government was incapable of delivering public services to its citizens. Education services were not delivered to children, particularly in rural areas. In this critical circumstance, some communities organized themselves and developed a self-managed, private form of education administered by an association of rural workers who hired and paid teachers directly from their own financial resources. In 1991, the Government started to transfer its funds to these innovative Community-managed Schools (Educación con Participación de la Comunidad - EDUCO).

The World Bank's involvement in EDUCO started with support by the Social Sector Rehabilitation Project (SSRP) in 1991, which was designed to enhance the pubic sector's capacity to manage and deliver health and education services efficiently. SSRP supported the development of EDUCO, aiming at improving the delivery and the quality of basic education services in rural areas, and testing a decentralized education system based on community management of service delivery.

In 1995, the Bank approved US$34.0 million loan to the Basic Education Modernization Project, in collaboration of the Inter- American Development Bank with a loan of US$ 37.3 million. As part of its efforts to promote greater equity, quality and efficiency in the provision of education services, the project supports the expansion of EDUCO, including rehabilitating the school infrastructure in rural schools and technical assistance for strengthening the EDUCO model.

EDUCO schools are operated by the Community Education Association (ACE), comprised of parents of the children served by the schools. ACEs' responsibilities include: hiring teachers; monitoring teacher performance; ensuring teacher attendance; providing feedback to parents on children's progress; managing the budget with the direct transfer of Ministry of Education (MOE) funds to an ACE account; contributing to the maintenance and equipment of the schools; raising additional financial resources if necessary; and mobilizing parents and community members to provide voluntary service in support of school.

An evaluation study shows that EDUCO students performed on a level comparable with students in traditional schools (rural and urban), and some cases better. It also reveals that the program increased teacher time-on-task as reflected in higher attendance compared to the teachers hired by MOE. Given the lower average socioeconomic status of EDUCO students compared with students in traditional schools, the study results indicate that EDUCO model has been successful, particularly in delivering educational services to children in rural areas.

During an interview, Madalena dos Santos, Project Task Manager, stressed that EDUCO model has been successful because of the following factors. First, EDUCO model is always evolving. dos Santos emphasizes that challenges have been there from the beginning of the project, and it has never been easy to overcome any of the problems. She stresses that there isn't such a thing as a complete package called "EDUCO model." "We continuously monitor," and make changes according to the given situations unique to communities and schools from one place to another. One major challenge now is to convince the new government to support EDUCO and its expansion. "It won't be easy, and we have to keep working hard."
Another factor is the country context which resulted from the war, where the Government was unable to provide services to its citizens and to impose top -down approaches to its citizens. Since there was not a strong force in the Government, the efforts to decentralize the education system rarely encountered obstacles to prevent them from advancing. Communities have been not just willing, but also capable of getting involved in education for their children. The conflict left many people unemployed, including teachers. Therefore, when the chance was given to work as EDUCO teachers, they were willing to take it, collaborate with parents who have lower educational attainment, and have them in control of the school management, even though about 80 percent of EDUCO teachers hold college degrees, much higher education level than those of the parents.

Another factor that made the EDUCO model successful is that, unlike some countries where castes and gender are serious issues that influence people's lives and limit access to services for some groups of people, El Salvador is relatively free from such constraints. In addition, people in El Salvador are generally humble (dos Santos) and there has been positive collaboration and sound relationships between teachers and parents. Furthermore, teachers are willing to have parents operate schools because parents take lots of responsibilities when they are in the position of managing schools, which reduces teachers' work.

In any effort to promote community participation, it is necessary to assess the communities' capacity to carry out what they are expected to achieve in a long run. Communities' willingness to get involved in schools is important, but it is not enough. In order to make community participation successful, communities should have: financial knowledge to handle the budget, the funds transferred

from the MOE; political will to collaborate with MOE and governments; and technical knowledge and skills to carry out school operations themselves. It also requires institutional capabilities at MOE, district, and local levels to implement decentralized approach. dos Santos emphasized that any approaches to promote community participation have to have a mechanism or structure that is always flexible for making changes, able to be modified according to given circumstances. It is not surprising that these are all found in EDUCO, a successful model for community-managed schools.

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Honduras Basic Education Project

In Honduras, approximately 7.2 percent of the school age population are from ethnic groups whose mother tongue is not Spanish, and their culture is different from the one practiced by the large population of the country. The current educational system, however, doesn't provide them with any special instruction. Although the country has made considerable progress in expanding access to education in recent decades, particularly at the primary school level, the indigenous children find themselves disadvantaged in a classroom because they are exposed to books and other learning materials designed for Spanish speaking children. As a result, compared to non-indigenous population, indigenous people's school enrollment rates are lower, academic achievements are poorer, and illiteracy rate is higher.

These problems are clearly addressed and planned to be improved in the Basic Education Project, financed by the World Bank (credit of US$30.0 million), the Government of Germany (loan of US $13.3 million) and the Government of Honduras (US $ 9.8 million). The project aims to enhance the learning experience of indigenous students and raise their academic achievement levels by providing equitable access to better quality basic education through the introduction of bilingual education at the primary school level.

The preparation of the project started with close dialogue between indigenous leaders, teachers, scholars and parents. An introductory course was offered to teachers and indigenous leaders to teach them the objectives of the bilingual education program. Ethnic-linguistic field research was carried out by the Ministry of Education (MOE) in collaboration with indigenous leaders, scholars and teachers, and international technical assistance financed by another Bank funded project, Rural Primary Education Management Project.

The research study contributed to identifying significant elements, including (a) the number of potential indigenous students; (b) the number of indigenous teachers from each ethnic group working in the public school system; (c) enrollment of indigenous children from each ethnic group, in preprimary and primary school; (d) results of bilingual education pilot projects which were implemented in Honduras; and (e) a survey of the relevant bibliography and specialized consulting services, including available bilingual educational materials. In another research study, efforts were also made to identify the levels of linguistic ability of teachers and children of each ethnic group.

The Honduran population embraces eight indigenous groups, the largest being the *Miskito* and the *Garifuna* which, together, cover about 60 percent of the indigenous population. The project targeted these two groups.
The bilingual education component of the project would provide for (a) development and approval of a bilingual-intercultural primary education curriculum; (b) in-service training for primary teachers and supervisors, including development and production of specialized training materials; (c) pre-service training of bilingual-intercultural teachers; (d) development, production, and printing of didactic materials in autochthonous languages and in Spanish; (e) vehicles and boats to facilitate access to indigenous schools by supervisors; (f) technical assistance and consultants' services; (g) office equipment; and (h) operating costs. A participatory methodology will continue to be applied in the development and implementation of the program.

The Government is supportive of and committed to introducing and developing bilingual education at the preschool and primary levels. It also supports indigenous efforts to raise the literacy rates among young adults. The proposed project supports the production of primary schools textbooks and reading materials written in the *Miskito* and *Garifuna* languages, and provids special training for teachers working in schools with high enrollments of indigenous children.

The project's efforts to promote community participation were carried out through (a) the distribution of textbooks and didactic materials within each Municipality; (b) school construction; (c) provision of community-run preschool programs; and (d) a pilot incentive program to enhance the performance of teachers. As part of efforts to improve teacher performance, the project attempts to involve parents and the local community to participate in monitoring teachers' attendance. Teachers' performance will be measured by teacher attendance and improvements in students' attendance. Parents take a major role in this practice to verify teachers' attendance.

Source: World Bank. 1995. Staff Appraisal Report, "Honduras Basic Education Project."

Brief profile of 15 Other World Bank education projects
The *Post-Primary Education Project in Burkina Faso* (approved in 1996) attempts to foster community involvement by providing partial financial responsibilities for developing (construction, equipment, staffing, etc.) 50 general education schools (CEG) of four classes each. The selection of localities and programming for the CEG development is based on needs and demand. The design of this component follows the approach developed by the Ministry of Secondary and Higher Education and Scientific Research (MESSRS) which delegates more responsibility to local communities. Communities are encouraged to participate in the development of their schools through all phases, including planning, construction, and operation. Their participation in construction can be through labor, provision of basic construction materials, or contracting the work to local artisans and small entrepreneurs. Considering, on one hand, the communities' uneven performance in construction—completion often takes too long and quality is very poor—and, on the other hand, the urgent need to increase access to Lower Secondary Education, MESSRS proposes that (a) the credit support the construction of facilities necessary for the opening of the school, and (b) the communities, with assistance from the Government, will be responsible for the construction of housing for teachers, the routine maintenance of the structures, and the construction of optional structures, if desired in the future. The Directorate of Studies and Planning provides guidance and technical support to local communities including simplified plans and technical specifications.
Source: World Bank (1996). "Burkina Faso Fourth Education Project: Staff Appraisal Document." Washington, DC: The World Bank.

The *Basic Education Sector Improvement Program in Ghana* (approved in 1995) supports the Ministry of Education (MOE)'s recognition of the importance of community and parental involvement in schooling in order to improve the teaching and learning environment. MOE considers that communities have an important role to play in enforcing standards, developing and maintaining school property, and providing support and encouragement to headteachers, teachers, and students. The ultimate goal is to develop community ownership, pride, and a sense of responsibility for schools. Under this project, MOE fosters community involvement in education by: (1) strengthening School Management Committees; (2) devising mechanisms for consultation with District Education Oversight Committees to ensure the equitable allocation of resources across basic education; and (3) establishing a system for stakeholder consultation to provide feedback on progress towards program goals.

The project also supports MOE to work with communications specialists and NGOs in developing a strategy to help communities understand that they need to get involved in their children' s basic education. there is a particular focus to promote understanding of the social and economic benefits of educating girls and to persuade people of the intrinsic worth of basic education, independent of economic returns.

Source: World Bank (1996). "Republic of Ghana Basic Education Sector Improvement Program: Staff Appraisal Report." Washington, DC: The World Bank.

The *Equity and School Improvement Project in Guinea* (approved in 1995) aims at improving the community-level capacity for school maintenance and upkeep functions in order to increase primary school enrollment and completion rates. The communities are responsible for the regular maintenance of primary schools and they receive training and other support under the project through the intermediary of local NGOs. All new school construction includes the establishment of a maintenance function at the school level which is under the assistance of the NGOs responsible for overseeing the construction program. The project finances training of school and community personnel in maintenance and upkeep through the intermediary of local NGOs. It includes all primary and lower secondary schools and the 17 lower secondary vocational education and training institutions.

Source: World Bank (1995). "Republic of Guinea Equity and School Improvement Project: Staff Appraisal Report." Washington, DC: The World Bank.

The *Education Sector Development Project in Madagascar* (approved in 1998) supports the Government in preparing and implementing *school -based projects* to develop partnerships between teachers, administrators, and representatives of the local communities; and an improvement in participation in quality primary education especially in rural areas. The projects are based on a school-based contract which analyzes the needs of the community and the school, and defines the school objectives, the responsibilities of each partner, the principal activities, a calendar for their achievement, and the cost and the sources of financing. The idea underlying this activity is that each school has its own differentiated and unique needs; therefore, it requires the active participation of various school partners, including parents of the pupils, village committees, teachers, authorities and services of the Ministry of Education, in the process of defining in operational terms the factors which would be the object of specific interventions. The project also aims to increase communities' awareness of the school-based approach by conducing campaigns.

Sources:

World Bank (1998) . "Madagascar: Education Sector Development Project: Project Appraisal Document." Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Interview with Daniel Viens, Project Task Manager, in August, 1999

The *Fourth Basic Education Project in China* (approved in 1997) recognizes the significance of community participation and, therefore, attempts to involve communities in the project preparation. Interviews were conducted involving parents, grandparents, teachers and principals, Village Education Committee members, and local village leaders, in order to identify local education priorities. Village Committees were also involved in discussing project design issues with school principals. The project regards Village Committees in which parents are active as important in supporting many school

activities, such as school construction and repairs, payment of teachers and accommodation of teachers, ensuring that all children enroll in school, and the introduction of local content in local curriculum. During the project implementation, local community participation is expected to occur by direct and indirect means. Direct participation can be seen in parental participation in school meetings, usually two or three times a term, to discuss their children's school work and their activities at school. Teachers also make several visits each term to discuss the children's study program and performance in school with parents. Village Committees are expected to continue to function during the life of the project, and to contribute to the success of project implementation.

In order to improve participation and retention rates of girls, the project continues activities including house-to-house visits by school or village committee officials, awareness campaigns, and guidance and counseling for families.

Source: World Bank (1997). "China Fourth Basic Education Project: Staff Appraisal Report." Washington, DC: The World Bank.

The *Third Elementary Education Project in the Philippines* (approved in 1996) aims to involve communities in a Policy and Institutional Framework (PIE) which ensures that basic inputs are delivered to the project-targeted-schools through community involvement, more transparent operations, and improved school and classroom processes. In order to achieve educational improvement in 26 poor provinces, the project focuses on improving learning, raising completion rates, and expanding access. Community mobilization is used to contribute to the success of raising completion rates. The induction and training offered to provincial level stakeholders are also available to Municipal LGUs, School Management advisory Committees (elected from PTAs) and communities. Topics include techniques to ensure the sound operation of these bodies and partnerships. As part of the participatory planning process, the indigenous people are encouraged to voice their needs for culturally sensitive educational programs. In order to expand access to quality elementary education, the project promotes small multigrade schools as an alternative, utilizing the participatory school mapping exercise initiated during preparation.

Source: World Bank. (1996). "Republic of Philippines Third Elementary Education Project: Staff Appraisal Report." Washington, DC: The World Bank.

The *Basic Education Improvement Project in Egypt* (approved in 1993) allows the Government to improve and accelerate the implementation of its strategy to mobilize community support and resources for the education sector. Community participation is two-fold: (1) to purchase/donate appropriate sites for school construction; and (2) to donate the equivalent of 5 percent of the estimated construction cost for maintenance, either in cash or in kind, as a prerequisite for building a school. For equity purposes, the Ministry of Education can waive this prerequisite for communities that are too poor to generate these resources. The funds serve to supplement those already made available to the school through Government (central and regional) resources. Technical assistance is provided to enhance the role of communities in school building and maintenance

Source: World Bank (1993). "Arab Republic of Egypt, Basic Education Improvement Project: Staff Appraisal Report." Washington, DC: The World Bank.

The *Social Priorities Program, Basic Education Project in Morocco* (approved in 1996) involves communities in its attempts to reduce the gender gap. The project organizes two awareness campaigns for each targeted community over the project period in order to promote schooling for girls in rural areas. The campaigns are organized with the help of local elected officials and central administration representatives.

The project also fosters community participation in operating schools. Communities are expected to carry out various small scale investments, including investments in building classrooms, latrines, canteens, water fountains, and dirt roads. The communities prepare a yearly budget. Most Moroccan communities already have the required managerial know-how to implement the projects presently included in their budgets. Whenever a community does not have the required expertise,

governors provide the required technical assistance, including architects, engineers, site supervisors, accountants, etc.

Source: World Bank (1996). "Kingdom of Morocco Social Priorities Program Basic Education project: Staff Appraisal Report." Washington, DC: The World Bank.

The *School Improvement Project – Fundescola I in Brazil* (approved in 1998) seeks to foster community participation in order to strengthen education management and project administration. A social mobilization effort is utilized to involve parents and communities along with political leaders and education professionals both in the school development process and the FUNDESCOLA implementation activities. This mobilization occurs by means of media communication, national social marketing campaigns, video production, posters, conferences, socialization activities, and capacity building of interested groups. To achieve this objective, the project fosters community mobilization and clientele building by helping different segments of society (parents, communities, political leaders, and media professionals) to value basic education, organize themselves, and participate in school life. The project also initiates information dissemination on FUNDESCOLA I objectives, strategies, results, and reciprocity with other MEC programs, through the media and other communication resources. The project emphasizes the development of informed ownership at the local level to ensure parents' and community members' involvement in school activities. It also promotes parents', families', and communities' involvement in the schooling process of their children (including access to schooling, and remaining in school), and their participation in the activities of the school.

As a principal operational mechanism, the *School Development Plan* (PDE) is set up, which is both the result of one process (diagnosis and strategy formulation) and the starting point of another (school improvement implementation and monitoring). The school and its community of parents, teachers, and local leaders meet in order to identify and prioritize the problems at the school, establish specific school improvement objectives, and agree on an action plan. The most important outcome of the PDE is not its completion but rather the process of collaboration, participation, the teamwork among parents and teachers in every stage of project development, the value that each stakeholder derives from the experience, and, in the end, the learning dividends of the students.

Source: World Bank (1998), "Brazil: the School Improvement Project – Fundescola I: Project Appraisal Document." Washington, DC: The World Bank.

The *Basic Education Reform Project in Guatemala* (approved in 1997) aims to expand and consolidate PRONADE (National Community-Managed Program for Educational Development), an administrative and financing mechanism to support community management of schools in rural areas, in order to increase coverage and access with equity. PRONADE, an established Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) program, provides financial resources to organized communities to promote the decentralized administration of education services; therefore, strengthening community management of schools. To carry out its mission, PRONADE supports the formation of formally legalized parent- run school committees (COEDUCA – Comité Educativo de Autogestión Educativa). The MINEDUC signs an agreement with each COEDUCA, committing to provide economic resources through PRONADE.

A trust fund was established in the Banco del Café in Guatemala, in which the Ministry of Public Finance gives resources requested by MINEDUC. The bank then transfers funds to COEDUCA accounts in their regional bank offices. These resources are replenished every three months and are available to the Board members of each COEDUCA to cover teacher contracts and support services such as nutrition supplements, didactic materials for teachers, school supplies, teaching materials, and textbooks for students.

Institutions that specialize in providing Education Services (ISEs) are contracted by PRONADE to promote, organize, and support COEDUCAs and to monitor the development of the program. The ISEs' responsibilities include: organizing community COEDUCAs; training the parent members in administrative and accounting issues; orienting the teachers; supervising the COEDUCAs; and

controlling the use of resources. The same trust fund arrangement is used to cover services provided by ISEs.

Source: World Bank (1997). "Guatemala: Basic Education Reform Project: Project Appraisal Document." Washington, DC: The World Bank.

The *Education Financing and Management Reform Project in Armenia* (approved in 1997) promotes community and parental participation in school funding and management as a one of the specific objectives of the capacity building for reform management component (objective 2). A Pilot School Improvement Program as (SIP) a sub-component of the project supports implementation of the policy for school autonomy by channeling resources for school improvement directly to the schools. The objective is to mobilize additional resources and formalize community contributions to their funding and management. The SIP makes grant funds available to qualifying individual schools on the basis of expenditure priorities determined by their elected parent -teacher boards. Any school which can demonstrate that it meets the specified criteria may submit proposals on an annual basis for micro-projects to a maximum of US$ 15,000 and an estimated average of US$ 12,000. Community contributions of 10% of the project cost are required. Other criteria for eligibility include (i) autonomous status, with an active school board composed of the principal and elected parents and teachers, according to prescribed national guidelines; and (ii) a business plan for improving school performance, based on locally defined objectives, prepared by the board and adopted by a majority vote of parents.

Source: World Bank (1997). "Republic of Armenia Education Financing and Management Reform Project: Staff Appraisal Report." Washington, DC: The World Bank.

The *District Primary Education Project in India* (approved in 1994) aims to involve communities in various forms in order to improve quality and access in primary education. All participating states have established school/community organizations as called for under the Revised National Policy on Education. These organizations, known as Village Education Committees, Parent-Teacher Associations, or School Management Committees, are expected to oversee the operations of schools and nonformal education centers, conduct annual surveys of village children to identify non-enrollers and dropouts, and encourage parents to send their children to school and keep them there. States have defined the functions of community/school organizations and their membership, including reserving at least one-third of places for women. To improve effectiveness, states and districts provide training and supervision support. Depending on local circumstances, additional activities, such as micro-planning and awareness campaigns may be entrusted to these organizations. They proposed credit finances training, educational materials, and consumable supplies for strengthening community/school organizations. The proposed credit finances civil works to repair and rehabilitate existing schools, install toilets, water supply, and electricity, equipment, costs of electricity connections, and professional services as well as funds needed during the life of the project for the maintenance of all buildings and equipment provided by the project. The credit also finances educational materials, supplies, and consultant services to implement a variety of awareness building activities, including campaigns, community meetings, and fairs, in order to increase awareness of the program and the benefits of to communities and schools. Emphasis is given to the importance of keeping children, especially girls, scheduled caste, and scheduled tribe students in school.

Source: World Bank (1994). "India District Primary Education Project: Staff Appraisal Report." Washington, DC: The World Bank

The *Uttar Pradesh Basic Education Project in India* (approved in 1993) supports the Government of Uttar Pradesh (GOUP) in strengthening community participation. The GOUP has initiated administrative action to (a) expand membership to include scheduled caste, scheduled tribe, and female members, (b) assign responsibility for the distribution of scholarships, and (c) assign responsibility for school construction and rehabilitation. Additional administrate actions are being considered to strengthen the Village Education Committee (VEC) authority with respect to teachers.

The VECs maintain bank accounts and disburse funds for school construction and the purchase of educational materials. The VECs meet monthly to discuss school performance. District and block education officials participate in a sample of these meetings on a rotational basis. At negotiations, the GOUP provided assurances that the VECs would be established and maintained in all project villages and that at least one woman be a member of each VEC.

The project finances training for VEC members. In addition, it supports a program of annual cash grants in the amount of Rs. 25,000 each to VECs that shows significant achievements in completing village surveys, increasing enrollment and retention in schools, and implementing non - formal education classes. The awards are used by the VEC for school improvement activities, the purchase of educational materials, or facility improvements. Each VEC receiving an award is required to: (1) present a plan for approval of the utilization of the funds to the District Education Project Committee; (2) administer the funds through VEC accounts; and (3) maintain records and receipts for expenditures. At negotiations, the GOUP agreed to complete annual evaluations of VEC effectiveness, including female membership for discussion with the Bank in conjunction with the Government of India

Source: World Bank (1993). "India Uttar Pradesh Basic Education Project: Staff Appraisal Report." Washington, DC: The World Bank.

The *Balochistan Primary Education Program in Pakistan* (approved in 1993) aims to institute beneficiary participation by setting up parents' committees, and involving these committees in school establishment and supervision. To promote beneficiary participation through an expansion of the pilot experiment in progress, UNICEF, CIDA and possibly other Pakistani charity foundations finance community workers in selected districts to work with parents. The Directorate of Primary Education (DPE) contracts services of a few consultants to form a Coordination Unit to assist the DPE to institutionalize the beneficiary participation process within the Department of Education. The roles of the Coordinating Unit include: (a) expanding the pilot experiment on beneficiary participation by initiating community work in new districts; then handing the work over to local NGOs; (b) facilitating the processing of requests by communities for school construction, teacher appointment, and supply of materials; (c) coordinating an existing network of NGOs in the province for activities in education by mapping activities and initiatives, and information exchange; and (d) providing training to the network of NGOs with regard to education issues and methods of organizing beneficiary groups. The Unit works closely with district education offices to provide training and support for participatory activities, and with the DPE Deputy Director for Administration who is designated as the liaison with community beneficiary groups.

The Government of Balochistan provides school buildings, teacher posts, teacher training and materials made available through the program to communities which meet minimum requirement for schools and have organized beneficiary groups. Community workers assist responsive communities to form parents committees consisting solely of the parents of children in the school service area. The parents committee is responsible for providing temporary shelter and recruiting and supporting a teacher who is teaching on a voluntary basis for at least two months. Parents continue to participate in monitoring of teacher and student attendance and school maintenance.

Source: World Bank (1993). "Islamic Republic of Pakistan Balochistan Primary Education Program: Staff Appraisal Report." Washington, DC: The World Bank.

The *Northern Education Project in Pakistan* (approved in 1997) targets Northern Areas (NA) and Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK). Because the two areas of Northern Pakistan have very different circumstances with regard to current levels of community participation in education, the project applies different strategies in each area.

In the NA, the primary strategy for increasing community participation is to continue support and improve the existing community schools program started by the Department/Directorate of Education (DOE). A community school is to be run by a village education committee. The project' assistance includes teacher training opportunities for community school teachers, self-help

construction support for communities, as well as financial, technical, and institutional support. Additional technical and institutional support includes social organization and mobilization training for DOE staff to enable them to work more effectively with village education committees and parent-teacher associations. The project also supports increasing the levels of community participation in regular government schools through the creation of PTAs and the development of school supervision and physical maintenance routines in conjunction with local communities.

In AJK, the basic strategy is through the formation of school committees at the village level. Under the proposed project, the process of school committee formation begins on a pilot basis in a single district, and involves both the training of Assistant Education Officers in community mobilization techniques, and the training of newly formed school committees in their responsibilities. Under the proposed design, the formation of school committees is strengthened through school construction and rehabilitation, given the ideas that: (1) an investment in physical infrastructure is likely to mobilize the community around the school and school issues; (2) an organized school committee can help oversee the construction process; (3) one of the functions of the school committee is the ongoing maintenance of the newly constructed school, thereby preserving the value of the investment under the project. Under the project, NGOs play the role of providing technical assistance and training, but also are responsible for some aspects of project implementation. Their responsibilities include: providing support in the identification of communities eligible for receiving community school funding; increasing awareness among communities regarding program criteria; and supporting the dialogue process between the government and the community. The NGOs are also responsible for: providing social mobilization training for DOE staff; developing training materials to be used with village education committees, school management committees, and PTAs, and training DOE staff in their use, and; providing technical support to the DOE in training of village education committees, school committees and PTAs.

Source: World Bank (1997). "Pakistan, Northern Education Project: Staff Appraisal Report." Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Conclusion

Community participation itself is not a goal in educational delivery, nor a panacea to solve complicated issues contributing to poor educational quality in both developing and developed countries. It is a process that facilitates the realization of improving educational quality and the promotion of democracy within society. Through its projects, the World Bank aims at involving communities in various stages; preparation, implementation, and evaluation. Communities are also expected to develop and strengthen these capacities so that they can take over the work the Bank has initiated and continue to carry on. In this sense, the Bank's job is to facilitate the process, providing communities with the necessary knowledge and skills, and making sure communication takes place effectively among different stakeholders, including parents, community members, teachers, and government officials. As the recognition of community participation increases, careful examination of its exercises becomes more important.

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6.3. Restarting with an Education Management Organization

Center on Innovation & Improvement

Education management organizations (EMOs) are for-profit or non-profit organizations that manage public schools (Kowal & Arkin, 2005; Molnar et al., 2009). In contrast to traditional vendors that are contracted to provide specific services (e.g., professional development, payroll, food services) to districts and schools, EMOs are contracted by districts to manage and run individual schools, both traditional as well as charter schools, or clusters of schools. EMOs that manage networks of charter schools are referred to as charter management organizations (CMOs). The parameters of an EMO's management responsibility are spelled out in a performance contract between the district and an EMO. Similar to restarting with a charter, restarting with an EMO can be an effective component of a district's portfolio of strategies for improving persistently low-achieving schools (Lake & Hill, 2009).

The landscape of EMOs has expanded rapidly over the past 15 years. According to the Education Public Interest Center, which has tracked the development of EMOs over the past decade, the number of for-profit EMOs expanded from 21 to 95 between 2000 and 2009 (Molnar et al., 2009). Similarly, the number of non-profit EMOs expanded from 65 to 103 between 2000 and 2009 (Miron & Urschel, 2009). Together, for-profit and non-profit EMOs currently manage over 1300 schools in 32 states (Molnar et al. 2009; Miron & Urschel, 2009). The 20 larg-est EMOs (e.g., the 13 largest non-profit EMOs and the seven largest for-profit EMOs) together manage approxi-mately two-thirds of all schools managed by EMOs throughout the nation. Currently, over 90% of EMO-managed schools are charter schools (Molnar et al., 2009).

EMOs vary in terms of their focus, size, and overall capacity to manage significant numbers of schools. Some EMOs work in multiple districts and manage schools across the nation, such as the 20 largest EMOs. A growing number of small to mid-size EMOs work in regions, single states, or in a single district intentionally focusing their efforts on a particular niche, mission, or student population. Given that EMOs are an emerging type of service provider with varied capacity to manage schools, states and districts interested in contracting with EMOs to dra-matically improve schools need to conduct rigorous due diligence to verify capacity and ensure that the services provided reflect those required.

Restarting with an EMO involves converting a school or closing a school and reopening the school under the control of an EMO. Similar to restarting with a charter school, restarting with an EMO entails that district lead-ers, including the local school board, exercise leadership in recruiting, selecting, supporting, and monitoring EMOs. Contracts with EMOs are conceptually similar to those with charter management organizations, except that there will, of course, be no references to the state laws that authorize the creation of charter schools. As with charters, some helpful resources for creating contracts and evaluating prospective contractors are the Comprehensive School Reform Quality Center and The Finance Project (2006), Haft (2009), and the National Association of Charter School Authorizers (2009; 2006; 2004).

The relationship between a district and an EMO typically evolves along these lines:

- *ƒ* District leaders recruit potential EMOs and use a rigorous selection process to ensure that EMOs have the capacity to address identified needs (e.g., a track record with high schools or perhaps a larger percentage of children for whom English is their second language).
- *ƒ* District leaders attend to system-level governance, including the capacity of the district to identify and moni-tor the performance of EMOs (CCSRI, 2009).
- *ƒ* The district or school board enters into a performance-based contract (see for example, Denver Public Schools, 2009) with the EMO that defines the legal relationship between the district and EMO and includes:

  The specific autonomies to be provided to the EMO;

  A written and agreed upon delegation of responsibilities for the EMO and for the district;

1 The performance benchmarks and indicators to be used to measure the success of the EMO in supporting school improvement, including explicit consequences for not meeting agreed upon benchmarks and outcomes; and
2 Fiscal incentives used to hold the EMO accountable for its performance (Kowal & Arkin, 2005).

Action Principles

For State

1. Develop state-specific mechanisms that will support a district's ability to restart with an EMO. Forinstance, state education agencies could:
   - Cultivate the development of within-state education management organizations (EMOs), through incentives or partnerships with universities or education organizations.
   - Utilize a rigorous RFP process to recruit and identify potential EMOs to work with targeted districts and schools. For sample RFPs and performance indicators, see Chicago Public Schools (2009) and Denver Public Schools (2009).
   - Develop a model RFP process to be used by districts.
   - Develop and promote the policy conditions that will support effective use of EMOs, such as clarifying or defining:
     - How to select and evaluate EMOs.
     - The scope of autonomy (flexible and non-negotiable) to be granted to EMOs.
     - The scope of the district's and school's conditions that the EMO will be expected to address.
     - The EMO's responsibilities and expected outcomes to be included in a performance contract.

For District

Attend to System-Level Governance

1. Develop the capacity (internally or externally) to effectively identify, select, and monitor EMOs.
2. Engage parents and community members to implement the EMO option and select high-quality providers.
3. Research and prioritize EMOs that have the capacity to provide service in the district.
4. Develop and use a rigorous selection process to recruit and select potential EMOs.
5. Ensure alignment between EMO services and existing district services, as appropriate.

Contracting with EMOs—Articulating the Legal Relationship

1. Engage stakeholder groups to identify the right mix of autonomy and flexibility to be provided to prospective EMOs as a means of gaining support for the EMO option.
2. Clearly articulate the autonomies to be provided to EMOs.
3. Clearly articulate the delegation of responsibilities between the district and the EMO with respect to targeted schools.
4. Develop a set of non-negotiable performance benchmarks to serve as the foundation for holding EMOs accountable.
5. Develop financial incentives to hold EMOs accountable for ongoing performance.
6. Outline consequences for failing to meet benchmarks including modifying or cancelling the contract.

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6.4. Trends and best practices for Education Management Organizations

by Guilbert C . Hentschke, Scot Oschman, & Lisa Snell

Education management organizations (EMOs) are largely for-profit firms that provide "whole-school operation" services to public school agencies. Since arriving on the public school scene a little more than a decade ago, they have grown despite a wide range of objections within the education profession.

Although nominally performing functions not unlike those of a school district, EMOs are usually structured as for-profit corporate enti-ties, a fact that differentiates their structure and their internal operating performance from school districts. The forces fostering the current growth of EMOs lie less in the distinguishing fea-tures of EMOs, per se, than in the complemen-tarities shared between EMOs on the one hand and the school districts and charter schools with whom they typically interact. The future growth of EMOs will be determined in part by the degree to which these complementarities will continue to be valued by a greater and greater proportion of the nation's approximately 15,000 school districts with 80,000-plus schools and the growing number of charter schools.

EMOs contract with school districts and charter-granting bodies to use tax money and venture capital to operate public schools.[1] EMOs range in size from the largest, Edison Schools, which operates more than 130 schools, to firms that operate single (largely charter) schools. Other relatively large EMOs that focus exclusively on public school op-eration include Mosaica Education, National Heritage Academies, Chancellor Beacon Academies, and Aspire Public Schools. Some EMOs, such as Nobel Learning Communities, own and operate private schools as well.

The growth of EMOs has paralleled the growth of charter schools. Charter schools can be viewed as the largest example of education outsourcing[2] with close to 2,700 individual contracts between charter schools and their government authorizers. Charter schools receive state funds but operate with varying degrees of autonomy from local school dis-tricts. According to the Center for Education Reform, there were 2,695 charter schools op-erating in the 2002–2003 school year, serving 684,495 students in 36 states and Washington DC, with another 84 schools approved to open for the 2003–2004 school year.

According to *Profiles of For-Profit Education Management Companies, Fifth Annual Report, 2002–2003,* more than 74 percent of all privately managed public schools profiled were charter schools. States, such as Arizona and Michigan, with the strongest charter school laws also have the most schools managed by for-profit companies, with those two states alone counting for 48 percent of all profiled EMO-managed schools. EMOs operate between 10 and 14 percent of all charter schools.[3] In 2002–2003, 47 compa-nies operate 417 schools in 24 states and the District of Columbia.[4] Reliable data on the exact number are unavailable, and anec-dotal reports of numerous one-school firms

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operating in some states, such as Michigan, would probably increase these estimates.

EMOs have become part of a longer-standing po-litical contest between professional reformers (largely educationists) and radical reformers (largely business leaders and community activists) over what is wrong with public schooling and how to improve it. As a relatively new service option available to local education agencies, EMOs have been adopted so far in few settings, rejected in a few others, and not yet considered in many others.

This paper examines the interplay of EMOs in the context of contemporary American public schooling, and in so doing, seeks to understand their recent emergence and possible future. We begin by examining the forces that work against and for growth of EMOs. Next, we compare EMOs with public schools and school districts first by considering the comparative advantages of EMOs and then by examining the complementarities between EMOs and public schools and school districts. The uncertain-ties associated with each of these factors are considered jointly in the next section on conditions affecting future growth. In the final section, we outline the principal issues in contracting with EMOs because their value as a provider is determined largely through contractual agreements with public schools and districts. A sampler of EMOs is included at the end of the paper.

Note: Given the proliferation of businesses that provide various combinations of schooling services, EMOs are sometimes referred to as part of a broader group of "education service providers" or "ESPs."

Barriers to EMO Growth

EMOs will only grow as a function of demand in the market for the services they provide. Demand is influenced in part by arguments for and against contracting with EMOs. Arguments against consideration of EMOs tend to take on one or both of two general forms: loss of control over resources and "diversion" of public resources to the profits of business firms. In the first argument, contracting with an EMO usually removes control of financial resources, including staffing authority, from the discretion of local education officials. The cred-ibility of this argument by itself is difficult to sustain pub-licly because simply retaining control bears little direct relationship to arguments about the present or future quality of educational services for children.

The second and more widely voiced argument against contracting with EMOs is associated with assumptions about the inherent motivation and suspected behavior of profit-seeking businesses. Specifically, this argument pre-sumes that for-profit educational firms, per se, divert re-sources from services for kids to profits for corporations, especially for investors and senior management. This pre-sumption, reinforced by many education writers, stems from a misunderstanding about the inherent nature of for-profit enterprises.

The general sentiment among these writers is that if for-profit firms are allowed to operate public schools, they will attempt to do so at the lowest possible cost in order to maximize profits and shareholder returns, and therefore will not maximize the educational experience of students. This anti-for-profit perspective presumes that corporations exist solely to make a profit and that in such a pursuit, firms will degrade the services and goods they seek to sell. From this perspective, the money the EMOs call profits on their balance sheets could be and should be funneled directly to classrooms — to educate chil-dren, not to enrich corporate officers and shareholders.

Alex Molnar, whose work is representative of this perspective, argues that if for-profit schools are able to educate children better than public schools and still turn a profit, public schools could be expected to observe and replicate their systems, thereby either offering the same quality of education at a lower price (as they would not

be required to earn a profit) or offering a more enriched educational experience for the same cost.[5]

Inasmuch as this is the case, those who eschew for-profits feel that EMOs, in the name of reducing costs, will turn away those students who are most expensive to educate, namely students who receive special educational services and/or who have severe emotional or behavioral problems. They feel that these students, the most difficult and challenging to educate, will become concentrated in schools where the public sector would inevitably be left with fewer resources to educate them, thereby mitigating any sense of competition.[6]

This argument against for-profits misconstrues the role of incentives in reducing costs and improving servic-es. Although it is true that a desire to make profits gives for-profit firms an incentive to spend less on services, that same desire also gives them an incentive to attract and retain customers by providing services better than (or dif-ferent from) those of their competitors. In the long run, efficiencies through innovation trump cost cutting. Public school administrators do not share the same incentives. Because the people living in their districts are required to pay for the public schools, the cost savings that op-ponents of for-profit educational firms believe should not go to corporations — or to the innovations produced by competition — are also likely to be unavailable to public officials not in partnership with for-profit firms.

Forces Favoring the Growth of EMOs

Despite these arguments against and perceptions about EMOs shared by many educationists, EMOs have grown steadily — in the sizes of individual firms, in the number of firms, in the number of schools operated by these firms, and in the number of children attending schools operated by these firms. Future growth, however, is not assured nor should it be assumed.

On the surface, without considering the context of their origins and growth, EMOs could be considered an innovation in public schooling or, per the anti-EMO argu-ments above, a corporate foray into the market of public schooling. Viewed within the context of broader, deeper trends in education, however, the emergence and growth of EMOs is a natural, perhaps even inevitable evolution in the delivery of public schooling. Among these comple-mentary and overlapping supportive trends, five stand out.

1. History of Special-Education Outsourcing

Public agency *contracting with businesses to provide comprehensive educational services to students is not new* and has grown along with the administrative complexity of special education service provision. School districts routinely have contracted with for-profit firms to provide educational services to students with special learning and behavioral needs. Technically different from today's EMOs, these contract relationships are typically based on services for individual students, as distinct from whole-school operation. Although the firm operates the entire school (not unlike an EMO), it typically owns the school and contracts with multiple school districts, which then send their students to the school. (See, for example, growth in the numbers of schools operated and children served by California-based Aspen Education Group or New Jersey-based KIDS 1, Inc.).[7]

2. Growth in Accountability Policies

In the pursuit of increased student performance, emerging *state-level accountability policies* have implicitly opened the door for school districts to consider different kinds of service provision by a wider variety of providers, including EMOs. State officials have begun to realize that it is not logical to specify the precise details of school operation and then, when school districts comply with those rules, also hold them responsible when students do not learn. As a consequence, over the last several decades, school reform policies have de-emphasized compli-ance with procedures as a means of monitoring public schools, while instead increasing emphasis on outcomes or student learning. School districts are under increasing pressure (via rewards and sanctions) to improve student performance, and they have more freedom to experi-ment with new and different ways to achieve that end. EMOs are an option available for districts to consider as they confront their newfound freedom and responsibility.

3. Increasing Reliance on Choice

EMOs represent a choice on the provider side to complement *greater reliance on choice* on the consumer side of public schooling. Reliance on choice or student market behavior has grown over the last 40 years of public schooling. Residential choice, of course, has formed the core choice mechanism in U.S. public schooling. Subsequently, magnet programs and alternative school-ing, followed by full intra-district and inter-district choice plans, have been developed during the last 20 years. Based on some estimates, nearly 60 percent of the distribution

Legislation authorizing charter schools has indirectly spawned the growth of EMOs.

of the student population is the result of some form of school-related choice. In fact, a new study by the National Center for Education Statistics found that between 1993 and 1999, the percentage of children attending "assigned" public schools dropped from 80 to 76 percent.[8]

More telling is the percentage of children from poor families attending assigned schools; it fell from 83 to 74 percent. Three percent of the rise of children in "chosen schools" was the result of children in charters and magnets, which increased from 11 to 14 percent. Compared to parents whose kids are in traditional public schools, parents of children in "chosen" public schools are more likely to say they are "very satisfied" with teacher quality, academic standards, order and discipline, and overall school quality. Collectively, these changes acknowledge both that all schools are not equal from the perspective of families and, further, that schools do not all necessarily need to be structured and operated in identical ways.

4. Growth of School Outsourcing

Growing out of the first three trends, school districts are adding contracting of whole-school operation to the array of strategies available to them in *district reform agendas.* Contracting, per se, is not as novel as are the two primary motivations that are causing school districts to contract for the operation of schools. The first is to turn around the performance of the lowest-performing schools in the district (and, in a few cases, in the state). In these instances, EMOs are typically invited in after all other politically feasible remedies to improve a failing school have been exhausted.

The second motivation is to select an EMO to open a new school because it provides a significantly differ-ent, high-quality "option" to other existing schools.
Beyond the idea of "option" is the idea of "exemplar," which goads improvements in other schools in the district, making it part of an overall reform strategy. For example, in the Philadelphia school outsourcing experi-ment, the school district quickly adopted Edison-style benchmark labs where second through eighth graders go each month to answer reading, math, and language arts questions geared to the Pennsylvania System of School Assessment, for the district's 21 restructured schools.[9]

5. Charter School Growth

Legislation authorizing *charter schools has indirectly spawned the growth of EMOs.* Just as school districts can now contract with EMOs, so can individual charter schools. The motivations for charter school founders to contract for EMO operation of a school, however,
differ from those of school districts. While charter school founders often have a specific educational focus, they sometimes lack the expertise and experience necessary to create a business plan, address all necessary elements in a charter proposal, seek financing, and start a school from scratch. The expertise of an EMO in these areas complements the necessary local community knowledge of the founders.

To the extent that these forces continue to grow, they are likely to "drag along" growth in EMOs. They do not, however, fully explain the inherent value of EMOs to those contracting with them. Those factors, inherent features distinguishing EMOs from school districts and charter schools, are comparative advantages of EMOs.

Comparative Advantages of EMOs

At least six factors usually distinguish EMOs from many school districts and charter schools. These factors are inherent in EMOs as for-profit enterprises seeking contracts with public agencies.

Access to Capital for Research and Development

Money allows schools to change everything they are doing, from curriculum to technology, training, and student assessment. These types of changes do not come without a price tag, and public schools just do not have the funding available to make sweeping changes like this. Presumably, for-profit school management companies can bring money and organization to the table in the form of venture capital, be it from the sale of stock, from senior management, from a venture-capital firm, or, as in the case of Edison Schools, from philanthropic individu-als such as Gap founders Donald and Doris Fisher.[10] This money can be used to fund research and development (R&D) of, for example, "rich, compelling curriculum systems, powerful professional development, easy to use and renewable technologies, accessible, comprehensive information systems, and competitive lobbying systems."[11]

Access to capital comes with its own burdens, however, in the form of pressure from investors for ef-ficiencies and growth. For-profit firms do not survive for long if they do not please their customers and their shareholders. An EMO operates under a contract with a school district or another agency, and its contract will not be renewed if it does not fulfill its obligations. Similarly, investors want to see that their money is being used wisely and will require that the EMO operate efficiently as a stipulation for receiving funds. These pressures are the market forces that drive efficiencies in capital markets and ensure better products.

Incentives to Invest in R&D

One of the biggest differences between publicly run schools and for-profit school management companies is the ability and incentive to invest in R&D. Public-sector investment in education R&D, although difficult to es-timate, is about .03 percent of its overall budget, while for-profit firms often spend on average 100 times that percentage. Most of the R&D undertaken to improve public schooling is done by academics in universities and other nonprofit and for-profit research firms, rather than those running schools directly. In contrast and in reference to Edison Schools' R&D investment in school-ing, "R&D is a powerful tool in the private sector for innovation and for maintaining competitive advantage." Without R&D, public education cannot hope to under-stand or improve its practices.[12]

Given the opportunity, for-profit firms would invest in R&D in order to integrate all elements that contribute to student achievement, including curriculum, instruc-tion, assessment, professional development, and tech-nology. It could also address areas that have not been looked at in this way before, including management systems, compensation plans, and school organization. In these ways, corporate investment can help advance the implementation of comprehensive school reform, some-thing that public schools have not been able to do successfully.

One example of corporate R&D efforts at Edison Schools[13] is to create a model of e-services for small school districts that would enable those districts to pur-chase Edison's management systems, information and testing platform, and professional-development platform while maintaining the responsibility for implementing these systems and for the ongoing management of their schools. Presumably, this would allow smaller school districts to share in the economies of scale achieved by a large corporation and to directly benefit from the previ-ous R&D expenditures made by Edison. Edison could recapture this R&D investment through sales to a large number of small districts, a factor that would typically not enter into the R&D calculus of one of those districts, even if it had the requisite free capital.

Efficiencies and Effectiveness Resulting From Scale

Because of their incentives to innovate, private busi-nesses can make more effective use of scale than public schools. In essence, the model of any successful business is to produce quality products and services at reasonable prices or be forced out of business. This pressure is not the same with public schools. Most public districts are either too small or too large — too small to afford the kinds of administrative support they need or so large that they become bogged down by their own bureau-cracy. Yet even the largest school districts lack the scale of a large corporation. Were such a corporation to exist within education, it could bring with it resources that could be used to build whatever support systems are necessary to make their schools run better. To date, the largest EMOs (and their market shares) have not grown to a size characteristic of the largest firms in many other industries, so this particular advantage is not as obvious or pronounced.

Curricular, Instructional, and Programmatic Diversity

Each EMO seeks to create a distinctive brand with which it can distinguish itself from other competitors and highlight the values of its unique model to school districts and charter schools. Because each EMO seeks to distinguish itself through relentless focus on its unique brand, the collection of multiple EMOs brings diversity to contractors, such as school districts. (The programmatic offerings of most school districts on the other hand, with pressures to provide everything to everyone, are relatively indistinguishable from one another.) The freedom and incentives of EMOs to provide distinctive instructional programs, employee contracts, and the like, yield collec-tive diversity among EMOs, even though every school run by a particular EMO may be quite similar.

Despite these branding incentives, EMOs generally promise improved test scores, longer school days and years, cleaner schools, a back-to-basics curriculum, an emphasis on technology, and a larger role for parents in their children's education than is typically the case in nearby public schools.[14] These can be strong incentives for parents in areas where schools are typically low-per-forming. EMOs also offer merit-based employment con-tracts for teachers and administrators, with the intention of retaining only those teachers and administrators who perform well. The lowest-performing public schools tend to have teachers who are not credentialed, and the turn-over rate is generally high. Bringing in motivated teachers who are serious about their work also provides a strong incentive for parents to send their children to EMO-managed schools when they come to believe that these changes are, in fact, taking place.

Internal Control

The senior managers of EMOs have more control over the internal operations of the schools they manage than do senior managers in school districts. Henry Levin, director of the National Center for the Study
of Privatization in Education at Columbia University's Teachers College, sees the largest differences between school districts and EMOs in personnel practices, profes-sional development, and managerial practices. In terms of personnel practices, EMOs have wider latitude in hiring, compensation, and deployment of teaching and support staff. They can, for example, hire for fixed terms and renew contracts only for those teachers judged to

public schools cannot do as freely. They also have the ability to utilize merit-based pay, paying more to teachers with specialized knowl-edge and opening up more career options to effective teachers.[15]

Incentives to Improve Student Performance

Because of the incentives that EMOs face to satisfy customers (parents and any school district or charter school they contract with), EMOs aggressively pursue performance. In most instances, that involves student academic performance, parental satisfaction, and financial management. Given the current vagaries of state-level standards and achievement tests and disputes over ap-propriate comparison groups, EMO schools appear on average to be doing as well as or slightly better than non-EMO schools at delivering improvements in student achievement, depending on whose data and interpreta-tions are considered.[16]

EMOs claim to do at least as good as and often a better job than public schools at educating children, as measured by criterion-referenced and norm-referenced tests. Edison Schools claims in its October 2001 *Fourth Annual Report on School Performance* that 84 percent of its schools are performing at higher levels now than when they opened (i.e., higher than when they were run by the public school district).[17] For example, Edison Schools' most recent scores out of New York illustrate this point. Edison schools consistently outperformed, *in terms of gains*, the districts where they are located.

Among Edison's top performing New York schools, Riverhead Charter School fourth graders achieved a 19 percent one-year gain versus a 9 percent gain by the Riverhead School District. Stepping Stone Academy Charter School fourth graders achieved a 12 percent one-year gain, and Charter School for Applied Technologies achieved an 8 percent one-year gain versus unchanged scores in the Buffalo City School District. New Covenant Charter School fourth graders made a 25 percent one-year gain versus a decline of 2 percent by the Albany City School District. Finally, the Charter School of Science & Technology in Rochester posted gains of 21 percent at grade 4 and 16 percent at grade 8 — exceptional considering the declines shown by the Rochester City School District of 4 percent and 1 percent at grades 4 and 8, respectively.[18]

Because of the incentives that EMOs face to satisfy customers, EMOs aggressively pursue performance.

Levin thinks Edison and other EMOs might have a slight advantage over similar public schools in terms of standardized test scores, but he points out that it's still too early to make sweeping comparisons.[19] And one has to question how effective standardized tests are at proving the merit of a school.[20] Even though standardized tests seem to be the latest fad in determining school ef-fectiveness in the past few years, there are certainly other metrics one can examine — for example, parental satis-faction. Edison's annual report claims that 87 percent of their students' parents rated Edison with an "A" or a "B," with "A" being the most popular grade.[21] Comparable data for adjacent schools are unavailable.

EMO Complementarities With School Districts

The comparative advantages generally attributable to EMOs derive from the combination of their structure as for-profit enterprises and their position as service provid-ers in (publicly funded) K–12 education. The compara-tive advantages upon which they can capitalize, however, should not be construed as providing them with a competitive advantage over school districts or charter schools. Most EMOs depend on school districts and charter schools for their business. Despite claims to the contrary, EMOs function as operating manifestations of the philosophy of the school districts and charter schools they serve, not as their competitors. The comparative advantages of EMOs, discussed above, serve instead as complements to the comparative advantages enjoyed by school districts and charter schools, including, but not limited to, knowledge of the community and its students, public funding, and ultimate control.

School districts and charter schools bring a level of deep knowledge of the children, parents, and other members of a community — their backgrounds, cul-tures, and aspirations — that EMOs (especially multi-school EMOs) can never hope to fully match. The growing emphasis by state and federal education poli-cymakers on uniformly high curriculum and perfor-mance standards will be played out in the idiosyncra-sies and particularities of communities and neighbor-hoods. Because senior officers of school districts and charter schools reflect — indeed, are a part of — these local entities, they are in a position to understand and to reflect local aspirations for schooling.

As agents of the public, school districts and charter schools receive and allocate public financial resources for K–12 schooling. In this capacity, they are the source of funding for EMOs. Ultimately, school districts and charter schools control their relationships with EMOs. They may decide to exercise their rights within the regulatory environment of their state to enter into con-tractual relationships with EMOs, and they may exercise their rights within the stipulations of those contracts to terminate those relationships. If an EMO is not living up to its promises, it will not survive past the term of its con-tract, and possibly not even that long if there is sufficient reason to terminate the contract.

The complementarities shared between EMOs and school districts are a key component in determining the long-term viability of EMOs. EMOs do not wish to remove school districts from the equation, but they feel that they can offer certain things that school districts by themselves cannot. In return, school districts supply pieces of the puzzle that EMOs cannot, and together under certain circumstances, the two can bring services on line that are more beneficial to students than a system without EMOs.

Conditions Affecting the Future Growth of EMOs

Neither the forces affecting EMO growth nor their comparative advantages vis-à-vis contractors fully portray the uncertainty surrounding their future. The fact that within a decade more than 400 schools (of

Table 1: Number of U.S. Charter Schools in Operation by Year

School Year	'92–93	'93–94	'94–95	'95–96	'96–97	'97–98	'98–99	'99–'00	'00–01	Sept. '01
Number of Charter Schools	2	34	101	255	433	721	1,122	1,484	2,118	2,372
Percentage Increase	-	+1600%	+197%	+152%	+70%	+67%	+56%	+32%	+43%	+12%

Source for 1992–99: U.S. Department of Education, *National Study of Charter Schools, Fourth Year Report.*
Source for 1999–2001: Center for Education Reform, http://edreform.com/education_reform_resources/business_industry.htm.

80,000-plus public schools) in the United States are op-erated by EMOs does not, by itself, suggest continued growth at this rate. Aside from some consolidation,[22] the vast majority of the larger EMOs continue to report annual growth in the number of schools they operate and children they serve. Changing conditions can sig-nificantly alter these historic growth rates. Consider, for example, one condition favoring growth, No Child Left Behind, and one mitigating growth, declining growth in charter schools.

One likely consequence of the federal No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act is more schools being managed by EMOs. NCLB permits students in failing public schools to transfer to better public schools. However, many school districts with failing schools do not have adequate space to comply with the NCLB transfer requirements. The NCLB Act recognizes reconstitution as a charter school, private management of public schools, and school voucher programs as acceptable options to transferring students to better public schools.

According to the Education Commission of the States, only 12 states are on track to comply with even half of the major federal requirements in NCLB. Only 25 states are ready to offer transfers, which were to have begun last fall in the 48 states with under-performing schools. Only five states — California, Hawaii, Kansas, Montana, and Ohio — have developed policies by which students in "persistently dangerous schools" can transfer to another school.[23] States were required to begin allowing the trans-fers in fall 2002. There are more than 8,600 failing schools currently listed by the U.S. Department of Education, and

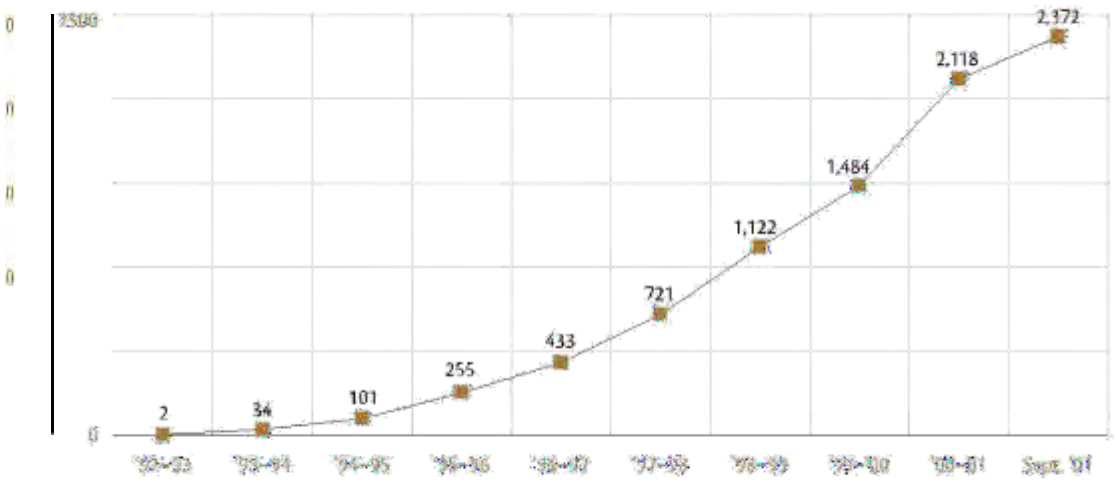
this number

will likely continue to grow as schools face tougher accountability requirements.[24]

On the downside, declines in the future growth of charter schools would likely slow the growth of EMOs contracting with charter schools (presuming a constant rate of charters outsourcing to EMOs). How likely is this? A typical way to frame the question of future growth is to ask where charter schools are today on the classic "S curve" trend line: slow incubation, followed by rapid growth, followed by slowing growth, and followed by no growth. Not unlike the classic "bell curve" that appears to describe many different kinds of phenomena, the S curve is often relied on to try to understand past, present, and future growth of phenomena, including charter schools. Based on year-over-year changes in numbers of charter schools (see Table 1 and Figure 1), it could be argued that the growth rate of charter schools — and, by inference, EMOs employed by charter schools — may be declining.

As can be seen in Figure 1, the growth curve of charter schools in the United States has been roughly S-shaped, though in terms of percentage growth, charter schools saw a dramatic increase from the first year of their exis-tence. It would appear that the growth has entered the top of the S curve and is beginning to level off somewhat; however, the strengthening of charter school laws in states deemed to have "weak" charter school laws (laws that allow the formation of charter schools but are so re-strictive as to discourage them) or the passage of charter school laws in the 14 states that currently lack such laws could have a significant impact on the growth rate.

Figure 1: Growth of U.S. Charter Schools



School Year

Source for 1992–99: U.S. Department of Education, *National Study of Charter Schools, Fourth Year Report.*
Source for 1999–2001: Center for Education Reform, http://edreform.com/education_reform_resources/business_industry.htm.

Through continued growth, experience, and sophisti-cation gained in the market, will the comparative advan-tages of EMOs increase and become more apparent to school districts, charter schools, and the general public? Or are they filling a narrow niche, already nearly full, with little prospect for large-scale future growth? To the extent that EMOs demonstrate and capitalize upon their com-parative advantages, they are likely to grow in number of schools and students served, in numbers of EMOs offering services, and in average EMO firm size, all else being equal. That will be evident only to the degree that public-sector schooling providers increasingly see contracting with or granting charters to EMOs as a means to achieve desired goals they could not otherwise achieve.

Issues in Public School Contracting With EMOs

The future viability and growth of EMOs in K–12 edu-cation, then, hinges primarily on the ability of EMOs and public education agencies (i.e., districts, charter schools) to function productively together through contractual ties, more easily said than done given the cultural differences between the two types of organizations. A column in the *Philadelphia Daily News* illustrates the cultural clash that is often present between public schools and EMOs and why it is crucial to get the contract "right." The *Daily News* col-umnist asked, "How realistic can Edison's advice be when a top executive is clueless about something as uncompli-cated as the cost of painting a school?"[25]

The column proceeds to ridicule Edison's executive vice president, Eugene Wade, because Wade was "in-credulous" at the School District of Philadelphia's claim that painting all schools in the district would cost nearly triple the $51 million the governor had proposed spend-ing over three years. Wade argued that it should not cost more than $500,000 to paint each school. The columnist pointed out that in Philadelphia, the high-school paint-ing contracts are always awarded to the lowest bidder, but "it costs almost $1,000 over the course of two days to pay one union painter." The columnist argues that it "raises the obvious question: what other facts are missing from Edison's plan to fix the public schools?" The implicit assumption in this exchange is that it will cost Edison the same amount to paint the schools in Philadelphia as it will cost the district.

The union and district officials argue that Edison has greatly overstated the money that can be saved on school maintenance and elsewhere. Edison has estimated that the school district could save between $650 million and $700 million over five years, whereas the school district estimated it could save only $276 million in that same period. The discrepancy between the Edison and district figures represents as much a conflict of assump-tions about how cost savings will be achieved as an actual difference in potential cost savings. The *Daily News* columnist and school district officials assume that Edison will face the same constraints and costs as the district.

The arguments surrounding the Edison contracting initiative in Philadelphia differ on the assumptions, such as whether or not Edison would have to pay $1,000 for two days of painting. Why would a school district con-tract with Edison if it were not going to let Edison use its own business model? The point of contracting with EMOs is to take advantage of their flexibility, innovation, and economies of scale. In the political environment of EMO contracting, both parties can sabotage (consciously or not) the goals of a contract: districts by insisting on their existing business models and EMOs by agreeing to the districts' business models.[26]

These problems point to a key to improved school-management contracting, namely, to pursue best prac-tices for contracting to the extent feasible given the (inevitable) political environment. These practices include open and competitive bidding, contractor flexibility over inputs, open and full disclosure by the contractor, and a contract monitoring system with performance rewards and penalties.

Encouragement of Competition in a Politically Protectionist Environment

To ensure that the most qualified companies are involved in the school contracting efforts, the bidding process should be open and competitive whenever possi-ble, and awards should be widely publicized. Furthermore, if the bid is to be negotiated, a formal explanation of why the agency's interests are best served by the manner pro-posed should be prepared. Most criticisms of contracting revolve around fair-competition issues.

For example, Edison was not the only EMO hoping to play a role in running Philadelphia's schools under a state takeover. Eight other EMOs had proposed plans to run those schools. The state of Pennsylvania should

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firms. For example, the largest provider of management services for private schools, Nobel Learning Communities, would have liked to serve as a consultant in the project.

Nobel, with headquarters just outside Philadelphia, operates 173 schools, and unlike most EMOs, already turns a profit. Nobel's chairman and chief executive officer, Jack Clegg, notes that his company is interested in running 5 to 10 schools in the city. Clegg told the *Inquirer* that his firm also might have liked a shot at serving as a consultant to the Philadelphia district's central office, a role that Governor Schweiker carved out for Edison. "We have never even been asked if we would like to be part of the group to oversee it," Clegg said.[27]

In this context, it is unclear whether Edison or Nobel or both would have had the best advantage in advising the school district. Without a competitive bidding process, the strengths and weaknesses of each company's proposal will not be weighed in a systematic way. While choosing a contractor by some method other than a competitive process does not necessarily mean that the contracting will fail, it opens the process up to criticism.

Contractor Flexibility of Means and Methods

In a successful contractual relationship, the govern-ment agency spells out the desired outcomes for the contractor, such as raising student achievement, sets pen-alties for failure and rewards for success, and then tries to stay out of the way. The contractor controls how the work is to be performed.

Rigid rules that strictly define the form of day-to-day operational requirements prevent private competitors from proposing cost-saving, productivity-enhancing in-novations. Most successful contracting processes specify performance standards — frequency of service, allowable customer complaint levels, and so on — rather than input standards, such as mandated class sizes and fixed instructional hours.

Similarly, while politicians are often tempted to stick contractors with the same kinds of constraints they impose on their own departments, this is ill-advised. These include "buy American" requirements, veteran and minority hiring preferences, and stipulations about the "appropriate" level of wages and fringe benefits the con-tractor must pay its employees. Contractors may even be

required to retain all affected personnel in their existing positions at the same pay level for a certain length of time. If they are to achieve cost savings and productivity gains, private contractors must be given the freedom to operate outside this restrictive framework.

Thirty years of research clearly suggests a low rate of success in contracting efforts where contractors are unable to make decisions about their employees. A
World Bank study of 200 contracts found that all but one of the contracts overseeing an unsuccessful effort includ-ed limitationson the contractor's freedom and authority over work rules and "standard operating procedures." In contrast, all of the successful contracts gave the contrac-tor maximum autonomy over personnel decisions — in-cluding the ability to fire personnel and set wages.[28]

Some of the most well-known failures between school districts and EMOs are traceable to conflicts over business assumptions, such as these. The most notorious failures occurred when the Baltimore (Maryland) and Hartford (Connecticut) school districts hired Education Alternatives Inc. (EAI) to operate their public schools in the early 1990s. From the beginning, EAI clashed with unions over rulings that the company could not lay off or fire any district employees. The conflict became more protracted as EAI fought with the school establishment about every decision it made. The stakes in these battles were largely work rules, and ultimately the contracting relationship failed. Ironically, in order to win contracts, some EMOs may accept contracts with similar strictures and thereby mitigate any chances of improvements over current performance levels.

Open and Full Disclosure of Revenues, Expenditures, and Details of the Business Model

Contractual freedom is not something that happens in a vacuum. While EMOs should seek out contracts that give them the most freedom to operate the schools as they see fit, public agencies on behalf of taxpayers require open and full disclosure about how the contractors spend tax dollars. The incentive for EMOs to fully disclose stems from a desire to avoid the perception that private companies have unfair "secrecy" advantages, as illustrated in a news article on the Edison experience in Philadelphia. The article claims that it is difficult to hold a private company like Edison accountable even when it spends public money, arguing that "a government agency has to keep records of expenditures and make them publiclyavailable, but a private company doesn't — even if it's running public schools with public money."[29]

Edison, for example, has faced accusations of not meeting full-disclosure requirements. Full disclosure by EMOs helps reduce public consternation about contract-ing with private companies.

Monitoring for Performance — Incentives, Rewards, and Penalties

Because all contracts create incentives that influ-ence the behavior of both public education agencies and EMOs, the elements of the contract — actions, responsibilities, outcomes, rewards, penalties, contract monitoring, procedures for dispute resolution, etc. — go a long way in determining whether a contracting rela-tionship will be successful. In contracting with EMOs, school districts and other education agencies recognize that they are not getting out of the business of educa-tion — they are instead shifting their role from provider to contract monitor. Doing so means clearly defining the evaluation criteria up front and sticking to those criteria. There should also be a clear enumeration of the desired objectives and a way to hold the EMO contractually ac-countable for achieving those objectives, including the prospect of penalties associated with repeated serious failure to meet objectives and rewards for meeting or exceeding objectives.

Conclusion

EMOs represent an innovative management tool that public school administrators can use to improve school-ing operations and even to raise student achievement.
Like other management tools, they are only as effective as the wielder of the tool and as reflected in the con-tract. Strong school-management contracts give EMOs maximum flexibility to implement their business models, and if they fail to perform adequately, can be fired. But only if public school administrators become more adept in contracting with EMOs and communities become more familiar with and value the services they provide, will EMOs continue to grow in response.

Education Management Organizations

The Center for Education Reform, which tracks charter schools and other education reform issues, has compiled a list of major private providers that manage public schools. It is a growing list, but does not include many of the small EMOs operating in charter school states, the firms contracted by school districts to serve adjudicated youth and/or youth at risk of academic failure, or firms that provide anything less than total school operation services. The following list of EMOs is drawn from the center's Web site[30] and includes illustrative examples from these additional categories.

America's Choice is a nonprofit organization under the National Center on Education and the Economy that does not run schools, but helps them to imple-mentthe America's Choice School Design Program, which is designed to help students prepare to do well on local and national testing as well as to prepare for college.
Telephone: 202.783.3668
Web: www.ncee.org/acsd/index.jsp?setProtocol=true

Aspen Education Group is committed to improv-ing the quality of life for youth and their families. Headquartered in Cerritos, California, Aspen operates 46 programs in nine states. Aspen employs over 1,400 employees nationwide and assisted more than 10,000 clients in 2002.
Telephone: 888.97.ASPEN Web: www.aspeneducation.com

Aspire Public Schools (formerly University Public Schools) serves seven schools in California, with a total enrollment of 2,120 pupils, and plans to open additional schools in California.
Telephone: 650.637.2060
Web: www.aspirepublicschools.org

Chancellor Beacon Academies, Inc. serves approximately 19,000 students from pre-kindergarten through twelfth grade. It operates schools in Arizona, Florida, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Washington DC.
Telephone: 305.648.5950
Web: www.chancelloracademies.com

Charter School Administrative Services operates eight charter schools in Michigan, enrolling about 4,800 students and several schools in Texas, Missouri, and Florida.
Telephone: 248.569.7787 or 800.425.1415 Web: None

rrently has 8,500 students in 16 schools in Florida and Texas. An April 2001 "strategic alliance" of Charter Schools USA and Haskell Education Services calls for Haskell to provide design-build, finance, and auxiliary services to schools managed by Charter Schools USA.
Telephone: 954.202.3500
Web: www.charterschoolsusa.com

Community Education Partners, responding to the Texas Juvenile Justice Alternative Education Program to remove disturbing youth from the classrooms, educates about 1,000 students in Houston and 300 in Dallas.
Telephone: 713.394.3500 or 615.366.0566 Web: www.communityeducationpartners.com

Designs for Learning serves six charter schools in Minnesota, with 100 to 300 students in each school.
Telephone: 651.645.0200
Web: www.designlearn.com

Edison Schools serves more than 57,000 students in 45 cities and 113 public schools. Edison counts each academy serving different grade levels as a separate school even if they are housed in the same building and served by the same school office.
Telephone: 212.419.1600 Web: www.edisonschools.com

Excel Education Centers serves six schools in Arizona that enroll about 900 students in grades 6–12, as well as a seventh campus for grades 9–12. The schools mostly serve Arizona's Native American population at risk of academic failure, and some campuses see a 25 to 30 percent annual student turnover because of the high student mobility.
Telephone: 800.417.9036 or 928.778.5764 Web: www.exceleducationcenters.org

ExED is a nonprofit organization founded in 1999 that develops and manages charter schools in lower-income communities.
Telephone: 310.394.1152
Web: www.exed.net

Innovative Education Management is described as a "virtual" school district for the Horizon Instructional Systems charter schools, which specialize in "indepen-dent study charters" that support home-schooled and "off-site" students. Some of the Horizon sites offer a comprehensive curriculum. One school is a reentry point for students who dropped out because of drug use or incarceration, and another offers a college preparatory regimen. Innovative Education Management also lists six other schools.
Telephone: 800.979.4436 or 530.295.3566 Web: www.ieminc.org

KIDS 1, Inc. is a private provider of specialized education services for children and youth facing learning, language, and social challenges. Through its day schools and learn-ing centers, KIDS 1 provides special education, alternative education, remediation and tutoring, and transitional services at 11 locations in five states.
Telephone: 732.390.0303
Web: www.kids1inc.com

K12.com is a national provider of online courses for home-schooling families and schools, as well as a manager of online charter schools. Norristown Area School District was the first to sign on with K12 to manage and provide courses for the Pennsylvania Virtual Charter School. In addition to Pennsylvania, schools are now located in Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin.
Telephone: 703.748.4005 or 888.YOUR.K12 Web: www.K12.com

LearnNow (bought by Edison Schools in 2001) serves about 5,000 students in seven schools.
Address: 521 Fifth Avenue, 15th Floor New York, NY 10175
Web: www.lnschools.com

The Leona Group manages 33 school sites — 21 in Michigan and 12 in Arizona and Ohio. The schools enroll approximately 11,500 students.
Telephone: 517.333.9030 or 602.953.2933
Web: www.leonagroup.com

Mosaica Education serves more than 5,000 students in 20 charter schools in five states.
Telephone: 415.491.1305 or 212.232.0305 Web: www.mosaicaeducation.com

National Heritage Academies (formerly Educational Development Corporation) operates 27 academies with nearly 11,400 students. The academies typically open with grades K–5 and add a grade each year through eighth grade.
Telephone: 616.575.6800 or 800.699.9235 Web: www.heritageacademies.com

Nobel Learning Communities operates 208 schools in 15 states, serving 27,000 students. Most of the schools are private and include preschools, elementary and middle schools, schools for the learning challenged, corporate-sponsored schools, and specialty high schools. Seven are public charter schools.
Telephone: 484.947.2000 Web: www.nobellearning.com

Ombudsman Educational Services is a private pro-vider of alternative education for public school students who have trouble functioning in conventional schools and are at risk of dropping out or being expelled. It has contracts to operate more than 70 alternative schools in 11 states, serving from 5,000 to 7,000 students. It opened its first charter school in 1996 and now operates five charter schools in Arizona, serving over 400 students who need an alternative school setting.
Telephone: 847.367.6383 or 800.833.9235 Web: www.ombudsman.com

SABIS Educational Systems manages a network con-sisting of 24 financially and administratively independent public and private schools in 10 countries, including five public charter schools in the United States. About 20,000 students attend these schools, with 4,600 in the United States and 3,700 in publiccharter schools.
Telephone: 952.918.1850
Web: www.sabis.net

Victory Schools, based in New York City, provides whole-school operations services for charter schools and the school districts of New York City, Baltimore, and Philadelphia.
Telephone: 212.265.1740 Web: www.victoryschools.com

White Hat Management operates seven "community" elementary schools (charter schools are called commu-nity schools in Ohio) and five "Life Skills" high schools in Ohio, with an enrollment of about 4,000 students.
Telephone: 330.535.6868 or 800.525.7967 Web: www.whitehatmgmt.com

Endnotes

1 The term EMO has until recently been limited to include only for-profit (publicly traded and privately held) firms that provide whole-school operation, but a number of "first cousins" have recently been included in the term as well: nonprofit firms that provide whole-school operation (e.g., Aspire Public Schools) and firms that provide something less than full operation, emphasizing either the instructional or "back office" functions of schooling, such as America's Choice and Excellent Education Development, respectively. Given the proliferation of businesses that provide various combinations of schooling services, EMOs are sometimes referred to as part of a broader group of "education service providers" or "ESPs."

2 Although charters and EMOs have been described as "privatizing" initiatives, both are more accurately character-ized as outsourcing or contracting out initiatives. Ownership has not shifted from public to private hands; merely respon-sibility for operation.

3 Ten percent per Margaret Hadderman, *Trends and Issues: School Choice*, Educational Resources Information Center, Clearinghouse on Educational Management, 1999, http://eric.uoregon.edu/trends_issues/choice/index.html, and 14 percent per Bryan Hassel, "Friendly Competition," *Education Next*, Winter 2003, pp. 8–15.

4 Alex Molnar, Glen Wilson, and Daniel Allen, *Profiles of For-Profit Education Management Companies, Fifth Annual Report, 2002–2003*, Arizona State University: Commercialization in Education Research Unit, January 2003.

5 Alex Molnar, "Calculating the Benefits and Costs of For-Profit Public Education," *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, Vol. 9, No. 15, April 2001, pp. 1–19.

6 Ibid.

7 Aspen Education Group and KIDS 1, Inc., were created approximately 10 and 15 years ago, respectively. See pages 12 and 13 of this issue of Policy Perspectives for their current scope, Web site addresses, and telephone numbers.

8 Stacey Bielick and Christopher Chapman, *Trends in the Use of School Choice*, Washington DC: National Center for Education Statistics, 2003.

9 Dale Mezzacappa, "Edison Test System Surmounts Obstacle," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 18, 2002.

10 Peter Schrag, "Edison's Red Ink Schoolhouse," *The Nation*, June 25, 2001, pp. 20–24.

11 Chris Whittle, "The Emergence of National Schooling Companies," presentation at Eduventures Forum, University of Southern California, July 26, 2001.

12 John Chubb, "The Private Can Be Public."

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ƒ Ibid.

ƒ Henry M. Levin, *Thoughts on For-Profit Schools*, National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, February 2001; Henry M. Levin, *Potential of For-Profit Schools in Educational Reform*, National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, June 2002.

ƒ Carol Innerst, *Public-Private Partnerships: A Consumer's Guide*, Washington DC: The Center for Education Reform, March 2002; Alex Molnar, "Chapter 13, Charter Schools, Vouchers, and EMOs," *School Reform Proposals: The Research Evidence*, Arizona State University: Education Policy Studies Library, January 22, 2002.

ƒ Ibid.

ƒ *Edison Schools Post Big Gains on New York State Tests*, Edison News Release, May 27, 2003.

ƒ Levin, *Thoughts on For-Profit Schools.*

ƒ Schrag, "Edison's Red Ink Schoolhouse."

ƒ Edison Schools, *Fourth Annual Report on School Performance.*

ƒ Including, for example, the absorption of Learn Now into Edison Schools and Advantage Schools into Mosaica, plus the merger resulting in Chancellor Beacon Academies.

ƒ Greg Toppo, "States Strain to Keep Up with *No Child Left Behind*," *USA Today*, January 29, 2003.

ƒ *Paige Releases Number of Schools in School Improvement*, press release, U.S. Department of Education, July 1, 2002. http://www.ed.gov/PressReleases/07–2002/07012002a.html.

ƒ Jill Porter, "Looks Like Edison Has a Lot to Learn," *Philadelphia Daily News*, November 30, 2001, p. 7.

ƒ Thomas Toch, "The Future of For-Profit Schooling: What Do Edison Schools Reveal about the Politics of School Reform?" American Enterprise Institute, Conference Summary, January 13, 2003, http://www.aei.org/docLib/20030206_%2314929.pdf.

ƒ Susan Snyder, "Schools Woes Luring Many Suitors," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 5, 2001, p. A1.

ƒ World Bank, *Bureaucrats in Business: The Economics and Politics of Government Ownership*, New York: Oxford Press, 1995, p. 143.

ƒ Bob Warner, "Vouchers Can Provide Clues as to How Edison Spent $2.7M in State Funds," *Philadelphia Daily News*, December 14, 2001, p. 6.

ƒ Center for Education Reform, December 17, 2001, http://edreform.com/education_reform_resources/business_industry.htm.

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6.5. Frequently Asked Questions EMO/CMO/Charter School Review

ƒ *What is an Education Management Organization (EMO)?*

According to Miron and Urschel (2009), an EMO, is an "organization or firm that manages schools that receive public funds, including district and charter public schools. A contract details the terms under which executive authority to run one or more schools is given to an EMO, usually in return for a commitment to produce measurable outcomes within a given time frame."

ƒ *What is a Charter Management Organization (CMO)?*

According to the National Resource Center on Charter School Finance and Governance (NRC), a "CMO is a non-profit organization that creates a group of schools with a shared educational vision and mission." The CMO provides administrative support to the individual schools.

ƒ *Are independent charter schools different than charter schools that are part of CMOs?*

According to the National Alliance for Public Charter Schools Web site, the majority (77.8%) of charters schools in the United States in 2009-2010 are freestanding, having been started by educators, parents, activists, and others. Freestanding charters have the full responsibility of running a school, including the administration, finances, curricula, instruction, teacher hiring, evaluation, reporting, etc. This myriad of tasks can be challenging for a freestanding school without the benefit of a larger organization behind it. As a result, EMOs and CMOs have sprung up since charters began appearing in 1991. These organizations serve the basic purpose of providing centralized support to a group of schools. They provide the administrative support to hire, evaluate, and provide professional development for the teaching staff, while fulfilling reporting and financial oversight responsibilities.

ƒ *How were studies selected for inclusion in this review?*

The following criteria were used to guide the selection of research for this review:

Publication after 2004

Research reports include a description of methodology

Studies span multiple states and match students and schools to similar students and schools

When possible, studies include charter schools that use lottery systems for accepting applicants.

Studies are listed in The U.S. Department of Education What Works Clearinghouse.

3 *Are EMOs, CMOs or charter schools more effective than Traditional Public Schools (TPSs) in raising student achievement?*

Taken in its totality, the research on charter schools' effectiveness in raising student achievement in comparison to TPSs is inconclusive. Some studies demonstrated that charters did better than TPSs. Others demonstrated they were not as successful as TPSs. Still others found no difference.

4 *Are charter schools effective at elementary, middle, and/or high school?*

There are more studies supporting successful middle school charters (see question 8). Few studies reported results specifically about elementary schools and high schools and results are mixed.

5 *Are charter schools better at raising achievement in reading/language arts and/or mathematics?*

As with overall achievement, the results of studies comparing reading/language arts and mathematics achievement support the conclusion that research is not definitive. There are almost equal numbers of studies finding better, worse, or no differences between charter schools and TPSs.

6 *Which management organizations are successful?*

The most positive findings about any management organization were about the Knowledge is Power Program (KIPP) at middle schools where four studies reported positive impacts on student achievement.

7 *How do I know if an EMO, CMO, or independent charter school matches what is identified through my needs assessment?*

Unfortunately, no research was identified that directly answers this question.

8 *I have heard that the longer students attend a charter school the better they do academically. Is this true?*

A number of studies found that during the first year, student achievement declined. Some of these same studies found that after the initial decline test scores improved in subsequent years. However, Gill et al (2005) questioned whether the increases would compensate for the first year decline. This concern suggests that subsequent gains must be considered in comparison to potential first-year declines.